

Class

284.6

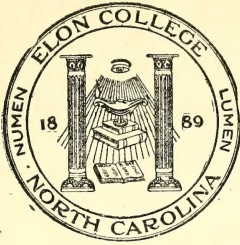
Book

F915

606

01

# ELON COLLEGE LIBRARY



ELON COLLEGE, N. C.

















Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2014

# Kirchen-Buch *A*

oder

*Memorabilia*

des ersten Settlements

der Brüder-Kirche

UNITAS FRATRUM *Joh: 17.*

in der Wachau or Dobbs-Parish

in der Provinz Nord-Carolina

*Zu*

BETHABARA, *und*

*Bethanien und  
Salem*

TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST CHURCH BOOK OF BETHABARA  
(Original in Salem Archives)

It contains summaries of the events of the early years in Wachovia; also a register of baptisms, deaths, etc.



PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE  
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

---

# RECORDS OF THE MORAVIANS IN NORTH CAROLINA

EDITED BY  
ADELAIDE L. FRIES, M.A.  
ARCHIVIST OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA,  
SOUTHERN PROVINCE

---

VOLUME I  
1752-1771.

---

RALEIGH  
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY  
STATE PRINTERS  
1922

**THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION**

---

**J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN**

**D. H. HILL**

**M. C. S. NOBLE**

**T. M. PITTMAN**

**FRANK WOOD**

**R. D. W. CONNOR, SECRETARY, RALEIGH**



DEDICATED TO  
**MY FATHER**  
MY COMRADE IN THE SILENT PLACES  
OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH



## PREFACE

In the opening volume of the researches which Miss Fries is making into the history of the Moravians in North Carolina we are receiving a valuable contribution, not only to the denomination of Christians which she represents, but to the State itself.

The Moravian immigration has always been considered an important element in the settlement of Western Carolina. Along with the Scotch immigrants in the south of the State, the Germans on the Catawba River and in adjacent sections, and the Quakers in neighboring counties, the Moravians brought a wholesome moral, social, and religious influence to bear upon the future destinies of our great Commonwealth.

In another way also the Moravian settlement was of importance. Owing to their world-wide connections in the *Unitas Fratrum*, and the scholarly methods of their leaders, they brought with them the habit of keeping precise records of all current events. Copies of these were communicated to their Brethren in other parts of the world, and the originals were carefully deposited in their Archives, now at Winston-Salem. In the later colonial years of North Carolina's history the contemporary accounts were sparse and unconnected; there were many breaks and gaps in the story of the State. The Moravian Records are perhaps the only consecutive historical account which North Carolina possesses for those critical years of her development.

The Moravians were acute and watchful annalists. They recorded not only the doings of their own religious body, but made note of the state of the weather, incidents of travel, prevailing fashions, features of topography. They mentioned the many distinguished men of the State who visited them, and whose descendants are a valuable element in our population to this day. These accounts are given in *Moravian Diaries*, in *Travel Diaries*, and in the "*Memorabilia*," as they are called, which are the accounts of the successive years from 1753 to the present time.

Of all this material Miss Fries has made careful and accurate use. The charm and chief value of her work lies in the fact that she allows the Colonial Fathers to speak for themselves. We seem to live in their age of the world, and not in ours. Their trials and difficulties, incident to the Colonial times, their hopes and fears, their pious endeavors, their shrewd observations and estimates of men and things, pass before us in the quaint garb of their own speech.

With skillful hand the author draws the picture of those sturdy, self-sacrificing and devout men and women, as they strive to form settle-

ments in which their pious ideals shall prevail with regard to what they think society should be. She further presents these Colonial Fathers and Mothers in their desire to serve their neighbors, as best they can, in the things of this world and of the next.

Thus the contribution which Miss Fries has begun to make to the history of North Carolina, in some of the most interesting phases of its early life, calls for our heartiest commendation, and is likely to awaken a wide and sympathetic interest.

EDWARD RONDTHALER, D.D., LL.D.,  
*Episcopus Fratrum.*

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., Jan. 29, 1920.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Foreword: Outline history of the Unitas Fratrum.....	11
PART I. THE SEARCH FOR LAND	
The Records of Wachovia .....	19
Short Account of the Brethren's Church, or Unitas Fratrum..	20
Act of English Parliament, 1749.....	23
Short Account of the Journey of Br. Joseph and His Party to Carolina .....	28
The Spangenberg Diary .....	30
Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement.....	65
PART II. BETHABARA	
1753. The First Company .....	73
1754. Beginnings in Wachovia. Parish and Vestry Act....	88
1755. Making friends. The second company. Act erecting Wachovia into Dobbs Parish. ....	120
1756. Building Bethabara. Highwaymen. Indians. Proc- lamation of Gov. Dobbs. ....	154
1757. Indian alarms. Refugees at Bethabara and the mill.	177
1758. "The Dutch Fort." Instructions for Jacob Rogers as English Minister. Laws of North Carolina regard- ing Courts and Justices of the Peace. Moravian Doctrine and Practice. ....	184
1759. Indian war. Typhus. Bethania founded. ....	205
"The Doctor." .....	217
PART III. BETHABARA AND BETHANIA	
1760. Indian war. ....	227
1761. Indian war closing. ....	234
1762. Peaceful progress. List of residents. Diary of travel on ocean and river. Rates of exchange. Prices. Wages. ....	239



1763.	Visitors. The weather. Indian alarms. ....	265
1764.	Visitation of Frederic William Marshall. ....	279
1765.	Site for central town selected. ....	295

#### PART IV. BETHABARA, BETHANIA AND SALEM

1766.	Building the new town. Ettwein's visit to Governor Tryon. List of Inhabitants, Bethabara and Bethania	319
1767.	Visit of Governor Tryon. Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement. Coin values. ....	347
1768.	Frederic William Marshall. Definite plans for Salem. Regulators. ....	367
1769.	South Fork Meeting House. Consecration of the Single Brothers House in Salem. ....	382
1770.	The weather. Gemein Haus for Bethania, and for Salem. Church services. Regulators. Dobbs Parish Vestry. ....	396
1771.	Regulators. Tryon and his army at Bethabara. Visitation of the Deputies from the Unity's Elders Conference. ....	429
	"The Surveyor." ....	477
	List of arrivals in Wachovia, 1753 to 1771. ....	484
	Glossary. ....	495

## ILLUSTRATIONS

TITLE PAGE OF FIRST WACHOVIA CHURCH BOOK.....	<i>Frontispiece</i> <i>Facing page</i>
BISHOP AUGUST GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG .....	28
PAGE OF SPANGENBERG'S FIELD NOTES .....	45
REV. BERNHARD ADAM GRUBE .....	89
BETHABARA TRACT, SHOWING MILL SITE AND ROADS.....	132
NICHOLAS LEWIS, COUNT ZINZENDORF .....	162
GRAVES OF SEIDEL AND KALBERLAHN .....	221
LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION, GOV. DOBBS TO JACOB LOESCH	231
MAP OF BETHABARA, 1766 .....	273
MAP OF WACHOVIA, 1766 .....	310
FIRST HOUSE BUILT IN SALEM .....	325
MAP OF DER NORD CAROLINA LAND UND COLONIE ETABLISSEMENT .....	364
MAP OF BETHANIA TRACT, 1766 .....	375
SKETCH OF BETHANIA GEMEIN HAUS .....	403
MAP OF EAST PART OF SURREY COUNTY .....	433
MAP OF SALEM, 1766 .....	482



## FOREWORD

The history of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church, should never be studied as a thing apart, for always its members have been citizens of some great nation of the earth, influencing and being influenced by the events of their day and generation. John Hus, the hero and martyr of Bohemia, did not stand alone in the XVth Century struggle for pure religion. In his own land he was preceded by at least three less known men, and across the continent "the Morning Star of the Reformation" had begun his translation of the Gospels into the common speech nine years before Hus was born.

How much or how little the Bohemian Hus was influenced by the English Wyclif will never be known,—their homes were farther apart than men of the present day can realize,—but both Wyclif and Hus lived in a world gory with the blood of battle, scourged by pestilence, bitter with strife between those who claimed to be the leaders of the Church of God. Wyclif was twenty-two when the battle of Crécy was fought, as the English kings began their century-long attempt to gain the throne of France; he was twenty-four when the Black Plague terrified men as war had never done, and led at least some of them to question the relation of man to his Creator; and in the same year in which the Plague swept England Charles IV of Bohemia established the University of Prague.

It was only sixty-nine years from the battle of Crécy to that of Agincourt, but within that period the Swiss Confederacy took shape; Wyclif finished his translation of the Bible, and passed to his reward; the English language, which Wyclif incidentally had done much to formulate, became the medium for Chaucer's poetic expression; John Hus was born, labored, and passed to his fiery end; and rival popes thundered anathemas and excommunications at one another from Rome and Avignon.

And in the condition of the Church as revealed in that last sentence lies the whole reason, humanly speaking, for the existence of the Moravian Church. John Hus was bred a Roman Catholic, and taught to pay all reverence to its priesthood and decrees; he rejoiced in the commanding position then held by Bohemia, whose king was also Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and therefore head of all the German States; he eagerly availed himself of the opportunities offered by the University of Prague, then thronged by students from all central Europe, and himself became a professor there. Then he took orders, and saw Church affairs from the inside,—and his eyes were



opened to the faithlessness of popes and priests to practically all the laws and doctrines laid down in Holy Writ. He pled and preached, he argued and denounced, he begged his Church to return to its early simplicity and faith and love, but all in vain. His enemies could not meet his challenge to prove him wrong by the Bible, but they could and did imprison him, excommunicate him, and send him heavenward by way of the stake.

But as they had failed to make Hus recant, even so his enemies failed to end his influence. Hus never tried to gain a hearing at the point of the sword, but Bohemia, wild with indignation at the violation of the 'safe conduct' under which Hus had gone to the Council at Constance, flew to arms, and while the Hussite Wars were probably as much political as religious, a little was gained in the way of reform.

And some there were in whose heart the message of Hus had taken deeper root, and to them it was given to found a Church along the lines that he had indicated. Like Hus these men cared much less for dogma than for doing; they wanted a creed that agreed with the doctrines set forth in the Bible, but they wanted much more to have their lives measure up to the ideal set before them in the Scriptures. At first they had no thought of separation from the Roman Church; but when the existence of their organization and their religious independence came to depend upon securing for themselves a ministry of acknowledged standing, they took the necessary steps, and in 1467 secured episcopal consecration for three of the priests who had joined their company. Then came persecution; then success; and by the end of the sixteenth century the *Unitas Fratrum* was the leading Protestant Church in Bohemia, and through the Unity's schools Bohemia had become the best educated country in Europe.

But the tide turned, and in November, 1620, the Protestants of Bohemia were utterly defeated in battle by the Romanists. It is proof of the leading position occupied by the Brethren that when the storm of vengeance had spent itself, and terms of a sort were made with other divisions of the vanquished, the Unity was utterly denied consideration, and in Bohemia was practically annihilated. It persisted for a while in Poland and Moravia, but there, too, relentless persecution ultimately crushed organization, though traditions of the *Unitas Fratrum* were cherished in secret, and were committed as precious heirlooms to children and children's children, the "Hidden Seed" of the Unity of Brethren.

In the eighteenth century there again arose a *Unitas Fratrum* from this "Hidden Seed." Descendants of the Ancient Unity emigrated, in 1722, from Moravia to Saxony, settling on the estates of Count Zinzen-

dorf, a pious young Lutheran nobleman, and there, in 1727, the *Unitas Fratrum* was reorganized, even to its ministry, the episcopate having been carefully maintained even when there seemed no human possibility of the renewal of the Unity of Brethren.

The *Unitas Fratrum* of the eighteenth century was therefore heir to the traditions of Hus and the early Brethren, with their insistence on the need for practical religion, vital in the everyday life of everyday men, women, and children; and to this was added the spirit of warm-hearted, whole-souled devotion, poured out upon them by Count Zinzendorf, who, after careful study, threw himself unreservedly into their cause, becoming their generous patron and much-loved leader. "I have but one passion, and that is Christ," said Zinzendorf; and the Moravians—as they were often called from the birthplace of the emigrants of 1722—kept pace with him in fervent devotion, and in the giving of themselves to the service of their Brethren and of the world. "Service" was the keynote of their lives, and they had the unusual clearness of vision to see that needed service was important service, and that the man who made the shoes and the man who wore them to some distant mission field together served the cause of the Lord.

By this time the world had greatly changed. North America had been discovered and partly colonized; Mexico and Peru had drawn many an eager adventurer and seeker after gold. Spain had risen and fallen; France had massacred her Huguenots; England had been ruled by Queen Elizabeth, and had seen the brilliant soldiers, sailors, statesmen, writers, who surrounded her. North Central Europe was divided into numerous Marks, Duchies, and Kingdoms, with Prussia coming into a position of leadership. Savonarola, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and many another had taken their share in the struggle for Biblical religion, and the right of the Protestants to worship God as they saw fit could no longer be denied. The University of Halle had become the center of the so-called Pietistic movement, and there were many in Saxony and adjoining provinces who could appreciate the doctrines of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and not a few eagerly sought admission into their company.

But even in Saxony there were those who could not bear to see the success of others, and, as the *Unitas Fratrum* grew in numbers and influence, opposition increased, and for a while it looked as though the Moravians, and those who joined them, would be forced to seek another home. Influenced partly by this, and partly by their interest in the heathen, Zinzendorf and the Moravians secured from the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia a grant of land, including two lots in the town of Savannah.

The settlement in Savannah, 1735-1740, is interesting from three points of view: (1) the community of labor and finance, whereby the

Moravian colonists, in these five years, supported themselves and repaid the money borrowed to cover the expenses of the journey thither; (2) their missionary labors among the neighboring Indians and an attempt to reach the negroes of South Carolina; (3) the association of the Brethren with John Wesley, and his co-workers, with its influence on the life of the great Methodist, and on the work of the Moravians in England. The mission to the Indians was interrupted by the war between England and Spain, for Georgia was the frontier between the English Colonies and Spanish Florida, and when hostilities began the Indians became restless and left the region where the mission had been started. The war also drove the Moravians from Savannah, for, like the Quakers, the Brethren of that day were conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, while the other residents of the town refused to allow them the exemption from military service promised by the Trustees of Georgia. It was hard to leave the property just freed from debt, but rather than be false to their faith they went, reaching Pennsylvania in time to help with the beginnings there.

The early settlement in Pennsylvania also had three characteristics of interest: (1) the wide-spread mission work among the Indians; (2) the home-mission work among the white settlers of the Colony; and again (3) the common labor for the common good that made these enterprises possible. Once more difficulties arose from misunderstandings on the part of the people among whom they lived; but these troubles passed, this settlement became permanent, and the Brethren won the reputation of being desirable settlers.

This good name led John, Lord Carteret, Earl Granville, to suggest that the Brethren buy from him such land as they desired in North Carolina, and there begin another settlement. The leaders were considering the establishment of another center, which should be free from the interferences that were annoying them in Pennsylvania, and after considering several proposals they decided to accept that of Lord Granville, and to purchase from him one hundred thousand acres in North Carolina.

In the fall of 1752, therefore, Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, then stationed in Bethlehem, Pa., went to North Carolina to look over the Granville territory and select the land. The Granville property was part of the large grant made in 1663 by Charles II to eight English Lords, "the Lords Proprietors of Carolina." In 1728 the heirs to seven of the eight equal undivided shares decided to sell their interests to the Crown, but Lord Carteret, later Earl Granville, preferred to retain his, and in 1744 it was laid off for him, the northern boundary being Virginia, the southern a line which still divides Moore, Montgomery,



Stanly, and Cabarrus counties from Randolph, Davidson, Rowan, and Iredell, the eastern the Atlantic Ocean, and the western indefinite, nominally the confines of the continent. Granville, like the Crown, maintained his land-offices in Carolina, and sold for a stipulated amount down, and an annual quit-rent. The Wachovia Tract, selected by Bishop Spangenberg and purchased by the Unitas Fratrum, contained 98,985 acres, cost £500 sterling down, and an annual quit-rent of £148, 9s, 2½d.

The colonists who came to Wachovia in November, 1753, were selected, in part at least, with a view to their trades and professions, so that, conjointly, they were well fitted to establish a settlement in the heart of the wilderness, and make it a center of service to neighbors for eighty miles around. The original plan was to place the Brethren on contiguous farms, where the raising of crops and cattle would furnish the means of a livelihood—the “patriarchal plan” Spangenberg called it—but after seeing the country he advised against this, and in favor of the community of effort which has been so successful in Georgia and Pennsylvania. Therefore, in addition (1) to service of their neighbors, the first colonists in Wachovia were instructed (2) to establish a town where the Moravian ideals of Christian living might be practically realized. Their plan (3) to preach the Gospel to the Indians failed of fulfillment, largely because of the war in which the Red Men were driven westward beyond their reach; but in later years a mission among the Cherokees of Georgia was conducted from Salem.

The Moravian Brethren had a habit of keeping careful daily records—partly, perhaps, an inheritance from the scholarly days of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, but more because of the strong desire for correct information about, and constant communication between, the widely scattered portions of the Unity. Copies of the Wachovia records were sent to Bethlehem, Pa., and to the central Church Boards in Germany, but the originals were kept at home, and are now in the Salem Archives. They afford wonderfully interesting material for a study of events, conditions, the habits of life and thought, of bygone days, and from them the following pages are drawn. When not otherwise indicated, they are translated from the original German.





**PART I**  
**THE SEARCH FOR LAND**



# PART I

## THE SEARCH FOR LAND

[The records of the Moravians in North Carolina fall into certain well-defined divisions. There are the Daily Diaries, kept by the leading minister in each congregation, and giving a careful outline of all the Church services, together with such notes as to the daily life of town, State and Nation as seemed to him of sufficient importance for permanent record. There are the Memorabilia, or summaries of the notable events of the year, prepared by the minister for the closing Church service of each December. There are the Minutes of the various Church Boards, and Congregation Councils; there are the Account Books of Bethabara, of Salem, and of Wachovia as a whole. There are the Church Registers, with their lists of births and baptisms, of marriages, of deaths and burials. There are the "Wochen," "Beilagen," and "Gemein Nachrichten," the manuscript forerunners of the Church papers of today. There are the Memoirs, or brief biographies, read at the funerals of members. There are the books and papers of many kinds that would naturally accumulate in the hands of a careful, intelligent, history-loving ministry.

The first Church Register of Wachovia bears the inscription on the title page:

KIRCHEN-BUCH	CHURCH BOOK
oder	or
MEMORABILIA	MEMORABILIA
des ersten Settlements der	of the first Settlements of the
BRUEDER-KIRCHE	BRETHREN'S CHURCH
UNITAS FRATRUM (John 17.)	UNITAS FRATRUM (John 17.)
in der Wachau or Dobbs Parish	in the Wachau or Dobbs Parish
in the Province NORTH CAROLINA	in the Province NORTH CAROLINA
at	at
BETHABARA	BETHABARA

The Registers proper begin on page 117, the first part of the book being reserved for a list of the Moravians arriving in Wachovia as settlers or as visitors, and for the Memorabilia of forty-five years. Prefacing the Memorabilia there is an outline of the history of the Unitas Fratrum and of the causes that led to the North Carolina settlement, which is particularly interesting as showing the point of view



of the men who were participants in the movement. Its translation follows.]

Short Account of the Brethren's Church or  
*Unitas Fratrum*

Taken from the Answer of the Disciple Aloysius<sup>1</sup> to Marcus the 106th Abuna or Patriarch of the Copts and Abyssinians at great Cairo in Egypt, and from the Instructions For Traveling Brethren, published in London, 1755.

The early Eastern Church, which for 300 years bore no other name among Christian nations except "the Brethren" according to the suggestion of our dear Lord,—this early Church acknowledged no other origin than the forty days after Easter, the days of the blessed Son of Man, during which He Himself founded His Church, and Himself ordained its first teachers. And as He in His last Testament, John XVII, had made only the one provision for its continuance in that men should believe on Him through the words of the Apostles, so Paul and John added thereto that men must receive Him and His Spirit.

The region of Pannonia,<sup>2</sup> from which we come, has been so often plundered, harried and burned that the few records that may have been there have long since been lost, and we make no attempt to create new ones in place of the old, as that would be contrary to truth. Therefore of more than nine hundred years it is only to say that through the efforts of our early ministers the then Kingdom of Moravia was converted.<sup>3</sup>

Since that time there has always been something of this Church in Moravia and its neighbor Bohemia, sometimes great and glorious, sometimes small and weak. Finally, through the power of the Romish Church, it came to pass in the XVth Century, fifty years before the Reformation, that the only remaining evangelical Eastern Church, indeed the only avowed Evangelical Church anywhere, was in the village of Lititz, given to the Brethren by King George of Bohemia.

The Brethren took an important part in the Reformation in Germany and in England, but in the Peace of Religion that followed it our

<sup>1</sup> Saint Aloysius, (Louis Gonzaga), of the Roman Catholic Church. He died in 1591.

<sup>2</sup> Originally a Roman Province south and west of the Danube. The Diocese of Pannonia in the ninth century included Bohemia and Moravia.

<sup>3</sup> "In the first half of the ninth century Christianity dawned in Moravia, and came from the Latin Church, through the Franks. Everything else touching its introduction remains unknown. \* \* \* On New Year's Day, of 845, fourteen Bohemian nobles, while visiting Louis the German, were baptized at Regensburg. \* \* \* In both countries, however, the new light shone feebly. \* \* \* It was in the East, above the horizon of the Greek Church, that the Sun of Righteousness appeared to the Czechs as a people. \* \* \* In 863 Cyrill and Methodius arrived in Moravia from Constantinople. Wherever they came they preached repentance and remission of sins. They trained young Czechs as native priests. They finished the Slavonian version of the Bible which Cyrill had previously begun. They built up a national Church in which the Czechs felt at home. Cyril and Methodius, therefore, deserve their title of 'Apostles of the Slavonians.'" [de Schweinitz.]

Church was the only one neglected by all Protestant Kings and left in utter ruin, so far as outward form is concerned. There remained only a little, peaceful company, scattered in Moravia, Bohemia, Poland, Prussia, and Silesia, who held their meetings in the woods, and in holes in the ground, and were driven about for over one hundred years, seeking among the Christian nations for Christians who prayed in spirit and in truth. Finally their bishop, Amos Comenius, found himself in the state of the Prophet Elijah, I Kings, XIX, and feared that their end had come, yet "in Spem contra Spem" he ordained certain Bishops and teachers.

Now when all lay in darkness, and the Christian Religions wrote and spoke of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum* as a noble seed and race which had come to an end, He Who is ever faithful remembered His grace and mercy and His covenant with those who trusted in Him, and whom He had appointed for a continuing existence. He sought under the ashes for the spark of the holy fire of His baptism of sacrifice, He took the candle from under the bushel and set it again upon a candlestick, and led the remnant of these, His ancient Brethren, to His servant, appointed and foreordained thereto, the nobleman Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, whom we now call the Disciple of the Lord. The Count gathered them once more into a visible company, and built for the exiles a village called Herrnhut on his estates near the border of Bohemia, in upper Lusatia. Thither came many seekers after God, out of various denominations and sects, and the Holy Spirit baptised them all into one congregation; and there the Church of Christ, as it was in the forty days after Easter, may be said to have been reorganized, and the seed of the martyrs and the followers of the early witnesses for Jesus received from the same Master the commission to fulfill His testament, to work as leaven in all parts of His kingdom, and make disciples for Him, yea, to preach His gospel to the heathen and baptise them.

Through His word and grace during the last twenty-five years about 300 have been employed in the service of the gospel, and more than one hundred have given their lives for it. In Greenland near the North Pole, in the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. John, Jamaica, and

---

\* Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, was born in Dresden, May 26, 1700. His father dying soon after, and his mother marrying again, he was brought up at Gross Hennersdorf by a pious grandmother, the Baroness von Gersdorf. He was educated at the Universities of Halle and Wittenberg, then took office in the Court of Saxony. Sept. 7, 1727, he married Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess Reuss. They had a number of children, all but three dying in infancy. In 1727 the Count retired from Court and gave all his time to the management of his estate and the care of the exiled Moravians. In 1734 he took orders as a Lutheran clergyman; and in 1737 was consecrated a Bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum*. In 1743 he became *Advocatus et Ordinarius Fratrum*, that is chief representative of the Unity of Brethren. He died at Herrnhut, Saxony, May 9, 1760.

Antigua, in South and North America, and at the Cape of Good Hope, more than 3000 heathen have been brought to Christ, and here and there have been gathered into congregations for Him.

And since our Lord died to gather together the scattered children of God, and to prepare for Him a willing people, so it is the custom of the Brethren's Church to organize congregations and build separate villages where the word of God can be taught in simple purity, and men can live righteously as becomes the children of God. Colonies have also been established here and there, where our Lord may rule, and be King over all hearts. So groups in Germany, Denmark, Livonia, in Saxony and Silesia, in Switzerland, in Holland, England, and Ireland, have built for themselves new villages, and settlements have been made in Pennsylvania, in Barbice, and in Surinam.

In the year of our Lord and Saviour, 1752, in the 26th year of the reign of our gracious King George II of Great Britain, the Advocatus Fratrum, the above-mentioned Disciple of the Lord, bought one hundred thousand acres from My Lord Granville, Proprietor of a portion of the Royal Province of North Carolina, for a settlement for the Brethren, and the Vicar General of America, our honored Brother Joseph, that is August Gottlieb Spangenberg, stationed at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, received orders to go thither and select the land.

[The remaining paragraphs of this sketch deal with the journey of Bishop Spangenberg, and the beginning of the Wachovia settlement, of which the story will appear in more detail in the following papers.]



## 1749: ACT OF ENGLISH PARLIAMENT

[English]

An ACT for Encouraging the People known by the Name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America.

*WHEREAS* many of the People of the Church or Congregation called the *Unitas Fratrum*, or *United Brethren*, are settled in his Majesty's Colonies in *America*, and demean themselves there as a sober, quiet, and industrious People; and many others of the same Persuasion are desirous to transport themselves to, and make larger Settlements in, the said Colonies at their own Expense, provided they may be indulged with a full Liberty of Conscience, and in the Exercise of the Religion they profess; and several of the said Brethren do conscientiously scruple the taking of an Oath, and likewise do conscientiously scruple bearing Arms, or personally serving in any military Capacity, although they are willing and ready to contribute whatever Sums of Money shall be thought a reasonable Compensation for such Service, and which shall be necessary for the Defence and Support of his Majesty's Person and Government:

*AND WHEREAS* the said Congregations are an antient Protestant Episcopal Church, which has been countenanced and relieved by the Kings of *England*, your Majesty's Predecessors:

*AND WHEREAS* the Encouraging the said People to settle in *America* will be beneficial to the said Colonies: *THEREFORE*,

*May it please your MAJESTY,*

At the humble Petition of *Abraham* Baron of Gersdorff, \* \* \* Deputies from the said *Moravian Churches*, in behalf of themselves and their *United Brethren*, That it may be Enacted; *And be it therefore Enacted*, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the Twenty-fourth Day of *June* One thousand Seven hundred and Forty-nine, every Person being a member of said Protestant Episcopal Church known by the Name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or the *United Brethren*, and which Church was formerly settled in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*, and are now in *Prussia*, *Poland*, *Silesia*, *Lusatia*,

*Germany, the United Provinces, and also in his Majesty's Dominions, who shall be required upon any lawful Occasion to take an Oath in any Case where by Law an Oath is or shall be required, shall, instead of the usual Form, be permitted to make his or her solemn Affirmation or Declaration in these Words following:*

*I A. B. do declare in the Presence of Almighty God, the Witness of the Truth of what I say—*

Which said solemn Affirmation or Declaration shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby *Enacted and Declared* to be of the same Force and Effect, to all Intents and Purposes, in all Courts of Justice, and other Places where by Law an Oath is or shall be required within any of his Majesty's Dominions in the Kingdom of *Great Britain, Ireland, Dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed*, and also in all and every of his Majesty's Colonies and Dominions in *America*, as if such Person had taken an Oath in the usual Form.

*And be it further Enacted, \* \* \* [To declare falsely shall incur the same penalties as perjury] \* \* \**

*Provided, and be it Enacted, That no Person, being of the said Church or Congregation called the Moravian or United Brethren, shall by Virtue of this Act be qualified to give Evidence in any Criminal Causes, or to serve on Juries; anything contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.*

*And be it further Enacted, that every Person who is a Member of the said Church or Congregation who shall reside in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America, who shall at any time after the said Twenty-fourth Day of June One thousand Seven hundred and Forty-nine be summoned to bear Arms, or do military Service, in any of his Majesty's said Colonies or Provinces of America, shall on his Application to the Governor or Commander in Chief of the said Colony or Province, or to such Officer or Person, by whom such Person shall have been summoned or required to serve, or be mustered, be discharged from such personal Service; provided that such Person, so desiring to be discharged from such personal Service, contribute and pay such Sum of Money as shall be rated and assessed on him in lieu of such personal Service, so as such Sum shall be rated, assessed, and levied, and be in such Proportion as is usually rated, assessed, levied and paid, by other Persons residing in the same Colony or Province, who are by reason of Age, Sex, or other Infirmary, unable to do personal Service, and who are possessed of Estates of the same Nature as the Persons desiring such Discharge.*

AND, to prevent any doubt which may arise \* \* \* [persons claiming exemption shall show certificate of membership signed by the Bishop or Pastor of the Moravian Congregation to which they belong] \* \* \*

AND, that it may be known whether such Bishops and Pastors \* \* \* be of the Church known by the Name of *Unitas Fratrum* \* \* \* [a list of the Bishops, with their handwritings and seals, shall be laid before the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with necessary additions from time to time] \* \* \*

And be it Enacted and Declared, by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act shall be deemed, adjudged and taken to be a publick Act; and shall be judicially taken Notice of as such by all Judges, Justices, and other Persons whatsoever, without specially pleading the same.



## THE TOUR OF EXPLORATION

[In 1752 Europe was taking a very brief breathing space between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War. Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa of Austria, was Emperor of Germany, but Frederick the Great of Prussia was rapidly becoming the dominant figure in the Empire. King Augustus III of Poland was also Elector of Saxony, Louis XV was King of France, and George II was King of England.

The English colonies in America were still in the pioneer stage, though the number of settlers was steadily increasing. Gabriel Johnston was Governor of North Carolina until July, when he died, his office being temporarily filled by Nathaniel Rice, ranking member of the Governor's Council. Several counties had been more or less definitely erected in the eastern part of the Colony, but the western, beginning at the watershed between the Cape Fear and the Yadkin, was all known as Anson until the spring of 1753, when the part of Anson lying in Lord Granville's territory became Rowan County.

The Renewed Unitas Fratrum was no longer a handful of refugees, clustered on the estates of Count Zinzendorf, in Saxony, but, as already noted, it had spread to various parts of Europe, to mission fields, and to America. The settlement in Pennsylvania had become important. Several permanent congregations, and a number of preaching places, had been established, and an extensive and successful mission work was being carried on among the Indians; and at the head of the American branch of the Unity stood Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who was requested to go to North Carolina to select the land for the proposed settlement there.

The Spangenberg Papers, preserved in the Salem Archives, are in two sets. The first consists of Spangenberg's field notes, written in almost microscopic script on small sheets of paper, 23 in number. The wrapper in which they are filed states that they were found in a box which Spangenberg left with Bishop Ettwein, and that Ettwein passed them on to Frederick William Marshall. The second set consists of fair copies of the first, incorporating marginal notes, and was evidently prepared for the use of the Church Boards. In each set, as preserved, there are some sheets not found in the other. In the following translation the original field diary has been used, except where it is necessary to supplement it from the set of copies.

In view of the apparent differences between this translation and that printed in the Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. V, two

facts should be stated. In the first place there is no such thing as a "literal translation" from one language to another,—the very difference in the construction of sentences forbids that. To give easy, graceful, cultured German a word for word translation would result in strained, unnatural English, that made a mock of the original. The translator, therefore, must needs interpret the thought of an author into equivalent phrases, copying as closely as he can the style and the word values of the author; and naturally no two translators will use exactly the same words. The editor of this volume did not compare her translation of the Spangenberg Diary with that in the Colonial Records until after this version was complete, therefore verbal differences are many, though the meaning remains the same. In the second place, before this translation was made a number of additional sheets had been found in the Archives, which belonged with those used by Rev. R. P. Leinbach, and these sheets give much new material for this translation.

The exploring party left Bethlehem, Pa., Aug. 25, 1752, on horseback, going to Philadelphia, then down the east coast of Chesapeake Bay, taking a boat across the Bay to Norfolk, and again on horseback to Edenton. There they were joined by Granville's chief surveyor, William Churton. From Edenton they followed the beaten track westward to what is now Guilford County, then went south-west to the Catawba River, following it up from the last settlement into the "bush." They went up Little River, surveying tracts in what is now Alexander County, but instead of crossing the Brushy Mountains they came back to the Catawba, following it to its head waters, and taking up other pieces of land that seemed to them desirable, but nowhere finding 100,000 acres in one tract, as they wished. From the head waters of the Catawba they planned to go across to the head waters of the Yadkin, but the hunter who had been engaged as guide lost his way, and took them too far to the west, across the crest of the Blue Ridge, and then northward, until they reached what proved to be the head waters of New River. Finally they laid their course south-east by the compass, and taking the mountains as they came they happened upon what was doubtless Lewis Fork of the Yadkin, which brought them down to the river a short distance above where Wilkesboro now stands. There they measured off two pieces, and heard of the tract later known as Wachovia; and on the "three forks of Muddy Creek" they made their final survey. No account is given of the return to Pennsylvania, but as two papers are dated at "Lüneberg Co. Va." it is evident they took the "lower" or middle road across Virginia.

The leader of the party was Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, affectionately termed "Br. Joseph" by his associates. Hermann Loesch was the only one who became a resident of North Carolina.]

## SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY OF BR. JOSEPH AND HIS PARTY TO CAROLINA

[Translation of the official copy, filed with the Spangenberg Diary.]

On Aug. 25, 1752, Br. Joseph,<sup>1</sup> Timothy Horsefield,<sup>2</sup> Joseph Müller,<sup>3</sup> Hermann Loesch, and Johann Merck set out from Bethlehem. The next day, at Frederickstown, they were joined by Henry Antes,<sup>4</sup> who, two days before, had been so prostrated by an attack of gall-stones that he was unable to hold a pen to answer the letter asking him to accompany the party to Carolina; he had, however, improved rapidly, and now seemed quite well.

On the 27th we called on Mr. Daniel Benezet's brother-in-law in Philadelphia to inquire about conditions in Carolina, and the best way to reach there, since he had stayed for a time in Edenton. His information was not encouraging.

On the 29th we set out again; and on Sept. 4th reached Virginia, which swarmed with negroes. On the 9th we reached North Carolina, and on the 10th arrived in Edenton, remaining there until the 17th. We were courteously received by Lord Granville's Agent, and others, who had already been informed of the purpose of our journey. We would gladly have left sooner, but could not get ready. While we were

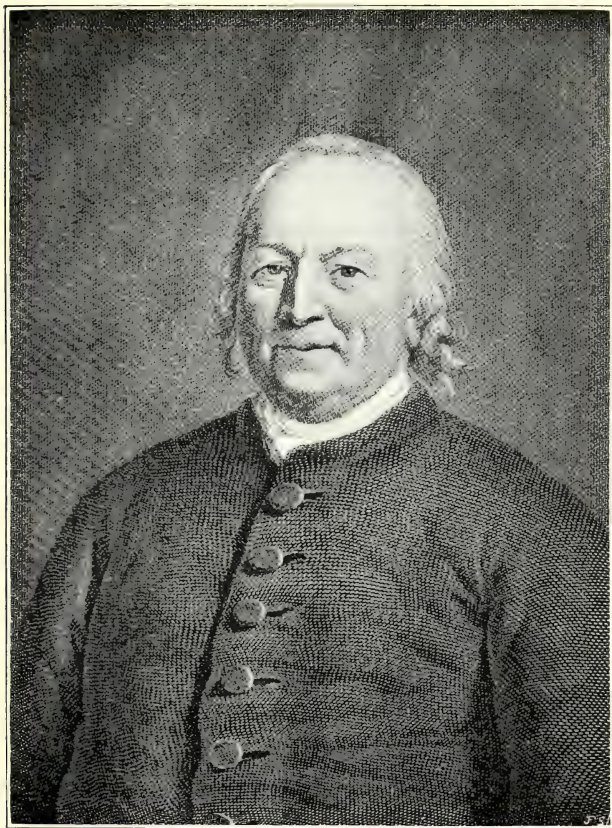
<sup>1</sup> August Gottlieb Spangenberg was born July 15, 1704, in Germany; educated at the University of Jena; and took orders as a Lutheran minister. While a professor at Halle, and superintendent of the Orphanage there, he became acquainted with the Moravians, and joined them in 1733. He was Zinzendorf's most able co-worker, steady, practical, scholarly, far-sighted, and after the Count's death he became the leading member of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The name "Joseph" is said to have been given him by Zinzendorf, and was generally adopted. He took the first Moravian Colony to Georgia in 1735; had a prominent part in the early settlement of Pennsylvania; selected the site for Wachovia in 1752, and for many years directed its affairs by letter; held important positions in the central Boards of the Unity in Germany; wrote various valuable books; and was universally respected, trusted and beloved. He died Sept. 18, 1792, at the age of eighty-eight, and was buried on the Herrnhut Graveyard.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy Horsefield was living on Long Island when the Moravians came to Pennsylvania. He soon learned to know and like them, showed them much kindness, and ultimately joined them, moving to Bethlehem in 1749. He became one of their leading members, was Henry Antes' successor as Justice of the Peace, and did much to guard the town from the attacks of unfriendly neighbors, and to promote good understanding with the government. He died at Bethlehem, March 9, 1773.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Müller was also a native of Pennsylvania, living in Long Swamp when the Brethren came. When Count Zinzendorf finished his American visit, and returned to Europe in Jan. 1743, Müller went with him, and spent six years abroad, giving part of his time to the study of medicine. He was living in Nazareth when Spangenberg selected him for one of the Carolina party, and during the trip his medical knowledge stood them in good stead. His son, Johann, came to Wachovia in 1764; lived in Bethabara and in Salem; and returned to Pennsylvania in 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Antes, also a native Pennsylvanian, was one of the strongest friends made by the Moravians on their arrival in that Province. He aided them in many ways, took title for them to the land on which Bethlehem was built, and in 1745, at Spangenberg's request, moved to Bethlehem and took charge of their farming, building, and manufacturing operations. In 1748 he was ordained Senior Civilis for the Moravian Church in America, "Senior Civilis" being an office which had been created somewhat earlier in Europe to relieve the Bishops there of certain important secular duties. Only men of marked practical ability and proved faithfulness were raised to this rank. In 1750 he returned to his home in Frederickstown, but remained in close touch with affairs at Bethlehem. The hardships of the trip through North Carolina, and the injury there received, had a lasting effect on his health, and he gradually failed from that time on, dying July 20, 1755.





BISHOP AUGUST GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG



there a very heavy rain fell, washing away many bridges, so that traveling would have been almost impossible.

On the 18th we left Edenton, accompanied by the surveyor, and the next day visited the Tuscarora Indian town.<sup>5</sup> Their Interpreter, Mr. Whitemeal, went with us, and introduced us to their Captain, who greeted us, asked us to be seated, then went outside his house, and with a loud shout called in his people. They asked about our journey and its object, about the northern Indians, and gave us a message to the Catawba Nation. They treated us politely, and bade us a friendly farewell.

On the 21st Br. Antes was attacked with fever, but we went on to the house of John Sallis,<sup>6</sup> who had met and aided our party. There Br. Antes became seriously ill, and Br. Merck, who had also commenced with fever on the road, had to go to bed. Soon after Br. Hermann had to give up, and then Br. Horsefield. Probably the fever was the result of the stay in Edenton, which is a very unhealthy place. Finally Br. Joseph also became ill with a high fever, and only Br. Müller remained to serve as nurse, which he did with all care and faithfulness, and the tenderness of a mother. While we were ill there was a terrible rain storm, so that all the streams overflowed their banks, washing away fences and houses, and drowning many cattle.

When we began to improve a little Br. Joseph suggested that we start again, saying that he had prayed to the Lord, and felt sure He would help us even though we were weak. So we tried it one day, but had only gone five miles when he fainted. The ground was so wet that the Brethren who were with him were afraid to put up the tent, so they helped him back to the nearest house, left him there over night with Br. Müller, and returned to Sallis.

Next day Br. Joseph wrote to his company as follows:

"I am still confident that the Saviour will give to me and to my associates the necessary health for our journey, so surely as He is the Christ, the true Light. We will go on in our weakness, especially I, for whom you will have to do more than for any of the others." He dictated this to Br. Müller, and when the others arrived they set out once more. It went as might be imagined,—sometimes he had to be lifted from his horse, but after resting a while he would be lifted to his saddle again, and so we made our way to Captain Sennet's.<sup>7</sup> There Br. Müller suggested that Br. Horsefield be left to recover, since his fever continued to return. Br. Joseph believed that he would recover more quickly

<sup>5</sup> In Bertie County, on the east bank of the Roanoke River, not far from Quitsua Landing.

<sup>6</sup> In Guilford County, on the Trading Path, near the Knap of Reeds Creek crossing.

<sup>7</sup> In Orange County, on the Trading Path, a short distance east of Hillsboro.



on the road than by lying in bed, and said so, but Br. Müller insisted, so Br. Horsefield was left there, with Br. Müller to take care of him.

Br. Joseph, Antes, Loesch, and Merck therefore went on alone, taking with them the Surveyor,<sup>8</sup> and two hunters, who could carry the chain when needed, and at other times seek game in the forests. So we proceeded to the Catawba, at first finding travel difficult, but daily growing stronger.

We spent a couple of days with Andreas Lambert, a Scotchman, where we provided ourselves with provisions for our journey into the forest. Hitherto we had been on the Trading Path,<sup>9</sup> where we could find at least one house a day where food could be bought; but from here we were to turn into the pathless forest.

In the beginning of November we found the first piece of land that seemed suited to our purpose; and at the end of December we found the land in the Three Forks of the Yadkin which finished out our required number of acres.

Jan. 13, 1753, we finished surveying; then took up our return journey, going first to the home of Capt. Sennet, where we had left the Brethren Horsefield and Müller. They had left for home the first of the year, but we heard much about them, for Br. Horsefield's illness and Br. Müller's care of him had attracted much attention, and everybody was saying "Oh, if people like this would only move here quickly!"

At Sennet's we made the final arrangements with our surveyor about reports; then left for Bethlehem, reaching there Feb. 12th, well and happy.

### THE SPANGENBERG DIARY

*Edenton, Sept. 10, 1752, new style.* [Official copy.] Yesterday we arrived in Carolina. On the entire journey from Bethlehem the Lord has kept us in good health, and has guided us with His eye.

Letters from My Lord Granville<sup>10</sup> to Mr. Corbin<sup>11</sup> had given us good introduction, so that all were ready to welcome us so soon as we reached our lodgings. Mr Corbin himself called on us, and told us he was ready and willing to give us all possible assistance. We delivered to him My Lord Granville's letter, commending us to him, and also His

<sup>8</sup> William Churton.

<sup>9</sup> The Trading Path, beginning at Edenton, crossed the Catawba River at Island Ford, about two miles west of New Sterling Church. Probably Andreas Lambert lived at the ford, in Iredell County.

<sup>10</sup> John, Lord Carteret, was born April 22, 1690. His father was Sir George Carteret, one of the eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina under the grant of King Charles II. Sir John therefore inherited a one-eighth interest in this large territory. Through the death of his mother in 1744 Sir John became Earl Granville. He held many important positions in the British Realm, and died Jan. 2, 1763. His son Robert inherited his interest in the Carolina lands.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Francis Corbin, the Agent of Earl Granville in North Carolina.

Lordship's Warrant.<sup>12</sup> He stayed with us three hours, telling us many things that will be helpful.

On the journey from Bethlehem here we had good roads and fine weather, but we had scarcely reached Edenton when it began to rain, and it looks as though it would continue for some time.

Br. Antes, who was so ill with gall-stones three or four days before leaving Frederickstown, is quite well, and has had no return of the trouble. Our horses are in fine condition, though at times it has been hard for them, for in Newcastle, Kent and Sussex Counties, as well as in Maryland and Virginia, it has been very dry, so that everything is parched, pasturage was scarce, and at some places we could buy neither corn nor oats. Otherwise the road to Edenton is pleasant to travel, especially along the east shore of Chesapeake Bay, which is like a floor, so smooth and free of stones.

In Virginia the people were fairly courteous, in Maryland less so, but everything is more expensive than we are accustomed to in Pennsylvania.

Until we reached Cherristown<sup>13</sup> we crossed no ferry, (for the small ones at the Skullkill and at Wilmington hardly count.) From Cherristown part of us went by boat to Nansimon, and part to Norfolk, taking our horses with us; it was 60 miles to Nansimon, and 40 to Norfolk. From Bethlehem to Edenton is about 450 miles, carefully reckoned.

*Edenton, Sept. 12th, new style*<sup>14</sup>. [Official copy.] If I am to say how I find things in North Carolina I must admit that there is much confusion. There is discord between the Counties, which has greatly weakened the authority of the Legislature, and interferes with the administration of justice. The reason is this,—as I hear it from both sides: When the Colony was still weak the older Counties were permitted to send five men each to the Assembly. After a long time the Colony increased in size, and new Counties were formed, but were allowed only two representatives each. That continued until the newer Counties were numerous enough to have the majority in the Assembly; then before the older Counties realized what was being done, an Act was passed reducing the representation of the older Counties to two each also. This irritated the older Counties, and they refused to send any one at all to the Assembly, but dispatched an agent to England to try to regain for them their ancient rights, and meanwhile they declined

<sup>12</sup> The Warrant authorized Spangenberg to select 100,000 acres of land in the Granville district, and have it surveyed for the Unitas Fratrum.

<sup>13</sup> Cheriton, on Cape Charles, Va.

<sup>14</sup> The Reformed, or Gregorian Calendar, was adopted by Catholic Germany in 1583, by Protestant Germany and Holland in 1700, by England not until 1752. Spangenberg, as a German, naturally used the "new style" calendar, but thought it worth while to note the fact in dating his diary. The Gregorian Calendar is now in general use.

to respect any Act passed by the Assembly. So in some respects anarchy reigns in these older Counties; there are many cases of murder, theft, and the like, but no one is punished. The men will not serve as jurors, so when Court is held for the trial of criminal cases no one is there. If a man is imprisoned the jail is broken open; in short "fist law" is about all that is left. But the County Courts are held regularly, and matters within their jurisdiction are attended to as usual.

*Edenton, Sept. 12, 1752, new style. [Spangenberg Diary.]* Land matters in North Carolina are also in unbelievable confusion, and I do not see how endless law-suits are to be avoided. A man settles on a piece of land and does a good deal of work on it (from the Carolina standpoint), then another comes and drives him out,—and who is to definitely settle the matter? There surely should have been a general surveyor from the beginning of the Colony, who should have had a map of the whole territory, and as from time to time land was surveyed, and the special surveyor made his returns, it should have been entered on the map, which would then have shown what land was vacant and what had been taken up. Unfortunately we can neither find nor hear of such a map.

The Patents from the Lords Proprietors should also from the beginning have been registered before passing into other hands, but either that was not done or the records have been lost. This much is sure,—My Lord's Agent cannot now give a Patent without fearing that when the tract is settled another man will come and say "That is my land." The General Assembly has made an effort to remedy this confusion, and in 1748 passed an Act requiring property owners to bring in their Patents for registration, under £5 penalty for neglect to do this. It was further provided that whoever did not register his Patent within one year from the date of the Act should lose his rights founded upon it. A man who had lost his Patent, through fire or other accident, was permitted to prove undisputed possession for twenty years. Orphans were permitted to register their Patents within one year after attaining their majority; and owners dwelling beyond the sea were allowed five years from the date of the Act to file their claims. When I asked Mr. Francis Corbin about a map he told me that he had been doing his best to have one made, and had given orders to the surveyor in each County to make a chart showing the land that had been taken up in his County. The line between Virginia and North Carolina has been run to the Blue Mountains; and the line between the Crown lands and the Granville District in North Carolina is now in hand, and will be run as soon as necessary information is received, though only by the one party, as the Crown commissioners are not assisting. When that is done there will probably be a map of the Granville District, from which one can see



where the vacant land lies. Meanwhile there is neither a general surveyor's map of the Granville District nor of the individual Counties. Therefore we do not know what land is vacant, and can only take for granted the word of the surveyor who says that such and such a piece has already been taken up. Mr. Francis Corbin himself does not know, and is still "in the dark."

His suggestion is that we go to the "Back of the Colony," that is west to the Blue Mountains, taking a surveyor, and that perhaps there we can find a suitable tract of land that has not hitherto been surveyed. We will see.

*Edenton, Sept. 13th.* [Spbg. Diary.] If, as I hope, we settle in North Carolina, it will be very important that from the beginning we have some one who will pay particular attention to the laws of the land, for from the law book I see that there are many rules and laws of which our Brethren would not think. For example:

If any one living within three miles of a public ferry takes a man, horse, or cow across the stream, receiving payment therefor, he must pay £5 for each man or animal so set across.

A man must have his marriage, or the birth of a child, or the burial of a member of his family registered by the Recorder, if there is no Clerk of the Church in the County; and he is fined one shilling, to be paid to the Recorder, for each month that he delays registration.

A man is fined £10 if he gives permission to a non-resident of Carolina to pasture cattle, horses or hogs on his land.

Any man who buys land from the Indians, without special permission from the Governor and Council, loses the land, and is fined £20.

Every third year a land-owner must have a certain person follow the bounds of his property, renew the marks, and register the same.

There is a penalty of £5 for killing deer between Feb. 15th and July 15th.

All marriages must be performed by a minister of the Church of England, or by a Justice of the Peace. If there is a minister of the Church of England in the Parish a Justice of the Peace cannot marry a couple without paying a fine of £5. To marry without a License, or without the Publication of the Bans three times, entails a penalty of £50.

A man wishing to marry must go to the Clerk of the County in which the woman lives and give a bond of £50 that there is nothing to prevent the marriage; then he takes the Clerk's certificate to a Justice of the Peace, and he issues the License. The fees are 20sh. for the

Governor, 5sh. for the Clerk, 5sh. for the Justice, and 10sh. for the Minister. If the Bans are published there is no charge for a License. If the marriage is not performed by the minister in the Parish where the woman lives he must still be offered the fee.

A man marrying a negress, indian, mulatto, or any one of mixed blood, is fined £50; the minister or justice performing the ceremony must also pay £50.

When the County Court appoints a man as Constable he must qualify within 10 days or pay a fine of 50 shillings.

If a man finds strange cattle in his cow-pen he must advertise their marks on the Church door or at the Court House of the County in which his cow-pen lies, or pay a fine of 20sh.

A man using weights and measures in business must have them marked and sealed according to the standard of the Court. Failure to do this entails a fine of £10, even though they are correct.

The man using a steelyard in trade must have it tested every year, and get a certificate, or pay a fine of 20s.

No Christian, brought into this land, can be a bond-servant, even though he has made a written agreement to that effect with some one.

Who buys from or sells to a slave, without permission of the slave's master, shall lose three times the value of the article bought or sold, and pay a fine of £6.

Whoever gives assistance to a slave who is trying to run away shall serve the slave's master five years as penalty.

A man who owns no land but hunts in the woods and shoots a deer shall forfeit his gun and pay £5, unless he can show a certificate from two Justices that the preceding year he had planted and cultivated at least 5000 hills of corn in the County where he is hunting.

Each house-holder, overseer, etc., whether summoned or not, must appear before a Justice each year before the 1st of May and give in an accurate list of the names and ages of all persons subject to tax, white or black, free or slave. Failure to do this entails a fine of 40s. with 20s. additional for each month's delay.

There are other similar laws, not unreasonable, but if they are not known they might easily be broken. Here, as in all English countries, there are good laws that are not kept, but the Brethren can not act in that way.

*Edenton, Sept. 14th.* [Official copy.] Concerning the Government of North Carolina.—The first Proprietors were Edward, Earl of Clarendon; George, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkley.



These Lords received a Charter from King Charles II giving to them, their heirs and assigns, that part of America lying between the 29th degree and the 36th degree 30 minutes north latitude, that is a strip about 510 English miles wide, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the "South Sea."<sup>15</sup> All rights and privileges were included in the gift.

Under the present Monarch all the Proprietors sold their rights to the Crown except Lord Carteret; he preferred not to. As his one-eighth share he received the part lying next the Virginia line. He, however, renounced all matters of government to the King.

The King has now divided Carolina into three Provinces, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, and My Lord Granville's District belongs to North Carolina.

North Carolina is a rather large Province, and the condition of the inhabitants varies so greatly that often what is good for the southern part is bad for the northern, and vice versa, which leads to continual strife between the two sections. There is only one Governor,<sup>16</sup> one Council, one Assembly, one set of Laws, for the whole Province, and that makes endless difficulties, and if we settle here I do not know what we will do, unless some convenient remedy can be found.

If My Lord Granville's District should become a separate government there is danger that it could not support itself, for it is still young, and who except the inhabitants will pay the salaries of the Governor, Secretary, and other Officers?

Perhaps it could be arranged as in Pennsylvania, where there is one Governor over all the lands belonging to the Penn family, but the lower Counties, that is Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, have their own Assembly, and so far as I know their own Council, with laws; and the upper Counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, Lancaster, Chester, York, Berk, and Northampton, also have theirs. In this way each section can have laws to fit its circumstances.

If this could be done in North Carolina there could be one Governor over all, but the Granville District could have its own Assembly, Council, and laws to suit its needs; and the southern, that is the Royal District, could have the same, appropriate to its circumstances; and neither would interfere with the other.

This would remedy (1) the grievances of the five older Counties, which date from 1746, when an Act was passed reducing their representation in the Assembly from five to two for each County. (2) It would not be so hard on the Representatives. As it is a man from the

<sup>15</sup> The Pacific Ocean.

<sup>16</sup> Gov. Gabriel Johnston died July 17, 1752. Nathaniel Rice, President of Council, became acting Governor, serving until his death in January, 1753, when he was succeeded by Matthew Rowan. Gov. Arthur Dobbs reached North Carolina, and took office, in Oct. 1754.

west of the Granville District may have to go to a meeting of the Assembly at Cape Fear, or some other place lying to the south; and if the Assembly meets at a time of planting, or harvest, it means ruin for him to go;<sup>17</sup> if he does not go it is bad for the Province, and subjects him to penalty. (3) Trade and commerce would be improved, for if each part of North Carolina could have laws to meet its own needs a very few years would show great improvement.

You know I am always a kind of patriot of the country in which I happen to be, so you will not consider these suggestions officious.

*Edenton, Sept. 15th.* [Spbg. Diary.] The Indians in North Carolina are in a bad way. The Chowan Indians are reduced to a few families, and their land has been taken from them. The Tuscaroras live 35 miles from here, and are still in possession of a pretty piece of land. They are the remnant of that tribe with which Carolina was formerly at war, and part of them went to the Five Nations,<sup>18</sup> and united with them. Those that are still here are much despised, and will probably soon come to an end. The Meherrin Indians, living further west, are also reduced to a mere handful. It looks as if they were under a curse, that crushes them. Still further west live the Catawbias, who will probably be our neighbors. They are still at war with the Six Nations. (*Marginal note, written Nov. 4th.* The Catawbias and the Five Nations have made peace.)

South-west from here, behind South Carolina, are the Cherokees, a great Nation. I cannot ascertain definitely whether there is peace or war between them and the Six Nations. (*Marginal note.* The Tuscaroras say the Cherokees have made peace with the Five Nations, and the Cherokees say the same. I asked one whether the Five Nations were their brothers, and he crooked two fingers, linking them together like a chain. Br. Antes asked the same question of others, and one of them crooked his arm and linked it into that of the other, and then embraced him,—so is it between them and the Five Nations!) The Cherokees are in league with South Carolina, and once each year go to Charlestown to receive their presents.

[Official copy, *Sept. 15.*] As we came to North Carolina we spent one night with Mr. Heirs, a gentleman living in Virginia on the east shore of Chesapeake Bay. He said he was very sorry we were going to North Carolina instead of Virginia. "Here," he said, "there lies before you toward the west 400,000 acres of land, beautiful land! You can secure a Royal Grant, giving you the land free of quit-rents for

<sup>17</sup> It is said that this plan was worked in 1746 to keep the men from the northern Counties away, so that the Act reducing their representation could be passed.

<sup>18</sup> There were five Nations in the Iroquois Confederacy; when the Tuscaroras joined them they became known as the Six Nations. Spangenberg uses the names Five Nations and Six Nations interchangeably.

ten years. You can have omitted the clause that requires the cultivation of a certain quantity of land within three years. The quit-rents can be made lighter for you, for nobody in Virginia pays more than two shillings sterling. In Virginia there are navigable rivers, which you will not find in North Carolina, etc." We listened in silence, but submit it for your consideration.

The custom in Virginia is this: A man selects a piece of land and takes out a right in the Secretary's office, paying five shillings per 50 acres, and receiving a Warrant to the deputy surveyor. When the land is surveyed the Surveyor receives the returns, issues and registers the Patent. There is no restriction except that the King reserves the rights to all gold and silver mines, otherwise the owner has all rights and privileges, hunting, fishing, etc., and all copper and iron mines, etc.

I am speaking from hearsay only, know nothing more. The Lord will lead us in the matter. I would only ask,—Do not the French lay claim to the above-mentioned land?

So soon as we settle in North Carolina we will have to pay Poll Tax. It is required from all white men, masters or servants, from 16 to 60 years of age. Poll Tax must be paid on all negroes, male and female, from their twelfth year. If a man marry a Negress, Indian, or Mulatto, or anyone of mixed blood, his children to the fourth generation must pay the Tax from the 12th year on, and the Indian or Mulatto wife is also taxable.

This Poll Tax is collected by the Sheriff, and if anyone does not pay it the Sheriff must seize a sufficient amount of property, sell it at auction, take out his fees for the sale, and also the Poll Tax, and return the balance. The Sheriffs account to the Treasurer, and from these taxes the public expenses are met.

Each County has one or more Parishes, with Vestrymen for each, and the Vestry has the right to lay a tax (often not a small one) on each resident of the County, whether he belongs to the Church of England or not.

The Justices of a County may also impose a Poll Tax, the income to be used for the building of a court-house, jail, etc.

The Brethren, when they pay, must be careful to take and keep a receipt, or they may be obliged to pay one or more additional times,—the men of Carolina say this has often happened.

*North Carolina in Granville County, 153 miles from Edenton, at the home of Mr. John Sallis, Sept. 25, 1752. [Spbg. Diary.]* Here at the home of Mr. John Sallis the Saviour has stopped us for a little while, and four of our company have been in bed with a bad attack of chills



and fever. All this section of North Carolina lies low, and there is much water, fresh and stagnant, which breeds fever every year, and many die from it. Br. Henry Antes, Johann Merck, Hermann Loesch, and Timothy Horsefield are now in bed sweating under the influence of a root that is here used as a remedy for the fever. I hope the Saviour will lay His blessing upon the treatment.

We believe that we caught the fever in Edenton, and brought it with us, for there is so much fever in that town that hardly anyone gets through a year without an attack. It lies low, surrounded by water, which has neither ebb nor flow on account of the sandbanks, which lie between North Carolina and the sea, and hinder the tide. For this reason the large rivers, e. g., the Chowan, Roanoke, etc., have no free outlet, and little return of water from the sea. Therefore North Carolina has less chance for trade than Virginia or South Carolina, for, accurately speaking, there is no navigable river in the part of the country belonging to Lord Granville. But to resume,—We plan to remain here until our men are again on their feet, and will then continue our journey.

We are staying with a man who spent a year and half alone in Guinea. The Captain with whom he sailed maltreated and then abandoned him. The negroes took him, bound him, and intended to kill him, but changed their minds, allowed him to live, and were good-natured and friendly. They wanted him to stay with them but he longed for home, and took the first good opportunity to return.

We are receiving much kindness in his house. He serves us like a brother, and his wife gladly does everything she can also. We wish the Unity to pray for a blessing upon them, that they may receive mercy even as he and his wife and children have shown it unto us.

Trade and business are poor in North Carolina. With no navigable rivers there is little shipping; with no export trade of importance the towns are few and small. Edenton is said to be one of the oldest towns in America, but it is hardly one quarter so large as Germantown,<sup>19</sup> though it is well situated on a rather large Sound. There are other towns mentioned in the law books, but they have neither houses nor inhabitants, are towns only by Act of Assembly.

A good deal of tobacco is raised, but is generally taken to Suffolk or Norfolk in Virginia. There it is viewed by the Inspectors, that is the officers who must inspect all tobacco offered for export, and must burn all that is not merchantable. Then it is shipped by the Virginia merchant, and the Carolinian must accept whatever price he chooses to pay.

---

<sup>19</sup> Germantown, Pa.

Many cattle are also sold outside of North Carolina, but the profit is in Virginia, not here. They are not killed, salted, and exported from this Province, but are driven to Virginia and sold on the hoof, at a loss rather than a profit, for the buyer only pays for the meat, by weight, when he has butchered, and does not pay for the hides, tallow, etc., although he takes them.

Hogs also are driven to Virginia and sold, and are there killed, salted, and exported as Virginia pork. The pork is shipped to the West Indies, rum, sugar, molasses, etc., being imported in exchange, and then these things are sold to the Carolinians for cash.

Of handicrafts I have seen practically nothing in the 150 miles we have traveled across this Province. Almost nobody has a trade. In Edenton I saw one smith, one cobbler, and one tailor at work, and no more; whether there are others I do not know. In 140 miles I saw not one wagon or plough, nor any sign of one.

We have now traversed several Counties of North Carolina, Chowan, Bertie, Northampton, Edgecombe, and Granville, that is so far as Mr. John Sallis, 153 miles. From here we go through Orange and Anson, which is the last County lying toward the west.

The land that we have seen is not particularly good, and yet we are told that it has all been taken up; I presume this is so, for otherwise people would not go 200 miles further west to settle.

In Chowan and Bertie Counties one can ride for three hours without seeing anything except Pine Barrens, that is white sand grown up in pine trees, which will hardly produce anything else. Yet we are told it is all taken up, and the people make tar, pitch, and turpentine, wherever they are near enough to a river to load the products on small boats and take it to a sloop or other small vessel.

Here and there are stretches of oak and other woods, indicating better soil, and here the farms are located, that is farms of a North Carolina kind, for with the exception of corn (of which a good deal is raised) and hogs (the chief support of most of the farmers) the work is poorly done.

Cattle and horses must look out for themselves in winter,—if they live, they live. No hay is given them, for no one makes meadows; fodder does not go far; and who could feed them on grain? So ordinarily in winter there is neither milk nor manure, and when spring comes the animals are so reduced by hunger and cold that they hardly recover before fall. So even in spring and summer they do the people little good. Probably this is the reason that horses and cattle are so small in the part of North Carolina which we have seen, not larger than English colts and yearling calves.



The best land lies along the rivers, for example the Chowan and the Roanoke, but it is always in danger of being flooded. The Roanoke often rises 25 ft. above its usual level, especially when the banks are high, as they generally are. But this too is all taken and we could not find 1000 acres there, not to speak of 100,000.

*Granville County, N. C., Sept. 25th.* [Official copy.] We have also had opportunity to see the principal rivers in the part of North Carolina belonging to Lord Granville, but we have not found one that could properly be called navigable.

The Chowan River is quite large and deep, but it has no tide, only freshets.

The Roanoke River runs far inland, but also has only freshets, no tide, is very crooked, and has such high banks that the wind does not touch sails. So they can only use periaguas or boats for going up stream, and it is hard work; if it rains they have to tie up, and cannot advance one foot, for the current is too strong. Going down stream is easier, but only small craft can be used.

The reason that these large rivers have no tides is because sand-banks lie between North Carolina and the sea, impeding the outflow of the rivers to a large extent, and entirely preventing the coming in of the ocean tides. Frequently there is a change in the Inlet, that is, the small passage by which ships come in from the ocean to this coast. This makes entrance difficult, for if a Captain does not know the coast he is liable to run his ship on a sand-bank, and even if he is familiar with the region the same thing may happen, for the sand does not stay in one place, but is moved about by wind and wave. Pilots are scarce, for so few ships come in that it is not worth a man's time to stay at sea and wait for them.

I mention this because our Warrant says that we shall select land on a navigable river, and the men laugh at me and say, "First show us a navigable river in this part of Carolina," for they know of none. Moreover it is not possible to find a Body of Land on one of these rivers.

The inhabitants of North Carolina are of two kinds. Some have been born in the country, and they bear the climate well, but are lazy, and do not compare with our northern colonists. Others have moved here from the northern colonies or from England, Scotland, or Ireland, etc. Many of the first comers were brought by poverty, for they were too poor to buy land in Pennsylvania or Jersey, and yet wished to have land of their own; from these the Colony receives no harm. Others, however, were refugees from debt, or had deserted wives and children, or had fled to escape punishment for evil deeds, and thought that here no one would find them, and they could go on in impunity. Whole

bands of horse thieves have moved here, and constantly show their skill in this neighborhood; this has given North Carolina a very bad name in the adjoining Provinces. Other people move hither because they hear that it is not necessary to feed the stock in winter, and that pleases them; this brought in crowds of Irish, who will certainly find themselves deceived, for if they do not feed their cattle in winter, the animals will certainly be badly injured or will die.

I am told that a different type of settler is now coming in,—sturdy Germans,—of that we will know more later.

(P. S. Having crossed the length and breadth of North Carolina we have found that toward the west, nearer the mountains, many families are moving in from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Jersey, and even New England; in this year alone more than four hundred families have come with horse and wagon and cattle. Among them are sturdy farmers and skilled men, and we can hope that they will greatly help Carolina.)

We also visited the Tuscaroras, who live on the Roanoke. They have a tract of good land, secured to them by Act of Assembly; I should judge that it contains twenty or thirty thousand acres. It is twelve miles long, but not wide.

Their Interpreter, Mr. Thomas Whitemeal, was kind to us, took us to them, showed us their land, and introduced us to them. He was at one time a Trader among them, understands their language fairly well, and speaks it with ease. Now he is one of the richest men in the neighborhood, and is respected by everybody.

The Indians have no king, but a Captain elected from among them by the whites. There are also several Chiefs among them.

The Tuscaroras are few in number, and they hold with the Six Nations against the Catawbias, but suffer much on this account. They live in great poverty, and are oppressed by the whites.

Mr. Whitemeal is their Agent and Advocate, and stands well with them.

Hitherto no one has tried to teach them of their God and Saviour; perhaps that is well, for the Lord has His own time for all. If it will be the duty of the Brethren to work among them I do not know, but I rather think so, and should like to hear what the Brethren think.

They told us that if we saw the Catawbias we should tell them that there were plenty of young men among the Tuscaroras who knew the way to the Catawba town, and that they could go and return in about twenty days. That so far they had kept quiet and had not gone

into the Catawba country except to hunt a little, and they would do no more unless they were disturbed,—then they knew the way to the Catawba town.

We were courteously treated by the Indians, and they sent greetings by us to the Shawanos on the Susquehannah.

*Granville Co., N. C., Sept. 26th.* [Official copy.] There is no map of North Carolina that is now at all correct, for it has changed much since passing into the hands of the King some twenty years ago. In 1729 the Crown bought from seven of the Lords Proprietors North and South Carolina, and Georgia, for £17,500 Sterling. And since the part next Virginia has been laid off for My Lord Granville it has changed still more, and in addition men have traveled more, and have learned more about it.

I will give you the Counties that at present form North Carolina. In My Lord Granville's District,—Chowan, Currituck, Pequimon, Bertie, Tyrell, Pasquotank, Edgecombe, Northampton, Granville, Orange. In the King's District,—Carteret, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow. Lying partly in each District,—Hyde, Bladen, Beaufort, Craven, Johnston, Anson.

The towns of any size are,—Edenton, in Chowan Co.; Wilmington, Cape Fear, and Brunswick, in New Hanover Co.; Bathtown, in Beaufort Co.; New Bern, in Craven Co.

[Spbg. Diary.] If we wish to become incorporated in North Carolina it will have to be as a Borough, Town, Village, County, or something of that kind.

In 1744 My Lord Granville resigned to the King all rights of government in his District, that is the power to make laws, to call Assemblies, to establish courts of justice, to appoint Judges and Justices, to pardon evil-doers, to open ports and harbors, to impose customs and duties, to erect new counties, forts, castles, to incorporate cities, boroughs, and villages, etc.

The Crown appoints the Governor and also the Council, which is composed of twelve men. The Governor is not permitted to start anything new without the consent of at least four of his Council. If the Assembly passes a law which is approved by the Governor and Council it goes into effect, though the King has the right, if he chooses, to repeal and annul it.

If we become incorporated in North Carolina it will have to be by Act of Assembly, approved by the King. In this connection I would remark that Gov. Johnston has recently died. Many regret his death, and speak of him as a fine man. Be that as it may, the sending of a



new Governor will give a good opportunity for My Lord Granville, if he pleases, to give instruction about our matters. For instance that the Assembly should pass an Act "to encourage the United Brethren to settle in Carolina," which should provide (1) for exemption from Poll Tax for several years; (2) permission to build a town, and to establish a county which should send one or two representatives to the Assembly; (3) it should grant to the Brethren, as an Episcopal Church, the right to have their own Parish, to support their own minister, not one of the English Church, to elect their own Vestrymen, Church Wardens, etc.

I shall not insist on these things if they do not meet the approval of the Brethren, but they seem to me important if our settlement in Carolina is to amount to anything.

*North Carolina on the Catawba River, 300 miles from Charlestown, S. C., Oct. 28th.* [Official copy.] Yesterday we arrived here from Edenton, which is more than 400 miles away. We have been long on the way, for the Saviour permitted us to be sick in Granville County. I was in bed with high fever, all the others had chills and fever except Joseph Müller, who was our faithful and unwearying nurse. John Sallis, a planter of the neighborhood, was our friendly host, and did everything for us that he could. The Lord and the Brethren will never forget him.

While we were sick there was much rain, and streams were higher than men have ever known them to be before. It is said that the Roanoke rose 25 ft. Houses and fences, even on the highest banks, have been swept away; many cattle have been drowned; and no one was able to travel. We have ourselves seen the results of the flood, as we came hither,—it is hard to believe that such little streams can rise so high. But the western part of North Carolina is all hills and valleys, and that pours the water together.

When some of us had recovered, and others were somewhat improved, we took up our journey, though it went poorly, especially for me. The first day we made no progress. The second day we tried it again, but had to rest frequently, for I could hardly ride an hour at a time. My fever had settled in my limbs, and was constantly with me. Br. Horsefield had a return of fever, and finally had to stop at the home of a certain Captain,<sup>20</sup> where we could have good accommodations, and we left Br. Joseph Müller, our never-to-be-forgotten nurse, to take care of him. The rest of us went on, and are here<sup>21</sup> preparing for our journey into the forest. I am taking as good care of my health as I can. Br. Antes is purchasing our needed supplies, for here we leave all roads

<sup>20</sup> Capt. Sennett.

<sup>21</sup> At the home of Andreas Lambert, a Scotchman, living on the Catawba River, where it was crossed by the Trading Path.

and all men. We are taking along two hunters, partly to hunt for us (though there is little game to be found), and partly to carry the chains for the surveyor. May God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost direct us!

[Spbg. Diary.] I must now record some of the difficulties which our Brethren will have to face here.

They will settle in the western part, or in Anson County. Where remains to be seen. They will need salt, and other things which they cannot make or raise. Where shall they get them?

They must go from here to Charlestown, S. C., about 300 miles, and the length of the way is not the worst part, for there is little except bad water to be had, and there is danger of robbers; or else they must go to Bolings Point, Va., on a branch of the James River, about 300 miles from here. The latter is the way usually taken by the planters of this section, but it takes several weeks for the trip, and the road is bad, with many hills and streams. Or they could go down the Roanoke River, I do not know how many miles, to a point where salt can be brought up the river from Cape Fear, but there is as yet no road which a man can use.

But why do I so write? Who knows what the Lord will show us that we do not yet know?

Who waits until the Saviour leads,  
Will see the joy intended;  
No anxious questions will he need  
With difficulties ended.

Perhaps a saltpetre factory would be of service to the Brethren and many other people here. That would depend on the blessing of the Lord, who might cause it to develop, if we do our part in bringing it about.

*Nov. 4th. Forks of Little River, in the forest, Anson County, N. C., at the Brushy Mountains, about twenty miles from the Catawba, to the north-west, counting from the mouth of Little River. [Spbg. Diary.]*

This is the first piece of land that we have taken up. It lies on the two branches of Little River,<sup>22</sup> the one flowing south-west, the other south-east. Little River flows into the Catawba, about twenty miles above the land of Andreas Lambert, a well-known Scotchman. We have finished the survey today.

This tract contains 1000 acres, of 160 perches to the acre. The best part is the lowland that lies like an elbow in the angle between two hills. It is very rich, and is sometimes flooded by the river. The strip of

<sup>22</sup> Lower Little River, in Alexander County.







lowland is about three miles long, and even at the narrowest place is much wider than the long meadow<sup>23</sup> at Nazareth; and according to our judgment it contains 300 acres more or less. Most of it is already clear, and can be used part for a meadow, part for Indian corn, and part for hemp. Hemp will be particularly profitable, for it sells at a good price, and there is also a bounty on it, to encourage its culture.

The land lying next the lowland is dry, and about as good as that at Bethlehem,<sup>24</sup> some of it a little better.

There is not much timber, but enough to serve for a while if we are careful. In the upper part of the elbow there is a small piece of good woodland, and on one side of the dry ground there are a number of fine young trees.

The tract is well adapted for the raising of cattle, and ten couples of our Brethren can make a good living here, though it seems essential that at first they should have a joint house-keeping. Any one who knows how, and is willing to work, can make good meadows here, and can care for the cattle through the winter, until the meadows are ready, by using the small reeds which grow in the lowland, and which stay green all, or nearly all, winter. Cattle, and especially horses, eat these reeds eagerly. The land lies so that neighbors cannot build near, and that guarantees the cattle a free range.

This tract is well watered. On the upper side there is a site for an overshot millwheel, and on the east branch a mill could be built with an undershot wheel. The banks of the streams are so high that a man could not ride across, had not the buffalo broken them down here and there. There are also good springs.

There is stone which can be used for building, and also sand, but no limestone, which is very rare in North Carolina, indeed there is hardly any this side of the Alleghanies. That is the reason for the poorly built wooden houses one finds everywhere.

Here is a plot, marked A, which the surveyor made in the forest, the day after he finished the survey.

I should add that we have done the best we could to cut out this tract from the adjoining barren land.

[This sheet is signed by Joseph Spangenberg,<sup>25</sup> J. Henry Antes, Hermann Loesch, and Johannes Merck, each in his own hand. The following postscript is added.]

<sup>23</sup> It was customary for the Brethren to designate their fields by such descriptive terms. This "long meadow" was at Nazareth, Pa.

<sup>24</sup> Bethlehem, Pa. is always meant when the name stands alone, as here.

<sup>25</sup> Spangenberg seems to have liked the pseudonym bestowed upon him, and to have adopted it as his official signature.

A settlement on this tract should be placed about in the middle, where the woods begin. There is a pretty little creek at hand, and the water from a spring in the hills runs down and forms a pool, where the buffalo probably bathed in hot weather, at least they have made a path around it. The path appears to lead to the hills on the east side.

Just beyond our line on the hills to the south Br. Antes found two stones which he thinks would make mill-stones, or at least that suitable stone can be found near by.

From here we sent a messenger to Mr. Morisen's, where we hoped he would find the Brn. Horsefield and Müller, but after we had waited for two days he returned without them. Oh, how often our hearts are with them, and doubtless they also are thinking of us!

The line which I have marked B. C. on the plot was not actually run, and the trees are not marked. I mention this so that the Brethren do not waste time looking for the trees.

When the Brethren come they can, if they like, take up a couple hundred acres of good woodland above our tract; and below our tract there is a strip of lowland, about half a mile long but not wide, which they can also take up if they choose.

About fourteen miles from here live several families of Scotch-Irish, and one of them has a mill, but there is neither road nor path from here to them.

*Nov. 5th In camp at the Forks of Little River, south of the Brushy Mountains. [Spbg. Diary.]* It is important that I should mention certain things about surveying in North Carolina which will affect all the tracts we may take up.

The surveyors have strict orders from Lord Granville's agent to run lines only north and south, east and west. The agent may have reasons for this which seem to him sufficiently important, and it may be practicable in the eastern counties where there are no hills, or only very small ones, but here it is quite different, and often inconvenient. If a strip of land lies north-west and south-east I have to include corners of land to finish out the north and south lines, even when the land is not worth a heller.<sup>26</sup> I have spoken much about this to the surveyor, Mr. William Churton, an otherwise tractable man, but he insists that these are his orders and that he dare not disobey them. The only thing he will do is to make offsets in the lines where *too* much barren land would be included.

Another point mentioned for information.—When the Brethren come they would find it useful to employ the hunters, whom we have with us to carry the chains and to furnish us with game. These men could

<sup>26</sup> A small coin, formerly current in Germany, worth half a cent.



conduct them to this and the other tracts, and show them where our land lies. They are Henry Day, who lives in Granville Co., near Mr. John Sallis; John Perkin, who lives on the Catawba, and is acquainted with Andreas Lambert, a well-known Scotchman; and John Rhode, who lives about twenty miles from Capt. Sennett, on the road to Atkins. Of these I particularly recommend John Perkin, who is intelligent, best acquainted with the forest, industrious, a successful hunter, and I think fond of the Brethren. I suggest using these men because at this time practically no one lives in these parts, and no one else will know our tracts and their boundaries except the Brethren who are in our company, and they will quickly forget the forests, which are as trackless as the ocean.

In the third place I would mention that ordinarily our surveyor measures and marks only three sides of a tract. He considers it unnecessary to run the fourth side, and says it is here a lawful survey when only three sides have been measured. That the Brethren who come here may understand this, and not give themselves useless trouble seeking the unmarked trees, I will report for each tract which side is not marked, and indicate it on the map.

In the fourth place I would say that our surveyor has been very unwilling to measure out small pieces of land for us. With much difficulty we persuaded him to survey three tracts in the forks of Little River and on the Catawba, containing 1000 acres each. In the Warrant from Lord Granville it is stated that we are to pay £3 Sterling for the survey of each 5000 acres. He interprets that to mean that we must take tracts of that size, saying that Mr. Corbin had told him so. We would be only too glad if that were possible, but here at the edge of the mountains we could only do it by including many, and often barren, hills. There seems nothing else that we could do if we should take all our land in one tract.

Fifth. We have seen a number of small pieces of land, one, two, or three hundred acres, or even smaller, which we could not include in our tracts, although they touched our lines, because the surveyor made so many objections to anything that was not four-square. I have written to Mr. Corbin, asking that these pieces be reserved for the Brethren, and when they come, if they wish, they can have them surveyed, paying the usual costs.

*Nov. 7. From camp on the second fork of Little River, about two miles from the first tract to the south-west, but on two other branches. [Spbg. Diary].* This is the second place where we have camped to take up land, attracted by the good lowland and the nearness to the first tract. [Then follows description of the tract, its water supply,



etc. The tract contained 1000 acres.] On the north side we have a hill, with fertile soil, and covered with locust trees. From here we sent a messenger to Mr. Lambert, about forty miles from here, for our Brethren Horsefield and Müller. We had told them to follow us there as soon as Br. Horsefield was able to travel. We waited two days, but the messenger returned without them, and we take this to mean that Br. Horsefield has not yet recovered, and we will have to go on without them. [This sheet also bears the signatures of Spangenberg, Antes, Merck and Loesch. Spangenberg alone signed most of them.]

Nov. 11. *From camp on the Catawba River, about forty miles above Andreas Lambert's place, according to the judgment of our hunters.* [Spbg. Diary. This sheet is marked "dem Jünger," that is, for the special consideration of Count Zinzendorf.<sup>27</sup>] I am sitting in the tent thinking about your Patriarchal Plan for the settlement in North Carolina, and considering it in view of the local circumstances. First, there are the Indians. Our land lies in a region much frequented by the Catawbas and Cherokees, especially for hunting. The Senecas, too, come here almost every year, especially when they are at war with the Catawbas. The Indians in North Carolina behave quite differently from those in Pennsylvania. There no one fears an Indian, unless indeed he is drunk. Here the whites must needs fear them. If they come to a house and find the man away they are insolent, and the settler's wife must do whatever they bid. Sometimes they come in such large companies that a man who meets them is in real danger. Now and then a man can do as Andreas Lambert did:—A company of Senecas came on his land, injured his corn, killed his cattle, etc. Lambert called in his bear hounds, of which he has eight or nine, and with his dogs and his loaded gun drove the Indians from his place.

Every man living alone is in this danger, here in the forest. North Carolina has been at war with the Indians, and they have been defeated and have lost their lands. So not only the tribes that were directly concerned, but all the Indians are resentful and take every opportunity to show it. Indeed they have not only killed the cattle of the whites, but have murdered the settlers themselves when they had a chance.

There are other things to make life hard for those living *alone* and *for themselves*. For instance a woman is ill, has high fever,—where is the nurse, medicine, proper food? The wife of the nearest neighbor lives half a mile, perhaps several miles away, and she has her children, her cattle, her own household, to care for, and can give her only a couple of hours, or at most only one day or one night.

<sup>27</sup> See Glossary.

Another thing.—By the Patriarchal Plan I understand that each family would live alone, and work for its own support. What will happen to those who have not the necessary talents? How will it go with men and women brought up in our congregations, who I fear have little conception of the difficulties they will have to face? What will they do in circumstances where each must help himself as best he can? How bear the hard work necessary to success, when each must say with Jacob, “In the day the drought consumed me and the frost by night”?

To speak plainly:—Among fifty members brought up in our congregation, or who have lived with us some years, there is probably not one who could maintain himself alone in the forest. They have had no experience, and even those who have the intelligence do not know how.

I do not say this to throw difficulties in the way of your whole plan, on the contrary I consider it important, and believe the Lord through it will achieve His own ends, but I suggest consideration of the best method of attaining that end.

Perhaps it would be wise to settle six to ten families together, each in its own house, all working under a capable overseer; and after a time, if any wishes to settle on his own farm, as in Pennsylvania, then to try to arrange it for him.

But I desist. I know I may not have found the right solution of the problem; the Lord will show us how it may best be done.

*Nov. 12. From the camp on the Catawba.*<sup>28</sup> [Spbg. Diary.] This might well be called an Indian Pass, and as we believe that the Saviour means to bless the Catawbias and Cherokees through our settlement in North Carolina we have decided to here take up our third tract.

It lies on the Catawba River, which is here about as large as the Lecha<sup>29</sup> at Bethlehem, and is full of fish. On account of the high banks the adjacent meadows were not flooded during the last freshet, which was the largest ever known here. [Here follows a description of the tract.] On the west side there is a creek with a good fall, so well adapted for a couple of overshot wheels that Henry Antes is charmed.

The tract is about three miles long and half a mile wide, and includes part of each of the adjacent ten hills. There is not much hard wood, mostly pine. The forest could be much improved with care, for it has been ruined by the Indians, who are accustomed to set fire to large tracts to drive the deer to a given spot, and that keeps the young trees from growing.

<sup>28</sup> Probably in Caldwell County. An Indian trail ran along the divide between Gunpowder Creek and the Catawba River.

<sup>29</sup> Lehigh River.

At present the nearest house is that of Jonathan Weiss, commonly called Jonathan Perrot. He is a hunter, and lives about twenty miles away. There are many hunters here who work little, live like the Indians, shoot many deer, and sell their skins.

We came a roundabout way, for none of us knew a path, but we think this is about sixteen miles south-west of our first two tracts.

Could we have crossed the Catawba we would have taken up land on the other side also, but there is no canoe, and to ride across is too risky.

[The plot shows 1107 acres, on the north side of the Catawba, "just above Andrew Hampton shoals."<sup>30</sup>]

*Nov. 19th. From camp on the middle river of the three rivers flowing into the Catawba near Quaker Meadows,<sup>31</sup> not far from Table Mountain. [Spbg. Diary.]* We reached here last Thursday, and made our camp, and went out to see the section, riding into the night. We found everything needed for a settlement,—very fertile lowlands, the best we have seen in North Carolina, which can be cultivated year after year without impoverishing them, for they lie at the foot of steep, rich hills, from which the soil washes down, enriching the meadows. Wheat and corn can be grown.

The tract is well watered, with springs, little streams, and creeks, and the water is as beautiful and sweet as one could wish. In the lower part of the tract we have the river,<sup>32</sup> which is half as large as the Lecha. Above we have the two branches,<sup>33</sup> forming a fork, each being perhaps twice as large as the Manocasy at Bethlehem. They are crystal clear, so that one can see the stones on the bottom even where the water is deep.

There are tall, strong trees; also young growth. There are good meadows for pasturage, and many reeds, which are still green,—otherwise our horses would starve. \* \* \*

It is a pity that the fertile land does not lie in one piece, but scattered among the hills; a pity also that the rich hills cannot be cultivated because they are so steep, otherwise they would make fields as good as those at Oli.<sup>34</sup> But such is the case, and we cannot change it; and it must be good, for the Creator made them, and who knows how the hills and the trees may serve the Brethren. \* \* \*

This is our fourth tract. It lies seven or eight miles from the Catawba, but the land between here and the mouth of the river is al-

<sup>30</sup> Probably Horseford Shoals, three miles north of Hickory.

<sup>31</sup> Across the Catawba, west of Morganton.

<sup>32</sup> Johns River.

<sup>33</sup> Wilson Creek and Mulberry Fork. The tract was just north of Perkinsville, Burke Co.

<sup>34</sup> A Moravian village in Pennsylvania.



ready taken up. I think we are near the Blue Mountains, the ridge that in Virginia is called the South Reach to distinguish it from the North Reach, twenty or thirty miles distant. This is also Antes' opinion, but the surveyor disagrees, and thinks these are the Brushy Mountains.<sup>35</sup>

So far had I written before we finished surveying. There is not much to add. The tract contains over 6000 acres, and there can be at least eight settlements of about ten families each, and each settlement will have enough water, wood, and good land.

How the road would run I do not know. We have come across high, steep hills. The path takes a general north-west direction,—but why speak of paths when there are none except those the buffalo have made? We reckon it about eighteen miles from the tract we took up on the Catawba. The hills come down close to the river,—but perhaps there is a way of which we do not yet know.

Our surveyor and his men met a party of six Cherokee Indians, and were stopped by them, but they soon became friendly. The woods here are full of Cherokees, and we see their signs wherever we go. They are out hunting.

[The next sheet, also dated Nov. 19th, is addressed to "dem Jünger," and is largely a repetition of views already expressed concerning the need for better management of land entries, etc.]

*Nov. 24th. From camp in the forks of the third river<sup>36</sup> that flows into the Catawba near Quaker Meadows. Perhaps five miles from Table Mountain. [Spbg. Diary.]* This is the fifth tract that we have selected, and contains seven or eight hundred acres,—a fine piece of land, lying on two creeks. \* \* \*

The land is very rich, and has been much frequented by buffalo, whose tracks are everywhere, and can often be followed with profit. Frequently, however, a man cannot travel them, for they go through thick and thin, through morass and deep water, and up and down banks so steep that a man could fall down but neither ride nor walk! \* \* \*

This tract lies not far from No. 4, perhaps a good mile to the west, and the way is not bad when one knows it. \* \* \*

The wolves here give us music every morning, from six corners at once, such music as I have never heard. They are not like the wolves of Germany, Poland, and Livonia, but are afraid of men, and do not usually approach near them. A couple of Brethren skilled in hunting would be of benefit not only here but at our other tracts, partly to kill

<sup>35</sup> Spangenberg and Antes were right, the surveyor wrong.

<sup>36</sup> Upper Creek, Burke Co., sometimes called Warrior Fork.

the wolves and panthers, partly to supply the Brethren with game. Not only can the skins of wolves and panthers be sold, but the government pays a bounty of ten shillings for each one killed.

*Nov. 28. Old Indian Field, on the north-east branch<sup>37</sup> of Middle Little River.* [Spbg. Diary.] We reached here on the 25th of this month, camped beside the branch, looked over the land, and resolved to take it up. It is lowland, lying on two streams, the one somewhat larger, the other somewhat smaller than our Manocasy at Bethlehem. The water that we find in these mountains is excellent, better than the spring at Bethlehem. It looks as though there might be mineral springs about. The streams on this tract afford good mill sites, and apparently will neither go dry in summer nor freeze in winter, for they are fresh spring water. There are more than twenty springs on this tract, with little runs, beside which canes grow freely.

The land is rich, partly damp, which will make good meadows, and partly dry, where corn, hemp, tobacco, etc., can be grown. It is too rich for wheat, but perhaps after corn has been grown for some ten years wheat could be raised. \* \* \*

This tract contains 2000 acres. We were obliged to include several mountains to get the lowland, but part of them are not too steep to cultivate, and there is an abundance of wood. \* \* \*

The Indians have certainly lived here, perhaps before the war with the white settlers in North Carolina. There are remains of an Indian Fort, grass still grows on the site of dwellings, and the trees show also that men have lived here, but it may be fifty or more years ago. \* \* \*

This tract adjoins the 6000 acre tract already taken up on Middle Little River, and is divided from it by an east and west line.

From Br. Cossert's letter, which you read, and to which you added a postscript I see that you prefer to have a considerable portion of the land which is to be bought from My Lord Granville in one piece. I have had that desire constantly in mind, and already in Edenton inquired of Lord Granville's Agent whether it would be possible to find such a tract of land "not possessed of or claimed by any person whatsoever." He knew of none, and could not give me much help, for he did not have a surveyor's map of a single County showing what land was vacant and what was occupied. Then I inquired of people in the country, but no one has been able to tell me of such a "body of land." Mr. Corbin suggested that I consult the hunters so I inquired for those who were best known, and engaged three for our journey, selecting men who had the reputation of being best fitted for our needs. They were hopeful

<sup>37</sup> Mulberry Creek, in Caldwell Co.



at first, but soon came to the conclusion that no such body of land remains, which has not been taken up, surveyed, or conveyed.

One man in Edenton suggested the Tuscarora land, which lies about 35 miles from Edenton, and introduced me to the Interpreter, Mr. Whitemeal. I took his suggestion into consideration, notwithstanding the Act of Assembly of which I send you a copy.

The land lies on the Roanoke, and can be reached by fairly large boats. \* \* \* It is about 12 miles long, and of varying width, Mr. Whitemeal told me the greatest width was 6 miles. It probably contains 30,000 to 40,000 acres, though one estimate was 70,000 acres. Be that as it may, it is a considerable body of land. Some of it is very rich, lies low, and is covered with tall, strong canes, is however frequently flooded by the river. Part of it lies high, but is also rich, and the Indians plant it until the grass grows so freely that they cannot till their corn,—for they have neither plough nor harrow,—and then they clear and plant a new piece. About half of the land is barren, but has some trees on it. As everywhere in that section the water is bad, especially in summer. Perhaps wells would help the situation. It is said that the Indians are tired of living there, and not many of them are left. Many have gone North, and live, I understand, on the Susquehanna; others fell before the Catawbias, who some time ago attacked and killed many of them; others are scattered, as the wind scatters the smoke. A few people have grants from the Lord Proprietor, but Mr. Whitemeal says only to one or more small pieces.

I suggest that we secure from My Lord Granville a grant to this Tuscarora land, with the understanding that when the Indians leave the land of their own accord, or sell their improvements, or give their consent in consideration of a present, the Brethren shall take possession, and that meanwhile My Lord Granville shall accept one third or less of the usual quit-rent, which is one shilling per hundred acres. There is nothing in the Act of Assembly to forbid it. We would not buy from the Indians, who can not sell it, but from My Lord Granville. It would not wrong the Indians, who would receive remuneration for their improvements, for otherwise they will probably be driven away empty-handed by fear of the Catawbias. They are as uncertain as the fowls of the air. I believe Lord Granville could have the King annul the Act, as prejudicial to his interests. What authority has the Assembly to keep Lord Granville out of the quit-rents which he has a right to expect, or to appropriate the land to the Indians, who were living there only on sufferance?

I admit, that it would probably be some years before the Indians agreed to this,—good, we would meanwhile settle the other tracts and would let this one rest.

My reasons are (1) we are there not too far from the sea, and yet in the heart of the land; and who knows how many souls we might win there. (2) This settlement would assist that farther inland, and be in turn assisted by it. Otherwise how can the western settlements exist? They are too far from market, and men must go 300 or 350 miles for a bushel of salt. (3) We can there build a little town, and become incorporated.

I submit this for your consideration; may the Lord direct all according to His will.

You see from the enclosed Act of Assembly that the western part of North Carolina has been made a separate County and Parish, the County being called Anson. All of the land that we have taken up, and what we expect to take, lies in Anson County, and St. George's Parish, and whoever settles here will have to pay the taxes imposed by the Vestrymen from time to time. This would be hard for our Brethren, who have their own teachers, churches, poor, etc., and leads to the question:—Could not an Act of Assembly be secured through My Lord Granville's influence, whereby our rights as a Church could be established in this free country, and we be released from all taxes for the benefit of another Church?

Connecticut, in New England, has a Law, that whoever has no Church and no teacher, must contribute to the support of the Church and teacher nearest his home. Whoever, however, can prove that he is connected with a certain Church, and religion, and teacher, must pay the established taxes, but the constable passes them on to that designated teacher, etc.

*Nov. 29. From the camp in the upper fork<sup>38</sup> of the Second or Middle Little River, flowing into the Catawba, not far from Quaker Meadows. [Spbg. Diary.]* We are here in a region that has perhaps been seldom visited since the creation of the world. We are some 70 or 80 miles from the last settlement in North Carolina, and have come over terrible mountains, and often through very dangerous ways. But, thank God, we are all well, cheerful, and content, and thankful to our Heavenly Father for His gracious protection and care, to our dear Lord for His presence and friendship, to the Holy Spirit for His unwearied workings, and to the Holy Angels for the guidance of which we have had many marked evidences.

<sup>38</sup> Wilson's Creek, a branch of Johns River.

From here we plan to go to the heads of the Atkin,<sup>39</sup> a large river, but on account of its terrible falls and numerous rocks useless for commerce.

Now concerning the place where we are now in camp. It is a depression, a "little Oli,"<sup>40</sup> the richest we have yet seen in North Carolina. Three streams flow through it, and there are many sweet springs. \* \* \* There is an abundance of wood. Our horses find plenty of tender grass in the feeding ground of the buffalo, and around the springs, and they eat eagerly. \* \* \* Hemp, oats, barley, etc., could be raised here, and good hay-fields made. There is no stone in the tract I have described, but plenty in the hills which surround it. (It is not surprising that I particularly note this fact, for in North and South Carolina there are stretches of a hundred miles or more where one can not find stone enough to build a foundation for a log house.) But even in these mountains there is not one-tenth as much stone as we find almost everywhere in Pennsylvania. \* \* \*

*Dec. 5th, from camp in an Indian field, on what we think is a south branch of the Atkin.* [Spbg. Diary.] [We have found that it is either the head or a branch of *New River*, which flows from North Carolina into Virginia, and finally into the Mississippi. *Marginal note.*]

We have reached here after a hard journey over very high, terrible, mountains and cliffs. A hunter, whom we had taken to show us the way, and who once knew the path to the Atkin, missed the trail, and led us into a place from where there was no way out except by climbing an indescribably steep mountain.<sup>41</sup> Part of the way we climbed on hands and knees, dragging after us the loads we had taken from the backs of the horses, for had we not unsaddled them they would have fallen backwards down the mountain,—indeed, this did happen once; part of the way we led the horses, who were trembling like a leaf. When we reached the top we saw mountains to right and to left, before and behind us, many hundreds of mountains, rising like great waves in a storm.

We rested a little, and then began to descend, not quite so precipitately. Soon we found water, and oh, how refreshing it was! Then we sought pasturage for our horses, riding a long way, and well into the night, but found nothing except dry leaves. We could have wept for pity for the poor beasts. It had become so dark that we could not put up the tent, and were obliged to camp under the trees. It was a trying night! In the morning we went further, but had to cut our way

<sup>39</sup> Yadkin River.

<sup>40</sup> Meaning "a hole" in the Indian language. It was near the present village of Edgemont, Caldwell Co.

<sup>41</sup> It is evident that they missed what is now known as Mulberry Gap between the head of Mulberry Creek and the Yadkin, and instead followed the main branch of Johns River up through the "Globe" to its head at Blowing Rock, Watauga Co.



through laurel bushes and beaver dams, which greatly wearied our company. We changed our course, and leaving the ravine went up on the mountain, and there in a chestnut grove the Lord showed us a good spring, and forage for our horses. He also sent us two deer in our necessity, which were most welcome. Next day we went on, and came to a creek, so full of rocks that we could not follow it, and with banks so steep that a horse could not climb them, and scarcely a man. We ate a little, but our horses had nothing, absolutely nothing, and that distressed us. Presently one of our hunters, who had been up on the mountain, returned with the report that he had seen a meadow,<sup>42</sup> so we cut our way through the bushes to it, reaching it by evening, to the delight of men and horses. We put up our tent, but had barely finished when there came such a wind storm that we could hardly stand against it. I think I have never felt a winter wind so strong and so cold. The ground was covered with snow; water froze beside the fire. Then our men lost heart! What should we do? Our horses would die, and we with them. For the hunters had about concluded that we were across the crest of the Blue Mountains, and on the Mississippi watershed.

The next day the sun came out, and the days were warmer, though the nights still very cold. Br. Antes and I rode over the tract, and think that it contains about 5000 acres. Much of it is already clear, long grass grows here, and it is all low-land. Three creeks<sup>43</sup> unite in a river that flows into the Ohio, and with the Ohio into the Mississippi.

\* \* \* There are no canes, nor any sign of them, but plenty of grass-land.\* \* \* Corn, wheat, oats, barley, hemp, etc., will grow here. Of wood there is no lack; we have included in our tract a beautiful chestnut forest, and fine white pine. The water is clear and delicious. Among the various stones there is a variety which Br. Antes thinks the best for mill-stones that he has seen in America. \* \* \* Many hundred, or thousand, wild apple trees, "crab trees," grow here; probably vinegar and spirits could be made from them. \* \* \*

From here we can see the Meadow Mountains,<sup>44</sup> and think they are about twenty miles away. Therefore this tract is far to the west, and some fifteen miles from the Virginia border. We think this place is not so very far from Ohio or Alegene, one of the largest towns of the Five Nations, though we are not sure. Probably this would make an admirable place for an Indian Settlement, like Gnadenhütten<sup>45</sup> in Penn-

<sup>42</sup> This tract included the site of the present town of Boone, Watauga Co.

<sup>43</sup> Middle Prong of New River, Flenney's or Winkler's Fork, and Meat Camp Creek. An ancient Church three miles from Boone and just below the junction is still known as Three Forks Church.

<sup>44</sup> The Bald of Rich Mountain, about three miles beyond the Virginia line.

<sup>45</sup> A settlement of Christian Indians, converted through the efforts of Moravian missionaries.



sylvania, for it has wood, mast, game, fish, and is open in all directions for hunting. The soil is suitable for the raising of corn, potatoes, etc.

It is also admirably suited for cattle raising, with an abundance of meadow land.

*Dec. 14th. From the camp on Atkin Waters, where a north and a south branch unite,<sup>46</sup> forming the river which flows through North and South Carolina. Further down it is very large and wide, but here rather more than half the width of our Lecha at Bethlehem. [Spbg. Diary.]* Here we are at last, after a difficult journey among the mountains. We were completely lost, and whichever way we turned we were walled in. Not one of our company had ever been there before, and path or trail were unknown,—though how can one speak of path or trail when none existed? We crossed only dry mountains and dry valleys, and when for several days we followed the river<sup>47</sup> in the hope that it would lead us out we found ourselves only deeper in the wilderness, for the river ran now north, now south, now east, now west, in short to all points of the compass! Finally we decided to leave the river and take a course between east and south, crossing the mountains as best we could. One height rose behind the other, and we traveled between hope and fear, distressed for our horses, which had nothing to eat.

At last we reached a stream<sup>48</sup> flowing rapidly down the mountain, followed it, and happily reached this side of the Blue Ridge. We also found pasturage for our horses, and oh, how glad we were! We again shot two deer, and having been very short of provision for many days, we were now much refreshed.

Now we are quite sure that we were recently on the head waters of New River, not of the Atkin. We thought the stream we were following out of the mountains must be either the north or the south branch of the Atkin, and find that it was the head of the north branch. We saw a couple thousand acres of good land, and made a note of it, but did not stop to survey it, being in a hurry to reach once more the home of some settler, not having seen any one for a couple of months. We thought we were about 120 miles from Morgan Bryant's settlement, which was correct.

When we reached the Atkin, and found a good piece of land, comprising four or five thousand acres, we agreed to stop, and let the horses rest and feed on the canes, while we surveyed the tract. Br. Antes, however, has been quite ill. Some days ago he cut his hand, and on the journey the cold settled in his arm, giving him almost unendurable pain.

<sup>46</sup> On both sides of the Yadkin River, where Lewis Fork, Warrior Creek, and Crain's Mill Creek empty into it.

<sup>47</sup> New River.

<sup>48</sup> Lewis Fork of Yadkin River.

Here the Lord has given us great joy,—we have seen three white men. They were returning from a bear hunt, and rode along one side of the Atkin as we set up camp on the other. One was a man named Owen, with his son. They are of Welsh blood, and settled here last spring. He invited us to his house, and was very friendly, and we went the next day, setting up our tent near his hut, which was too small to take us in.

The land which we have taken up lies on both sides of the river, three or four miles from here, taking in the north and the south branch. Many streams flow through the low-lands, one large enough for a mill. Canes grow here, so that if a settlement is established the Brethren can feed their cattle on the canes for a couple of years. Meadows can easily be made, for some of the land is well fitted for it, and more can readily be enriched. There is also good land for fields. \* \* \* The soil is sandy, not pure sand but mixed with red earth,—a rich, warm soil. Of the included hills some have good trees, some not. It lies well, though some of the low-land may possibly be flooded at times, I cannot tell. This is, taking it all in all, one of the best tracts that we have taken up.

*Dec. 20th. From the camp on the Atkin opposite the Mulberry Fields, near Mr. Owen's hut. [Spbg. Diary.]* Through the goodness of God we have reached here, all well except Henry Antes, who has fever from the cold in his arm. We are the more glad to be here so that he can rest a little. The rest of us are busy surveying, for by Mr. Owen's advice we have here taken up a valuable piece of land.<sup>40</sup> It lies four miles down the river from the last tract, and is opposite the Mulberry Fields. These are old Indian fields, on which the Cherokees probably once lived. They have a pleasant situation and a rich soil. Morgan Bryant has taken them up, but no one lives on them. Our land, which is opposite, is not far from the tract we have already taken on the Atkin; Morgan Bryant owns the land lying between, on which Mr. Owen lives. If we could buy this plantation, and the Mulberry Fields, we would have the land for ten miles on both sides of the Atkin, for we have taken up a piece on the same side of the river with the Mulberry Fields, touching that on which Mr. Owen lives.

This tract is much like the other taken on the Atkin. Rich soil, mixed with sand,—the color of a mulatto. \* \* \* On the hills are stones, which can perhaps be used in building. There is no limestone, but we are told that there is clay, which becomes hard as stone when exposed to the air. The truth of this remains to be proved. There is good wood on this land and on the hills that are included in our lines.

<sup>40</sup> Partly on the north, but chiefly on the south side of the Yadkin, including the mouths of Montgomery Creek, Moravian Creek, and Reddies River. The present town of Wilkesboro is on this tract.

The water is good, but not equal to that beyond the Blue Mountains. We are sixty miles from any house, Owen's excepted.

*Jan. 8, 1753. From the camp in the three forks of Muddy Creek, also called Carguels Creek. [Official copy.]* It is the middle of winter, and the ground is covered with snow; but we are camping in the forest, well and content, under the wings of the Almighty.

Towards the end of the year we came into this neighborhood, and found a "body of land"<sup>50</sup> which is probably the best left in North Carolina. If we had had a true account of this in the beginning, perhaps we would not have gone to the Catawba nor beyond the Blue Mountains to the New River, but doubtless the Lord ordained that in ignorance of this we should take up those other thousands of acres, which will in some way serve His purpose.

The land on which we are now encamped seems to me to have been reserved by the Lord for the Brethren.

It lies in Anson County, about ten miles from the Atkin, on the upper road to Pennsylvania, some twenty miles from the Virginia line. A road is being built from here to a Landing,<sup>51</sup> to which goods can be brought in boats from Cape Fear, and then be hauled further into the country. It is said to be about 150 miles to this Landing, 350 miles to Edenton, and 19 miles to the nearest mill.

This tract lies particularly well. It has countless springs, and numerous fine creeks; as many mills as may be desired can be built. There is much beautiful meadow land, and water can be led to other pieces which are not quite so low. There is good pasturage for cattle, and the canes growing along the creeks will help out for a couple of winters until the meadows are in shape. There is also much lowland which is suitable for raising corn, etc. There is plenty of upland and gently sloping land which can be used for corn, wheat, etc.

On part of the land the hunters have ruined the timber by fire, but this is no disadvantage, for a wise farmer will cultivate this part first, as it is already cleared, and will so spare the fine woodland.

There is also a good deal of barren land, and it would probably be correct to say that the tract is one half good, one quarter poor, and one quarter medium. But all the land in North Carolina is mixed this way, one can hardly find 600 acres that do not include some barren land.

There is also stone here, suitable for building purposes, and Br. Antes thinks mill-stones can also be found.

The tract is perhaps about like the Nazareth land, except that it has more streams and meadows.

<sup>50</sup> Wachovia. Winston-Salem is almost in the center of this tract.

<sup>51</sup> Later known as Springhill, three miles below the present site of Fayetteville, N. C.



The hills here are not large, and not to be compared with those in the other tracts we have taken up. Most of it is flat, level, land; the air is fresh and healthful; the water good, especially from the springs, which are said never to fail in summer.

The laws of this country reserve to us the rights of pasturage, hunting and fishing on our land, excluding all other persons. In the beginning we will need a good, true, untiring, trustworthy forester and hunter, for the wolves and bears must be exterminated if cattle raising is to succeed. The game which is found here, however, will help supply the table of the first settlers.

The entire tract, with which we here complete our allotment, contains from 72,000 to 73,000 acres. We have surveyed it in fourteen pieces, not of exactly the same size, and yet not very different. All these pieces are adjoining, and together are about ten miles long and eleven miles wide, the width varying somewhat with the windings of the Creek. Mr. Churton will make a map of these pieces when he returns to Edenton, and send them promptly. Each piece has water, wood, meadow, and farm land.

Everybody who knows the country says that this is the only place where we could find so much good land together, and decidedly the best land yet vacant. Our impression is the same.

*Jan. 25th, 1753, Lüneburg County, in Virginia.* [Official copy.] We are on the return journey to Pennsylvania, and hope with God's help to reach there in three weeks, but I want to add a word about the land to the north and south of that which we have taken upon Carguels Creek.

Just above our land there are some 16,000 acres. Much is stony, much is hilly, and much has little wood. At the same time it is fairly well watered, and there are many pieces of fine lowland, much of it very rich, some medium. It would make grain fields, and not a few good meadows. There is also building stone.

Below our land there are nine thousand and some hundreds of acres. There are large, deep creeks, and the land extends to the forks where the North, South, and Middle Creeks come together, making the Muddy Creek, which ten miles further on empties into the Atkin. In this piece there are some thousands of acres barren and stony land, but the rest is nearly all fine meadow land.

With Mr. Francis Corbin's permission the surveyor has included both the above mentioned tracts in our line, but they cannot be included



in the Returns as that would exceed our Warrant for 100,000 acres. But if the Brethren decide to take these pieces, along with the 72,000 or 73,000 acres, and if My Lord Granville is willing to convey them to the Lord Advocate, Chancellor and Agent on the same conditions as the others, they are surveyed, and it will not be necessary to send some one expressly to North Carolina. If the Brethren do not wish them or My Lord Granville objects, no harm is done. This much is certain,—it is to My Lord Granville's interest to sell it to the Brethren, for if others take it in small pieces they will pick out only the fertile land, paying quit-rent on that, while we take it all, good and bad alike, and pay rent on it all.

I will say no more, but give you the bare facts, leaving the rest to the judgment of my Brethren and the decision of the Lord.

I have been thinking that it would be a good thing if the Deeds which we will take from My Lord Granville should contain a name for each tract. I will suggest what seems to me an appropriate name for each, and then leave it to you.

The first tract on Little River we found in October, and it was still green with Maiden Canes, and has also good meadow lands;—it might be called *Grünen*.

The other tract there is of much the same kind, but I have thought that we might name it for our Br. Johann Merk, one of our company, and call it *Merkfield*.

The third tract is on the Catawba, and is a beautiful place;—it might be *Schönthal*.

The fourth tract is on the middle of the three Creeks, and has not only good lowland but also rich upland;—it might be *Richmont*.

The fifth tract is near by, on the first of the three Creeks;—I would name it *Loesch Creek*, for Br. Herman Loesch, who was of our company.

The sixth is an old Indian Field, much overgrown. There is a ruined fort, so it might be *Monfort*.

The seventh lies among the mountains and is an *Oli*, a hole, according to the Indian tongue.

The eighth is across the Blue Mountains, on New River. It is very lonesome, not one man lives there; it is truly a *Freydeck*.

The ninth lies on the Atkin, and includes the Forks of the north and south branches;—it might be *Forkland*.

The tenth is distinguished by the fact that there we heard of the land on Carguels Creek, and began to hope that there we would find enough land to fill out the amount specified in our Warrant;—it might be called *New Hope*.

The eleventh is the entire district of Carguels Creek, and is richest in water of any place I have seen, and well fitted for cattle raising. Why should we not call it *Wachau*,<sup>52</sup> and so renew that name?

What we should call the fourteen pieces which compose the Wachau I do not yet know; perhaps we could use the names of the creeks in each piece.

*Bishop Spangenberg to Francis Corbin*

[Written in English. Official copy.]

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Francis Corbin, Agent,

Edenton,

med. Jan. 1753.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir:

As this comes by the Hands of Mr. Churton, who hath been our good Companion till over the Ledge of Mountains, (where also he hath surveyed a Piece of Land for us, which we think is the very first surveyed in them Parts of your Province) and back again: I need not give you a particular Account of our Journey. He will tell you all you want to know.

So much I can say, the Carolina People, especially these to whom we were recommended by You, have used us well; and we have evidently seen that our good Lord and God hath had a special Care for us in all unforeseen and sometimes dangerous Circumstances.

We are now going back again to Pennsylvania, and if nothing stops my Designs I hope to go in March or April a. c. from thence to England. Could we have done sooner with our Survey we would have waited on you to return you thanks for so much Kindness bestowed upon us. But having lost Time, when taken Sick, and again, when being misled in the Mountains; and being charged with some Affairs, which require my speedy Return to Pennsylvania; I hope you'll excuse our not coming down back again.

We have done now as far as we needed with the Survey of the Lands granted by His Ldsh. the Earl of Granville to the Unitas Fratrum. All the Rest depends of you. We are pretty confident you'll do what you can to oblige both His Ldsh. the Earl of Gr. and the United Brethren in dispatching your returns soon.

<sup>52</sup> The Zinzendorf Family originally came from a part of Austria known by this name. [Croeger.]

We have desired Mr. Churton to act in our Behalf, and to inform us of all which concerns us, by His Letters, sent by the Virginie Post to Philadelphia, under Mr. Dan. Benezets Merchts. Cover.

He will tell you my Scruples about the Lines of the Lands surveyed for us; which running great Part over steep Hills and high Mountains make out the number of Chains, but not the quantity of Lands we are to have surveyed for us; the Chain not being carried strait, but up and down along, just so as the said Hills and Mountains bare up and down. As an Allowance upon that Account will be but just and right, and I may happen to request it when coming to England, all I desire of you is that you may hear Mr. Churton upon it, and that you may give your Opinion about it to His Ldsh. the Earl of Granville.

Mr. Churton will also give you the Truth as for some Entries on that Piece of Land surveyed for us on Muddy Creek, part of which being much later than either our Agreement with, or the Warrant from, His Ldsh. the Earl of Gr. can not in justice be prejudicial to us. And as for those Entries which have been made before the Gentlemen concerned know too well that they neither improving any of the said Entries, nor having them conveyed unto them, but keeping all along His Ldsh. from His Quit-rents, His Officers from their Fees, and every Body from taking up and settling the said Land; selling afterward the same for great Price to poor People, who hunt up and down the Country for some Land, cant hold them with any Pretence of Justice. And if they have leave to remove their Entries to other Pieces of Land, which I think you will grant them at their Request, they certainly have no reason to complain; there being abundance of Spots thereabouts, very fit for good Plantations, without cutting this whole Tract in Pieces. But no Body of Land unsettled as yet, besides this I have mentioned, is to be found, as Mr. Churton, who has gone with us twice the N. C. East and West and v. v. and four times from South to North and v. v. knows very well. It surely would be a Hardship for us to take the said Body of Land, which we have run out just as it lay together, whether good or bad, and to have the best Pieces of it cut out by such Entries. It would neither be My Lords Interest, if for the sake of some Entries, or even Surveys, the rest of the whole Body of the said Land should lay vacant yet, I don't know how many Years.

As I do know the Settling of those Things I have just mentioned will give you some Trouble, I being allready so much obliged to you, will show myself not ungratefull. In the mean while I sent you here inclosed, according to my Promise given you, three Bills of Exchange

all of one Tenor payable at Sight by Mr. Dan. Benezet Mercht at Philadelphia, with three Letters of Advice to Him to the same Purpose. It just makes out Sixty Pound Sterling, which is the Sum due to you by My L. Gr. order for the Survey of our Lands.

Mr. Churton has run at the Head as well as at the Foot of that Tract of Land, surveyed for us, situated at the Muddy Creek, some thousand Acres more, which if My Lord Advocate hath a mind to take, and My Lord Gr. to grant, for the Unitas Fratrum; we will then also pay for the Survey of it. There being only, according to your Advice, one line run about the whole. In the mean, I desire, you would let the said Pieces lay, without granting them to others till you get a Resolution from England.

I am

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir

Your most Humb. Serv.

J. Sp.



## DER NORD CAROLINA LAND UND COLONIE ETABLISSEMENT

[An Historical Sketch. Compiled by the Editor.]

In the spring of 1753 Spangenberg went to England, taking with him his report of the trip to Carolina, and the maps of the various tracts selected. It was, however, a time of great financial stress in the German and English Moravian Church, and it appeared simply impossible to raise the money for the purchase, and for necessary expenses in colonizing the land. Moreover the ten smaller pieces lay widely scattered, and the large tract on Muddy Creek was known to contain from one quarter to one third poor land.

In view of all this the Brethren decided to abandon the project, and asked Lord Granville to release them from their contract with him. He refused, being loath to lose promising settlers, but agreed to a new contract, containing somewhat more advantageous terms, and this was signed by the Earl and by James Hutton, "Secretary of the Unitas Fratrum," in the presence of Benjamin Wheatley and of Arthur Dobbs, who was soon to go to North Carolina as the next Governor of that Province.

Having finally committed themselves to the undertaking, the Brethren carefully considered the tracts surveyed, and decided to give up the ten smaller tracts, and to take the fourteen which together made up the tract on Muddy Creek, adding to them the sixteen thousand acres to the north, and the nine thousand to the south, which had been tentatively surveyed. The northern piece was divided into three sections, that to the south into two, making a total of nineteen in the Wachau,—for Spangenberg's suggestion as to a name was at once adopted. This gave them 98,985 acres, just about the amount originally intended.

On account of the expense of having nineteen deeds prepared the Brethren suggested that one deed be made for the whole, but their attorney advised against this on the ground that if at any time they failed in the payment of the quit-rents, and Lord Granville was obliged to take back a part of the land, it could be more easily arranged if there were a number of smaller tracts, and his advice was followed.

The new contract, or agreement, already referred to, and the nineteen Deeds, bore date of August 7, 1753. The Deeds were made to James Hutton, by advice of counsel, the Moravian Church not being incor-

porated, though some thought that it might have taken title under the Act of Parliament of 1749, which recognized it as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church." The Agreement between "the Right Honorable John Earl Granville Viscount Carteret and Baron Carteret of Hawnes" and "James Hutton,<sup>53</sup> Gentlemen, Secretary to the Unitas Fratrum," stated that "in consideration of the sum of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling," etc., the land was conveyed to James Hutton, his heirs and assigns, "in Trust and for the Use, Benefit and Behoof of the said Unitas Fratrum," a clause that was to stand the Unity in very good stead in the troublesome days of the Revolutionary War. The Moravians were to pay £500 Sterling within four years, four per cent interest being charged; also a yearly rent of £148, 9s, 2½d, (3 shillings per 100 acres). This quit-rent might be paid annually or semi-annually as preferred, but if it became six months overdue title to the land was forfeited.

In 1754 Earl Granville deeded to the Brethren the two tracts<sup>54</sup> on the Yadkin, surveyed by Spangenberg just before he found the Wachau. Title was taken by Henry Cossart,<sup>55</sup> and no additional charge was made, the purpose being to make good to the Moravians the poor land in the Wachau, of which the first settlers had found more than the estimated amount. The other eight tracts of the Spangenberg survey were permanently abandoned.

In addition to the £500 for the Wachau, and the annual quit-rent, it was now necessary to raise £193 for having the Deeds prepared, £223 for the expenses of the survey, and as much more as might be needed for the expenses of colonizing.

Several plans were proposed for raising the necessary funds, and that suggested by Jonas Paulas Weiss was adopted. It was neither more nor less than a land company, in which each share-holder was to pay

<sup>53</sup> James Hutton was born in London, Sept. 14, 1715, the son of genteel though not noble parents. A chance acquaintance with the Wesleys led to his spiritual awakening; and after John Wesley returned from Georgia he introduced Hutton to the Moravians.

Hutton became a member of the Fetter Lane Society when it was organized in 1738; and of Fetter Lane Congregation when it was begun four years later.

He was a book-seller by trade. In July, 1740, he married Louise Brandt, of French Switzerland. He was ordained a Deacon of the Moravian Church in Sept. 1749; and in May, 1752, was appointed "Secretary of the Unity."

He died May 3, 1795.

<sup>54</sup> In 1778 these two tracts were sold, but men who had settled thereon without permission refused to give possession, and this led to the "Wilkes Co. Land Suit," which dragged on through various stages until 1828, when the Courts rendered a decision in favor of the Moravians. Further difficulties with the purchasers continued until 1856, when the matter was finally closed.

<sup>55</sup> Henry Cossart de Saint Aubin d'Espiez was born 1714 at Frankfurt on the Oder, his father having left France on account of religious persecution. He joined the Moravians about 1735.

As Agent of the Unity he shared with Zinzendorf and von Gersdorff in the purchase of Wachovia, and also took title to various tracts for the Brethren. He aided in the negotiations with the English Parliament in 1749; and in 1754 is mentioned as residing in the Island of Jersey. He made several important and dangerous trips for the Unity; and died at Herrnhut in May, 1763.

a definite proportion of these initial expenses and the annual quit-rent, and was to receive 2,000 acres of land in the "Etablissement" in return. Weiss was a merchant of Nuremberg, who had joined the Moravians, and the success of this enterprise was largely due to him. A temporary loan was obtained from a Swiss gentleman, Rudolph Oehs by name, to cover immediate needs, and then plans for the land company were energetically pushed. Spangenberg and Cornelius van Laer were elected directors, the former as corresponding secretary and the latter as treasurer. Formal instructions were drawn up, and full powers of attorney for both were signed in London, December 18, 1753, by Count Zinzendorf, Henry 28th Count Reuss, James Hutton and Weiss. An office was opened in Zeist, Holland, with Weiss in charge, and members and friends of the Unitas Fratrum were asked to subscribe.

The first response came from Johann Christoph Sack, of Koenigsberg, who, with hearty approval of the plan, took the first share and sent his £68. Others followed until twenty-six shares had been sold, and by the end of 1757 the purchase price and other initial expenses had been paid, and certain sums advanced by the Unity or borrowed in 1754 had been covered by gifts from generous members of the Unity.

As each share was taken two papers were issued,—a Contract and a Certificate,—and a translation of No. 1 of each will serve to represent all.

*Contract No. 1.*

I, the undersigned, request that a lot of 2,000 acres may be granted to me in the settlement which the Unity of Brethren has undertaken in North Carolina. I promise to pay my yearly contingent thereto. I will moreover comply with any regulations which may at any time be made regarding it. To this end I have hereunto set my hand and seal, and have also sent-----Sterling to be entered to my credit.  
Koenigsberg, Nov. 13, 1753.

Johann Christoph Sack.

*Certificate No. 1.*

Herr Johann Christoph Sack, in Koenigsberg. Whereas, he, in due form, has taken a share of one lot in the Brethren's settlement in North Carolina, in America, and has paid his promised quota—

For purchase money----- £18:

For the expenses of selecting and surveying the tracts

and preparing the general deeds..... 15:

For first expenses in developing..... 30:

For quit-rent for the first year to Michaelmas, 1754 5:

a total of Sixty-eight Pounds Sterling, to Herr Cornelius van Laer in Amsterdam, authorized agent of the Society; therefore, to him above



mentioned, in consideration of this and future regular payments, in order that he may be entitled to one lot of Two Thousand Acres belonging to the Brethren in North Carolina, this certificate is issued and delivered in the name of the Society.

London and Amsterdam,

J. Spangenberg, mpp.

Kornelis van Laer.

Registered Book A, page 13.

Jonas Paulas Weiss.

Strangely enough, almost all the Contracts and Certificates issued by the company are preserved in the Herrnhut Archives, and it is possible to compile a list of the original shareholders, to note their places of residence, and the order in which they subscribed to "der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement."

1. 1753. Johann Christoph Sack, Koenigsberg, Germany.
2. 1753. Reinhold Gerhard Georgi, Koenigsberg, Germany.
- 3/1. 1754. Georg Gottfried Gambs, Strassburg, France. (1000 acres).
- 3/2. 1754. Johann Leonard Roederer, Strassburg, France. (1000 acres).
4. 1754. Hans Ernst von Zezschwiz, Herrnhut, Saxony.
5. 1754. Johann Steinhauer, Riga, Russia.
- 6/1. 1754. Traugott Bagge, Gottenberg, Sweden. (1000 acres).
- 6/2. 1754. Benjamin Bagge, Gottenberg, Sweden. (1000 acres).
7. 1754. Cornelius van Laer, Zeist, Holland.
8. 1754. Abraham Duerninger & Co., Herrnhut, Saxony.
9. 1754. Johanna Sophia von Schweinitz, Herrnhut, Saxony.
10. 1754. Johann Casper Rosenbaum, Dantzig, Prussia.
11. 1754. Heinrich Giller, Herrnhut, Saxony.
12. 1754. Madtz Jensen Klein, Drammen, Norway.
13. 1754. Johann Steinhauer, Riga, Russia.
14. 1754. C. F. Martens (for Single Brethren's Diacony), Herrnhut, Saxony.
15. 1754. Johann Hartmann, Hirschberg, Silesia.
16. 1754. Jean Jacque de Schwarz, Coire, Switzerland.
17. 1754. Christian Schmidt, Stettin, Prussia.
18. 1754. Jean Henri de Planta de Wildenberg, Coire, Switzerland.
- 19/1. 1754. Michael Zellich, Riga, Russia (1000 acres)
- 19/2. 1754. Johannes Andreas Schmutz, Strassburg, France. (1000 acres).



20. 1754. Friedrich von Wiedebach, Herrnhut, Saxony.
21. 1754. Gottfried Clemens, Barby, Saxony.
22. 1754. Johann Christoph Sack, Koenigsberg, Germany.
23. 1754. Johann Erhardt Dehio, Herrnhut, Saxony.
24. 1754. Friedrich Justin von Bruiningk, Livonia, Russia.
- 25/1. 1754. Hans Hermann von Damnitz, Guettau, Saxony. (1000  
acres).
- 25/2. 1755. Johann Gustav Frey, Errestfer, Russia. (1000 acres).
26. 1759. Friedrich Heinrich von Bibra, Modlau, Silesia.

A map of Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement, dated 1754, shows the Wachau as divided into "Societaets Land," (for the Land Company) and "Unitaets Land," (for the Unity). For the time being it was considered that each Certificate carried with it the lot bearing the corresponding number, though an actual award of the lots was not made until 1767, by which time the map had been a couple of times redrawn to secure a more convenient partition of the land.



**PART II**  
**BETHABARA**





## PART II

### BETHABARA

1753

[As soon as the purchase of the Wachau had been arranged in London instructions were sent to Bethlehem for the selection of the first colonists, and for the beginning of the settlement on the North Carolina tract.

Most of the men chosen were at the time resident in Christiansbrunn, an agricultural center on the Nazareth Land.<sup>1</sup> The place, originally known as Albrecht's Brunn, had been re-named in 1749, in honor of Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, and in December of that year a company of Single Brethren had settled there, to conduct a farm, dairy, mill, etc. From this group of unmarried men the first colonists were now selected, special care being taken to send men whose talents and professions fitted them for the needs of pioneer work. Their names, places of birth, age, and qualifications, the latter taken from a memorandum book of Frederick William Marshall,<sup>2</sup> preserved in the Salem Archives, which gives the most interesting comment of the various lists extant, are as follows:]

1. Bernhard Adam Grube, a German by birth, aged 37 years, Ordinarium,<sup>3</sup> Pfleger,<sup>4</sup> and upon occasion cook and gardener.
2. Jacob Loesch, born in New York, aged 31, their Vorsteher,<sup>5</sup> as in Christiansbrunn.
3. Hans Martin Kalberlahn, born in Norway, aged 31, their surgeon.
4. Friedrich Jacob Pfeil, born in Germany, aged 28, shoe-maker, sick-nurse, and moreover willing and skillful in many things.
5. Erich Ingebretsen, born in Norway, aged 31, mill-wright and carpenter.
6. Henrich Feldhausen, born in Holstein, aged 38, shoe-maker, carpenter, mill-wright, cooper, sieve-maker, turner, and also Pennsylvania farmer.

<sup>1</sup> Christian's Spring, 1½ miles from Nazareth, Pa.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall was in England in 1753, a member of Zinzendorf's London household. The comments are therefore not his, but copied from a report made by some one in Pennsylvania. Marshall's Memorandum Book contains many odd and interesting bits of information.

<sup>3</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>4</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>5</sup> See Glossary.

7. Jacob Lung, born in Germany, aged 40, gardener, washer, and skillful in many things not mentioned. A man whom all animals love.
8. Hans Petersen, born in Danish Holstein, aged 28, tailor, grubber, wood-cutter, skillful in many things and willing in all.
9. Johannes Beroth, born in Germany, aged 28, a Pennsylvania farmer.
10. Christopher Merkly, born in Germany, aged 39, baker, and good, true, dependable farmer, a soldier Brother, whom we are sorry to lose in Christiansbrunn.
11. Hermannus Loesch, born in Pennsylvania, who must go this time on account of his knowledge, but whom we will recall in the spring.<sup>6</sup>
12. Johannes Lischer, who shall study the road, the country, etc., and make himself known, so that in future, according to custom, he can be our messenger to North Carolina.
13. Our dear Nathaniel Seidel, who will conduct them to the place, and the latter part of December bring us a report, with Br. Lischer.
14. Gottlob Königsdorfer, Chor<sup>7</sup> Jünger<sup>8</sup> of the Single Brethren.
15. Joseph Haberland.

[Of these the last two named intended to accompany the party only to the Susquehanna, but there decided to go all the way, later returning to Pennsylvania with Seidel and Lischer, leaving the eleven others to form the nucleus of the colony.]

The Christiansbrunn members of the party left home on Oct. 2nd for Bethlehem, where they remained a few days and from there the formal start was made.]

*Certificate of Moravian membership for first colonists to Wachovia.*

[English]

This is to certify all whom it may concern, that the following Persons, Viz. Nathanael Seidel, Adam Grube, Jacob Loesh, Jacob Lung, John Lishert, Herman Loesh, Martin Kalberlan, John Peterson, Christopher Merkley, Friederich Jacob Pfeil, Henry Feldhausen, John

<sup>6</sup> Herman Loesch was a member of the Spangenberg surveying party in 1752. He was not recalled as planned, but lived for many years in Wachovia, though he ultimately returned to Pennsylvania.

<sup>7</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>8</sup> "Der Jünger" was a term applied specifically to Count Zinzendorf; but in 1753 it was also used for certain persons in Congregations and Choirs who like "the disciple whom Jesus loved" were appointed to draw particularly near to Him, "not as though His grace should be for them alone, but that all members might be led to seek His favor, and might be strengthened by the example of those appointed to the position."

Beroth, & Erich Ingebretson, are within the Meaning of an Act of Parliament, made in the twenty second Year of the Reign of His present Majesty King George the Second, concerning the Episcopal Church known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum, and that we are well persuaded, whenever they make use of this Certificate, and claim any of the Benefit of the said Act, they will do it by their Consciences. In Witness whereof this is sealed with the Episcopal Seal and signed at Bethlehem in the County of Northampton in the Province of Pennsylvania, the eighth Day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & fifty three, 1753.

MATTHAEUS HEEL mppri,  
p. t. Episc. Eccles. Unit.  
Frr. in Pennsylvania.

### *The Journey*

[The Diary preserved in Salem Archives begins in Bethlehem, and gives the events of the journey in detail. There is necessarily much repetition, so only an outline of the trip is here given.<sup>9</sup> Beginning with November 17, the Diary is translated in full.]

On Sunday evening, October 7th, 1753, the colonists were the center of interest in the Singstunde,<sup>10</sup> and received the blessing of the Church for their new undertaking.

Oct. 8, they arose early, and after morning prayer conducted by Christian Seidel they set out from Bethlehem on foot, their wagon having started several days before.

The first part of the way was over familiar territory, the nights being spent with neighbors, or at one of the numerous stations already established as preaching places by the Brethren. At the Missellimer Mill "the people were fairly civil" when lodging was requested the first night; next morning a man met them asking that some one come to bleed a sick servant, and Br. Kalberlahn responded. Br. Jacob Müller was not at home at noon, but his young son took them across the Tulpehocken Creek in a canoe, which almost but not quite upset. At Heidelberg Schoolhouse they received a warm welcome, as also at the home of the Loesch family, where they spent two nights and a day, while their wagon, which awaited them there, was made three inches narrower, it having been found that it was too wide for the usual track in the road. "Mother Loesch" busied herself with preparing a plentiful supply of bread and meat for the journey, [two of her sons were in

<sup>9</sup> The travel diary of the first company has been printed in full translation in "Travels in the American Colonies, 1690-1783." On a modern map the route, beginning at Frederick, Maryland, may be traced through the Virginia Counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, Franklin, and Patrick, coming to Wachovia through Stokes Co., N. C.

<sup>10</sup> See Glossary.



the party,] and "Father Loesch" sent his own wagon with them as far as the Susquehannah. Friends were also found at Quittopehill and at Xander's, some game was shot, and there was a narrow escape from injury when a large tree fell across the team, fortunately coming down between the pairs, and hurting neither the horses nor the teamster who rode one of them.

Their first woodland camp was made on the evening of the 12th, sleeping in their blankets around the fire. Br. Erich undertook the cooking, and a watch was set. Br. Gottlob hung his hammock between two trees, and rested well in it.

Next day the Susquehannah was crossed at Harrison's Ferry, [Harrisburg, Pa.] the men riding on the horses and in the wagons, for the river was so low the ferry-boat could not be used. Here the Loesch wagon turned back, taking several friends who had come thus far with them, and the Brethren entered less well-known territory.

Roads became worse, and the wagon was so heavily loaded that not only could no one ride, but the men often had to push to help the horses up some steep hill. Rain came on, and that night the tent was put up for the first time, and they "were fairly dry under it and slept a little!" Rising about midnight they went on, passing Carl Isles [Carlisle] "which contains about 60 houses and is chiefly inhabited by Irishmen," and about 4 A. M. they set up their tent for a Sunday rest. "After breakfast the Brethren shaved; at noon we dined on pork and dumplings"; in the afternoon various people visited them.

Oct. 16th they crossed the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland; "from the Susquehannah here the residents are chiefly Irish, and have good lands, but one can buy little or nothing from them," from others the party had bought oats and hay for their horses.

Next day they crossed the Potomac, and on the 18th passed through Friedrichstown, [Winchester, Va.] Perhaps there is nothing more significant of the toilsomeness of the way from Friedrichstown on than the care with which the Diarist notes the water supply. Water every mile or two meant reasonable comfort, but no water for seven miles meant thirst for man and beast. The problem of food and forage too was ever with them. When grass could be found the horses were turned out to graze at night with one or two of the Brethren to watch them, but not infrequently some of the men had to help a farmer thresh oats before they could buy them, and often it was difficult to find a man who had either bread, meat, or grain to spare. Now and again they would unexpectedly meet an acquaintance, perhaps some one whom they had known in the Old World; sometimes people were surly, usually they



were filled with wonder at sight of the large wagon, the strong horses, and the men bound for a far distant region.

The daily routine began with very early rising, perhaps Br. Grube would awaken them with the singing of a familiar hymn. Breakfast was usually of broth, and often several miles had been covered by sunrise. Then came a long morning of travel, incidents varying with the badness of the road and the state of the weather; a short noon rest beside a stream; more miles on the way, and a night camp beside a house if one could be found, if not beside some stream again. Sometimes the horses would stray over night, delaying the morning start; sometimes the wind drove the smoke into their tent so that sleep was difficult; but discomforts are mentioned briefly, and a friendly word from a passerby, a pretty place to camp, bright sunshine after a storm, are just as carefully recorded; and night by night one of their number "held evening prayers, and then we slept in the care of Jesus."

Oct. 21st they crossed the Shenandoah, and approached the mountains. On the 24th they passed Augusti Court House [Staunton, Va.] "and there the bad road began." "It was up hill and down, and we had constantly to push the wagon, or hold it back by ropes that we fastened to the rear."

Two days later rain added to their difficulties. At night the water ran through their tent so that they were soaked. Next morning was clear, but the roads were muddy and "for the second time we had to take off half our load in order to climb a hill, for it was so slippery the horses could not keep their footing, but fell constantly to their knees."

The approach to the James River was dangerous. "The road to it ran down so very steep a hill that we fastened a small tree to the back of our wagon, locked the wheels, and the Brethren held back by the tree with all their might, but even then the wagon went down so fast that most of the Brethren lost their footing; no harm was done, and we thanked the Lord that He had so graciously protected us, for it looked at times as if it could not possibly be done without accident, but in spite of stump and stone we got down safely."

Oct. 30th "the weather was bad, it rained and snowed, but we kept fairly dry under our tent. Our horses had strayed off and it took several of the Brethren nearly all day to find them, and we were glad when we had them back for we had heard that in this neighborhood horses were often stolen, and that might have happened to ours. As the Brethren came in cold and wet through and through we had a cup of tea all round, and enjoyed it together."

Next day the journey was continued over the frozen, snow-covered ground. "The farther we went the more snow we found, and travel

was difficult," for the "Upper Road" which they were following lay along the hills of the Blue Ridge, and sometimes "the road sloped so that we could hardly keep the wagon from slipping over the edge of the mountain, and we had to use the tackle frequently." Often too they had to cut down trees to let the wagon pass, or work the road before they could cross a particularly bad place, sometimes even cut out a new track to avoid an impossible mudhole. But courage, perseverance, and hard work won through, and at last on Nov. 7th from the top of a little hill they "saw the Pilot Mountain in North Carolina, and rejoiced to think that we would soon see the boundary of Carolina, and set foot in our own dear land."

On the 11th they met a man from North Carolina, who lived not far from the Wachau, and "he told us that it is generally known that we will soon arrive, that he had heard that we had two ministers with us, which was a good thing, for the people lived like wild men, never hearing of God or His Word." He was also glad they had a doctor with them. All along the way people had welcomed the advent of a minister, and quite a number of requests were made for the baptism of children,—which the Brethren did not feel themselves at liberty to grant,—while others asked that on later journeys visits might be paid them, and services held.

On the 12th they crossed the Meho, and at dawn on the 13th entered North Carolina. Next day they reached Dan River, but it was swollen from recent heavy rains, and detained them for two days. Jacob Loesch, however, crossed in a canoe, and went on the eleven miles to Mr. Altam's<sup>11</sup> home, to order provisions.

On the 15th the Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael also crossed in the canoe, their horses swimming alongside, the plan being to go to Mr. Altam and ask his help in going to the land and finding a place for the company to stay until the settlement could be begun.

On the 16th the Dan was crossed with difficulty, in spite of the work that had been done on the banks during the delay. That night they camped beside Mr. Altam's house, where the Brethren who had gone ahead reported that six miles from the edge of the Wachau they had found a little house which a German<sup>12</sup> had built the preceding year and then abandoned. "We retired early, being quite worn out."

Nov. 17th. "We rose early, having had a cold night, it looked much like snow. Some of the Brethren went ahead with axes and grubbing hoes to clear the road and cut down the steep banks of the creeks. One mile from Altam's we crossed the Down Fork<sup>13</sup> Creek, and came to the

<sup>11</sup> The name is spelled Altam and Haltem by turn. He became a firm friend of the Brethren.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Wagner. He had moved to the Yadkin River.

<sup>13</sup> Town Fork Creek.

new road leading across our land to the Etkin.<sup>14</sup> On the right hand side of the creek is a plantation, and the people gave us two sacks of pumpkins, and offered us a wagon-load more free of charge. Two miles from our land we crossed Buffler Creek. One mile from our land we stopped for the noon rest. The Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael had gone ahead to the next plantation, which adjoins our land, and the people presented them with a couple of bushels of turnips. At last, at half past twelve, we reached the boundary of our tract, whereat we all rejoiced; and there we were met and tenderly welcomed by Br. Gottlob and Br. Nathanael. It touched us, and we thanked our Saviour that He had so graciously led us hither, and had helped us through all the hard places, for no matter how dangerous it looked, nor how little we saw how we could win through, everything always went better than seemed possible. We wished that the dear ones in Bethlehem, now gathered in the Sabbath<sup>15</sup> Lovefeast,<sup>16</sup> could know that we, in less than six weeks, had safely reached our land.

"We drove three miles further on the new road, then turned to the left and cut a road for two and a half miles to the little house that the Brethren found yesterday. We reached it in the evening, and at once took possession of it, finding it large enough that we could all lie down around the walls. We at once made preparation for a little Lovefeast, and rejoiced heartily with one another. Br. Gottlob began singing, with the little verse:

We hold arrival Lovefeast here,  
 In Carolina land,  
 A company of Brethren true,  
 A little Pilgrim Band,  
 Called by the Lord to be of those  
 Who through the whole world go,  
 To bear Him witness everywhere,  
 And naught but Jesus know.

"The texts for the day were strikingly appropriate:—'I know where thou dwellest,' even in a desert place. 'Be ye of the same mind one with another.' While we held our Lovefeast the wolves howled loudly, but all was well with us, and our hearts were full of thanksgiving to the Saviour Who had so graciously guided and led us. Then we laid

<sup>14</sup> The name of this river is variously spelled,—Adkin, Etkin, Atkin, Yatkin, and Yadkin. The last is the modern form.

<sup>15</sup> Sabbath,—Saturday. At this time the Brethren were accustomed to stop their secular work for the Sabbath afternoon, resting and holding services. It was in commemoration of the Saviour's rest in the tomb on the Sabbath. However, when work was pressing, it was considered allowable to postpone the services to the evening or until Sunday, continuing with the work of the week all day Saturday.

<sup>16</sup> See Glossary.



ourselves down to rest, and Br. Gottlob hung his hammock above our heads."

*Bethabara Diary.* [Full translation.]

*Nov. 18, Sunday.* We arose in good spirits, although several of the Brethren had not been able to sleep for the cold, for our cabin is small, and the roof full of holes.

Several of the Brethren went hunting, and succeeded in getting a couple of wild turkeys, the first game we have had, for although on our trip we tried to secure some game this is the first we have shot. Otherwise we spent the day resting.

In the evening we had our first Liturgy,—the "Ave Agnus Dei,"—then evening prayer, and went once more to bed, lying in our blankets around the room, and Br. Gottlob in his hammock above our heads.

*Nov. 19th, Monday.* After morning prayer the axes and hatchets were sharpened, and other tools made ready for use. Br. H. Loesch took a couple of horses to Mr. Altem's to bring corn for us. We began to build a bake-oven, so that we might again have bread, of which we have had little lately. Our food has been largely pumpkin broth and mush, which has agreed with us very well.

The Brn. Nathanael and Jacob Loesch measured off eight acres of land, which is to be cleared at once, so that wheat can be sown. Others began to gather the dead wood, and build bonfires. The grind-stone was set up, a cooper's bench and wash-trough made. The Brn. Gottlob, Nathanael, and Grube laid a floor of clapboards in our cabin, for the better protection of our goods. In the evening Br. Grube held singstunde and evening prayer.

*Nov. 20th.* Br. Nathanael held morning prayer, and announced that the Lord's Supper would be celebrated this evening.

At noon Br. Hermanus returned, bringing the cornmeal and meat he had bought from Mr. Altem. Br. Feldhausen went hunting.

In the afternoon it rained, which interfered with our work. We baked Lovefeast bread in a pan, using cornmeal.

Br. Feldhausen did not return this evening. We blew our horn, and shot a couple of times, so that if he had lost his way he could come back to us. As he did not appear we were obliged to postpone the Communion until tomorrow.

Our dear Gottlob held the singstunde and evening prayer, and then we went peacefully to rest.

*Nov. 21st.* Br. Gottlob held morning prayer; then each went to his work. Merkli, Erich, Peterson, and Beroth began to clear the field;



Br. Hermanus went seven miles to an Irishman to buy corn; the Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael burned out hollow logs to make barrels; and Br. Grube baked Indian bread in the ashes.

Br. Feldhausen also returned. He had not lost his way, but night had overtaken him. It was very cold, but on account of the rain he could make no fire, so had to keep in motion all night. The wolves and panthers made themselves heard around him. Toward evening Br. Hermanus came back, having shot the first deer on our land. It was very welcome, for we had little food left, and much work to do, and it is hard to clear fields on a diet of corn only.

In the evening we had a Lovefeast, with cornbread, and wished that our dear ones in Bethlehem could spend a short hour with us in our little cabin. Then preparation was made for the Communion. The Brethren seated themselves along two sides of the room, with the new little table between, opposite the chimney. Our dear Gottlob made a short talk concerning the Sacrament; then we knelt in spirit at the Saviour's pierced feet, and prayed that His pierced hands might be laid upon us in absolution. Finally we partook of the Sacrament for the first time in North Carolina. Our hearts were deeply moved by His grace, as we sang an appropriate hymn, and our love for one another was strengthened. Then we spread our blankets, and lay peacefully down in our little church,— as the cabin seemed after the service.

*Nov. 22nd.* Our dear Nathanael held the morning prayer, and reminded us that this was the 32nd birthday of our dear Brother Jacob Loesch; we sang several verses for him, and wished him all happiness and blessing in his work in this land.

Lischer, Hermanus, and Haberland took the wagon to Altem's for meal, and for some pumpkins which he had offered us as a gift. Loesch and Feldhausen went hunting, but returned empty-handed.

We had a little Lovefeast in honor of Br. Jacob Loesch, and rejoiced with him over his call of grace. Br. Gottlob held the singstunde.

*Nov. 23rd.* Br. Gottlob held morning prayer, taking as his subject the sufferings and death of Jesus.<sup>17</sup>

Then all went to work. Gottlob, Nathanael, and Grube helped burn brush. In the afternoon the Brethren returned with the wagon, bringing meal, corn, pumpkins and turnips. Today was very warm. In the evening we had to lie down early because the room was full of smoke.

*Nov. 24th.* Br. Grube held morning prayer.

The Brethren were busy clearing land; Lischer and Merkli were not well. Two men came looking for strayed horses, one of them was

<sup>17</sup> The Friday services usually touched on the sufferings and death of the Saviour.

Doctor Barker, who last year lived on our land but has now moved to the Etkin.

In the evening we read from the diary of the Single Brethren's Synod, held at London; then closed the day with evening prayer, and went peacefully to sleep.

*Nov. 25th.* Sunday. We prayed the Congregation Litany, and at noon had the liturgy "Ave Agnus Dei." The rest of the time we spent quietly and pleasantly with one another. Nathanael and Gottlob baked bread in the pan-baker. Evening we continued reading the Synod diary; Br. Gottlob held evening prayer.

*Nov. 26th.* We rose feeling well and happy. Br. Nathanael held morning prayer; then Gottlob, Nathanael and Grube went out to look over our land, and made a circuit of some five miles, finding plenty of good, fertile ground, and especially large meadows where fine pastures can be made.

After dinner we had our liturgy as usual. In the afternoon we selected a place for our garden. Mr. Altem and his neighbor came to visit us, and remained over night.

In the evening we had an English song-service, and Br. Grube read one of the Berlin sermons.<sup>18</sup> Our sleeping quarters were very much crowded, as we had guests.

*Nov. 27th.* Br. Gottlob held morning prayers. Br. Kalberlahn bled Mr. Altem's friend and gave him some medicine, for which he promised to pay two bushels of corn.

After breakfast Gottlob, Nathanael, and Jacob Loesch, with Mr. Altem, went to the Black Walnut Bottom,<sup>19</sup> to look over that section. They returned in the afternoon, well pleased with their survey; had found a good place for a mill, about four miles from here, counting straight through the forest.

We spent the evening quietly; Br. Nathanael held singstunde and evening prayers.

*Nov. 28th.* Br. Nathanael held morning prayers. After breakfast our Brethren Gottlob, Nathanael, and Jacob Loesch set out toward the south-west, in the direction of the Yadkin, to see our land on Muddy Creek. Br. Grube accompanied them several miles through the forest, returning in the afternoon. The Brethren at home were busy clearing land; Feldhausen finished making the first plough.

In the evening Br. Grube held the singstunde, and then we went peacefully to rest.

<sup>18</sup> The "Berliner Reden" were sermons preached in Berlin by Count Zinzendorf. They had been translated into English. We note the courtesy of the Brethren in holding their service in English for the pleasure of their English-speaking guests.

<sup>19</sup> Near present site of Bethania.

*Nov. 29th.* After morning prayers Br. Lischer began to plough, and it went better than we had expected. In the afternoon Haberland and Merkli finished the bake-oven. We were disappointed that our Brethren failed to return from the forest. Br. Grube held singstunde and evening prayers.

*Nov. 30th.* After morning prayers all went to work. Lischer and Haberland went to Mr. Altem's for two hogs. Br. Hermanus ploughed. In the afternoon Gottlob, Nathanael and Loesch returned, having been over a goodly portion of our land. They had found a good mill-site, with a stream half the size of that at Friedensthal. They had spent the night with an Irishman who is living on our land, and has cleared seven acres. He seems to be a decent man; has nine children. At first the family were frightened and shy, but the Brethren drew them into conversation, and they became friendly, expressed their regret at having to move, and asked whether they might not stay and raise one more crop. The Brethren did not know what answer to make to them. There is unusually good land in that section, especially fine meadows.

In the evening Br. Nathanael held the singstunde.

*Nov. 31st.* Br. Gottlob held morning prayers referring to the sufferings and death of Jesus.

Afternoon some of the Brethren went to the woods and burnt a circle, expecting to secure some game. Those who had gone to Mr. Altem returned, bringing two hogs.

Evening we sang the Passion Liturgy.

*Dec. 1st.* Br. Nathanael held morning prayers. We were busy clearing land and ploughing.

*Dec. 2.* The First Sunday in Advent. In the morning we prayed the Congregation Litany. It rained nearly all day. We spent the time quietly, read some of Christel's<sup>20</sup> hymns, and parts of sermons. In the afternoon Hermanus shot a deer near here. It was very welcome, since we were short of food.

In the evening Br. Nathanael held the singstunde, and spoke touchingly on the Text for the day, concerning the incarnation of our precious Saviour Jesus Christ.

*Dec. 3rd.* Br. Grube held morning prayer. Lischer began to harrow the ploughed ground; and Haberland went six miles to a neighbor to buy wheat for seed.

---

<sup>20</sup> Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, son of the Count; born Sept. 19, 1727. He was a talented young man, much beloved by the Moravians, and deeply mourned when he passed away, May 28, 1752.



Evening we continued reading the Synod diary; then went peacefully to our resting places.

*Dec. 4th.* Br. Nathanael held morning prayer. Br. Loesch sowed the first wheat on our land. The remaining Brethren burned logs, ploughed and harrowed. Br. Nathanael held the singstunde.

*Dec. 5th.* Br. Gottlob held a helpful morning prayer. Br. Loesch sowed the three-acre field in wheat. It is unusually warm today.

[Here follow four blank pages in the Diary. No explanation is given, and probably they were to be filled in from notes, and were overlooked.]

*Dec. 18th.* Br. Gottlob held morning prayer. During the morning several Brethren measured the fall in the creek that passes here; and found the site selected for the mill is several feet lower. We wrote industriously to our dear ones in Bethlehem and Europe; also conferred as to the necessary articles which must be sent to us.

Br. Nathanael held the singstunde, and expressed his heartfelt wish that all our lives might be ordered according to the mind of Jesus, and that we might live peacefully together; then in the name of Jesus we lay down to sleep.

*Dec. 19th.* Br. Grube waked the Brethren with several hymns. Our beloved Gottlob and Nathanael made ready for their trip to Bethlehem. A farewell Lovefeast was held, and we were happily together once more. Various last points were discussed, for example that at present it is not feasible to observe the Sabbath, while so much work needs to be done, but that now and then, when it suits, the rest can be taken, and Lovefeast held in the evening. It was remarked that Sunday must be strictly kept, that the World should have nothing against us. Also that the laws of the land must be carefully observed, and that Br. Jacob Loesch should acquaint himself with the laws and see that we keep them. We are not to undertake any building just yet, but push the clearing of land, that as soon as possible we may be able to eat our own bread. For religious purposes we were divided into two groups,—the first, Jacob Loesch as leader, consisted of Grube, Beroth, Erich, Kalberlahn, Peterson, Hermanus; the second, with Grube as leader, consisted of Jacob Loesch, Pfeil, Merkli, Feldhausen, and Lunge. Br. Gottlob spoke affectionately concerning the great pleasure it had given him to conduct us hither, and be with us for a while. He and Br. Nathanael wished for us that we might remain close to the Saviour, that His peace might remain with us, that our lives might honor the Lamb of God, and that we might remember the sufferings and death of Jesus, until we should see Him as He is. Our Lovefeast closed with the



Cup of Covenant<sup>21</sup> and the kiss of peace. We were moved, and thanked God that we had been able to have these dear Brethren with us.

Then Gottlob, Nathanael, Haberland, and Lischer set out, the Brethren all going with them a short distance. Br. Grube accompanied them to the borders of our land, where he bade them an affectionate farewell; Br. Jacob Loesch went on with them to Dan River. After seeing them off the Brethren busied themselves with clearing land and plowing. In the evening we had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Dec. 20th.* After morning prayers Hermanus and Merkli took five horses and went to the River Etkin for meal and corn. We were very conscious of the absence of our dear Gottlob and Nathanael, indeed quite lonesome. Toward evening Jacob Loesch returned, bringing hearty greetings from our dear Brethren. They had spent the night beyond Dan River at the home of Mr. Gest, a pleasant man, who had taken good care of them. Next day Br. Loesch went with them a little further, then turned back, calling again on Mr. Gest, from whom he purchased some cattle.

Br. Grube held the singstunde and evening prayers. It was Br. Feldhausen's birthday, so we sang several hymns for him.

*Dec. 21st.* We arose feeling well, and after morning prayers went to work. Toward evening Hermanus and Merkli returned from the Etkin, bringing meal and corn. Br. Grube held singstunde and evening prayers, and then we went peacefully to rest.

*Dec. 22nd.* In the afternoon an Irishman arrived, seeking counsel of Br. Kalberlahn. He begged to be allowed to stay several days in his care, and we could not refuse, as the poor man was in great pain, although it is not convenient for us with our small resources. Toward evening another stranger appeared and spent the night with us.

*Dec. 23rd.* Sunday. After morning prayers the second man went home. At ten o'clock we had an English meeting, and read the first Berlin sermon. Br. Kalberlahn bled his patient. In the evening Br. Pfeil was sick. Br. Grube held singstunde and evening prayers. Our groups met for the first time today; after them we had a house-conference, and Merkli was appointed room-superintendent, and Erich, Peterson, and Pfeil were selected to do the house-keeping, each a week at a time. Br. Kalberlahn was charged with superintending the expenses.

*Dec. 24th.* After morning prayers Hermanus set out, with two horses, for the home of Mr. Hikki, some 60 miles away, to procure

<sup>21</sup> The "Cup of Covenant" or "Cup of Thanksgiving" was used by the Brethren as a pledge of allegiance to each other and the Lord. It was a religious service, but must not be confused with the Lord's Supper.

several bushels of salt. It rained all days. Our neighbor, Mr. Macgaal, came to take our patient home, but finding him no better left without him.

At 9:30 P. M. we began the Christmas Eve Watch service. We read the story of the birth of our Saviour, and rejoiced that the Holy Child was born for the salvation of the world. We had a Lovefeast also, and soon after midnight closed our first Christmas Eve Watch meeting in North Carolina.

*Dec. 25.* Br. Grube held morning prayer. At noon he read for us a sermon preached by Count Zinzendorf on a Christmas Day, and we enjoyed it. In the evening we sang hymns relating to the Holy Christ-Child.

Br. Pfeil was again very sick with colic.

*Dec. 26th.* Br. Jacob Loesch held the morning prayer. Peterson and Merkli went some twenty miles from here, across Dan River, to Mr. Gest, to get several head of cattle.

Our cornmeal mill ran today for the first time. It was very cold weather. We had singstunde in the evening.

*Dec. 27th.* After morning prayer Br. Kalberlahn's patient returned to his home on the Catawba River, about eighty miles from here. He is fairly well now. The Brethren began today to split rails. In the evening an Irishman came from Dan River to have a couple of teeth pulled. He spent the night with us. Singstunde in the evening.

*Dec. 28th.* After morning prayers the stranger left, very thankful for his relief from toothache. At noon Petersen and Merkli returned from Dan River with the cattle Br. Loesch recently purchased there. Mr. Haltem came on a visit. The weather was very bad, with much glaze ice. Singstunde in the evening.

*Dec. 29th.* After morning prayers the Brethren killed two oxen, and spent most of the day in the work. Mr. Haltem went out with two of the Brethren and helped them set our beaver traps. Merkli looked for our horses, but could not find them. In the evening Br. Grube read the second Berlin sermon, and held an English song service.

*Dec. 30th.* At noon Mr. Haltem left, well pleased with his visit. Petersen and Erich Ingebretsen accompanied him to search for our cows and oxen, which strayed last night. Br. Loesch went after the horses, and found them in the large meadow; also brought in a beaver caught in one of our traps. In the evening Br. Hermanus returned from Virginia, bringing three bushels of salt which he had bought on Smith River. Singstunde in the evening.

*Dec. 31st.* Br. Loesch held morning prayer. At noon Petersen and Merkli returned with the cattle which they had found twelve miles away. We had expected to observe the Night Watch,<sup>22</sup> but were prevented, for toward evening our neighbor, Mr. Banner, came, and a little later two hunters who had been across the Blue Mts., and still later three Irishmen on their way from Pennsylvania to the Catawba. Our little cabin was very full, and Br. Pfeil was still ill, and we were much inconvenienced. Three Brethren slept out of doors, and two sat up. We were sorry not to have our Watch Service, but what could we do,—and our dear Saviour knew our circumstances.

*From the Wachovia Church Book.*

[Translation of Paragraphs concerning the Unity at large.]

During this year the Jünger Haus<sup>23</sup> was in England. In the Brethren's Chapel in London the Jünger preached a beautiful sermon on the blessed nearness of God, taking his text from the book of Job.

An attempt was made to begin a Mission in Labrador, but the Esquimaux killed several of the sailors who were helping the Brethren erect their house, and they had to abandon the house and return to England.

During the past ten years the Brethren had made great debts in England, and the Unity was threatened with bankruptcy, but our dear Heavenly Father helped the Jünger to save the Church and to arrange the matter.

During this year also there has been renewed activity for the Kingdom of God among the Diaspora,<sup>24</sup>—the children of God outside our Congregation villages. They are being blessed as a leaven among all the Denominations.

<sup>22</sup> The Brethren were accustomed to hold the closing service of the year late in the evening of Dec. 31st, watching the old year out and the new year in.

<sup>23</sup> Jünger Haus was a term temporarily used for the Executive Board of the Unitas Fratrum, the group of leading members who accompanied Count Zinzendorf when he was exiled from Saxony at the instigation of professors at the University of Halle, who resented the Count's interest in the Moravians and his refusal to be ruled by Halle in his religious views. The period of banishment lasted ten years, and was terminated when rigid examination of the doctrine and practices of the Brethren at Herrnhut had convinced the commissioner of the Saxon Government that the Moravians were entirely orthodox, and Halle merely jealous. Meanwhile the affairs of the Unity were conducted by the Count and his associates from wherever they happened to be.

<sup>24</sup> See Glossary.



[During this year Europe continued to enjoy at least nominal peace, but in America the strain between England and France began to be felt, and the English Colonies were instructed to resist the encroachments of the French, by force of arms if necessary. George Washington first won public recognition by his service under Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, in the French and Indian war, just breaking out.

In North Carolina Matthew Rowan, for twenty years a member of the Council, succeeded Nathaniel Rice as President of Council and acting Governor of the Province, serving until Governor Arthur Dobbs arrived from England in October.]

*From the Wachovia Church Book.*

[Translation of paragraphs concerning the Unity.]

The Jünger Haus was still in England, looking after financial matters. In London the Jünger preached a notable sermon on the relation between God the Father and the Saviour, Col. I, 12-22. Thanks be unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.

Rentel, a Russian by birth, went to Barbary for the Lord's sake. Three Brethren went to Jamaica, where they will begin to preach the Gospel to the negroes on the plantation of Messrs. Barham and Foster. In Bristol, England, a congregation of Brethren was organized. In November an English Provincial Synod was held, during which John Gambold, pastor of the Brethren's Chapel in London, was consecrated Bishop for the English branch of the Unity of Brethren. The Rules and Regulations for the English congregations were adopted, having been framed according to the teachings of the Lord and of His Apostles.

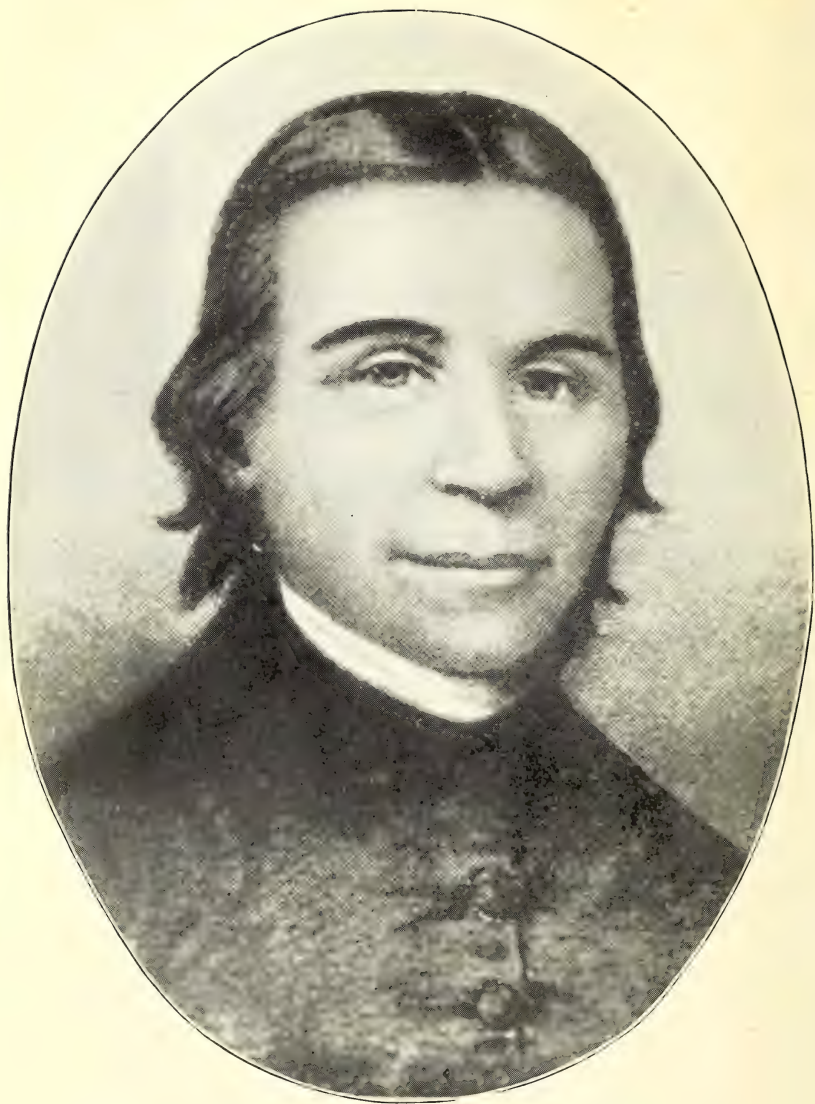
In Barby, Saxony, an Academy was established for the studious youth among the Brethren.

Books printed during the year were a Sharon<sup>1</sup> Hymn Book, the second part of the large Unity Hymn Book, a Children's Hymn Book and Text Book, and an English Hymn Book containing more than 900 hymns from ancient and modern times of the Unity.

<sup>1</sup> This little collection of hymns was for a while very popular with the Brethren. It had nothing to do with Sharon, an Indian Mission Station on the Saramaca River in Dutch Guiana, South America, which was not begun until 1756.







REV. BERNHARD ADAM GRUBE, FIRST MORAVIAN MINISTER IN WACHOVIA

*The Bethabara Diary. 1754.*

[For the first two months of this year the Diary is translated in full to show the minute detail of the record, the constant intermingling of religious service and daily toil, and the spirit in which the Wachovia settlement was begun. These three features continue in the record day by day, week by week, month by month, and year by year. There is a certain fascination in the reiteration, and one comes to feel as intimately acquainted with the Brethren as though they were next door neighbors, but it must be admitted that the repetition makes rather monotonous reading, so beginning with March only those entries are translated that show the progress of the work or that touch on items of general interest, leaving the reader to mentally insert the daily morning, noon and evening services, and the daily participation in the homely task that needed next to be done.]

## [Full translation]

*Jan. 1st.* We arose with contentment. The strangers soon went on their way. This morning our cabin took fire, but it was discovered in time and extinguished. Had it started during the night it would probably have destroyed our house. Br. Kalberlahn<sup>2</sup> scalded his foot with hot water. At noon we had a short service, and Br. Grube<sup>3</sup> notified us that the Holy Communion would be celebrated this evening if nothing interfered. During the afternoon he spoke<sup>4</sup> with each of the Brethren who were all found to be in an humble and contrite frame of mind. Toward evening Mr. Hampton and his son arrived, so we were again prevented from holding the Communion Service; we were very sorry, but could not help ourselves, as we have only the one small cabin, and cannot lodge anyone elsewhere. In the evening service we read the account of the Circumcision of Jesus; then commended our cabin once more to His protection, and laid ourselves down in trustful sleep.

---

<sup>2</sup> Hans Martin Kalberlahn, born in Drontheim, Norway, March 30, 1722. Was reared a Lutheran. Studied medicine. Joined the Moravians in 1745, at Copenhagen. Came to America in 1753. One of the first company of settlers in Wachovia. Married Anna Catharina Antes, of Bethlehem, Pa., July 29, 1758. Died at Bethabara, N. C., July 28, 1759. Had no children.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Bernhard Adam Grube, born at Walschleben, near Erfurt, June 24, 1715. Educated at the University of Jena. Came to America in June, 1748. Pastor of the first company of settlers at Bethabara. When he was recalled to Bethlehem he became a missionary to the Delaware Indians, serving them for many years. Died in Bethlehem, Pa., March 20, 1808.

<sup>4</sup> These intimate, personal conversations were customary among the Moravians for many years, as a preparation for the Holy Communion. Their object was to lead each communicant to seriously consider his religious state, and give opportunity to the pastor to advise, warn or encourage as the case might require.

*Jan. 2.* After morning prayers Mr. Hampton went home. The weather is again mild after several very cold days. The other strangers also left, and in the evening we had Lovefeast, followed by the Communion; the Lamb of God, slain for our sakes, seemed very near, and again laid His blessing upon His humble followers in North Carolina. Then once more we sought our resting places.

*Jan. 3.* On rising we sang a hymn that touched our hearts; then each went to his work. Several Brethren built a stable, others rived clap-boards, others prepared for drawing maple sap, etc. In the evening we began to read the small Hymn Book, and will continue it each evening. Br. Grube held the singstunde and evening prayers; then we lay down to rest.

*Jan. 4.* Br. Loesch held morning prayers. Two Brethren continued preparations for tapping the maple trees, so that we may make vinegar and some molasses for use in Lovefeast. At noon a man came wishing to sell us corn, but as we are out of money we can buy nothing more. At night we had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Jan. 5.* We arose well and in good spirits. It began to rain heavily. Two of the Brethren went a mile away to dig a wolf-pit. Today we boiled some maple sugar. In the evening we had a Lovefeast, which we enjoyed, and began to read the report of the Single Brothers Synod. Then we had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Jan. 6.* Sunday. In the morning we prayed the Church Litany. It rained hard all night, and our cabin leaked. At noon we read one of Count Zinzendorf's sermons. During the afternoon our Bands met in sweet companionship. In the evening we read more about the Single Brothers Synod; then commended ourselves for this night to Jesus, and lay down to rest.

*Jan. 7.* After morning prayers the Brethren began again to clear ground. The creek that runs by our house is so high that most of the bottom is under water. Br. Kalberlahn had to stay in bed on account of his foot, which he recently scalded. In the afternoon a place for a small dwelling house was staked off near the spring. In the evening we again read from the record of the Single Brethren's Synod, then had singstunde and evening prayers. Br. Feldhausen shot a deer by moonlight near our house.

*Jan. 8.* Br. Loesch conducted morning prayers. The Brethren began to fell trees for logs for our new house. Br. Petersen was badly hurt as he and Br. Beroth cut down a tree. As the tree fell a branch caught in another tree, then struck Br. Petersen on the head, making an ugly wound and throwing him to the ground. The Brethren ran



to his assistance but found him senseless and they feared he was dead. One ran to the cabin with the news, and everybody, including Br. Kalberlahn, hurried thither. Br. Kalberlahn bled him, and he soon recovered his senses, then we carried him home and Br. Kalberlahn bound up the wound. We all pitied Br. Petersen, and Br. Kalberlahn again suffered great pain in his foot, and so there were two patients in our little cabin. In the evening we had a short singstunde, then lay down to rest.

*Jan. 9.* After morning prayers Br. Kalberlahn dressed Br. Petersen's injured head, which pains him greatly. The skull does not appear to be fractured, and we hope he will soon recover. At noon we sang a short liturgy. During the afternoon two Englishmen appeared and asked to spend the night with us. It is very inconvenient for us to entertain strangers for our space is small, and we have nothing for them to sleep on. Otherwise we were all in good spirits today.

*Jan. 10.* After morning prayers two of the Brethren went to the bottom a mile away to clear a place for a meadow. In the afternoon an Englishman from the Etkin came, bringing several skins from which he wished to have two pairs of breeches made. Br. Petersen is still very weak, but accepted the job in the hope that the Saviour would soon restore his health. In the evening we had singstunde, then lay down to our rest.

*Jan. 11.* After morning prayers John Williams returned to his home seven miles away. In the afternoon it rained. Evening we read from the Single Brothers Synod record, then had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Jan. 12.* It has been unusually warm recently. Br. Lung was sick. Br. Petersen's head and Br. Kalberlahn's foot are improving. In the morning it rained; the Brethren fenced in our new garden. It was a real spring day. In the evening we had Lovefeast, and read from the new Hymn Book, and refreshed our souls. We also conferred together and decided not to build the new house just yet, as there was so much work to be done in preparing land for corn. Meanwhile we will content ourselves in the little cabin. After Lovefeast we had evening prayers, then lay down to rest.

*Jan. 13, Sunday.* We had morning prayers as usual. Br. Lung was quite ill last night, and several others are complaining. After the noon liturgy Br. Loesch went to Mr. Haltem's to see about various things. In the afternoon Br. Grube conducted the Band meetings; we thought much of our dear Bethlehem, and especially of the Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael, who should have reached home by this time. It was a very warm day, almost like summer time. Br. Grube held the evening services, and commended us to the Saviour's care.

*Jan. 14.* Several Brethren are not well. Two went half a mile from here to dig a wolf pit; there are many wolves about and our cattle are in danger. Br. Loesch returned at noon.

*Jan. 15.* The Brethren cut wood for a new fence.

*Jan. 16.* The same.

*Jan. 17.* After morning prayers Herman and Merkli went to Mr. Haltem's to buy meal and corn and

*Jan. 18* they came back. Mr. Haltem's son came with them on a visit.

*Jan. 19.* All are well and happy today. After morning prayers most of the Brethren went to cut wood and split rails. Mr. Haltem's son went home. In the evening Mr. Jung and the younger Guest from Dan River arrived, and spent the night with us.

*Jan. 20.* Sunday. In the early morning we prayed the Church litany. After breakfast the two strangers went their way toward the Etkin. Evening we had Lovefeast, and read a good deal from the new Hymn Book; then had our Choir liturgy, and closing the day peacefully went to rest.

*Jan. 21.* After morning prayers the Brethren continued cutting wood and splitting rails. The two strangers who were here yesterday returned, and Mr. Haltem with them, and all three stayed over night. Our sleeping quarters are so small that there was not place enough for everybody. In the evening we had an English song service.

*Jan. 22.* After breakfast the Brethren continued their work. At noon Mr. Haltem and the two other men went home.

*Jan. 23.* Br. Loesch held morning prayers. After breakfast most of the Brethren went to clear the meadow; and in the afternoon some split rails and others felled trees for the mill. In the evening we read again from the record of the Single Brothers Synod, then had singstunde.

*Jan. 24.* After morning prayers the Brethren went contentedly to their work. After the noon liturgy Br. Herman went eight miles to order certain things from David Stuart. Two men from Dan River arrived and spent the night. The one came to have the doctor cure his leg.

*Jan. 25.* All are well and happy today. After morning prayers the two Englishmen left. At noon we sang a liturgy. Afternoon Br. Herman returned; Br. Loesch ran the line for the fence. Br. Loesch held the singstunde and evening prayers.

*Jan. 26.* At the close of the morning service Br. Grube announced Communion for this evening. In the afternoon he spoke with the

Brethren who all expressed a longing to partake of the Lord's Supper. In the evening we had Lovefeast, and an unusually blessed Communion.

*Jan. 27.* Sunday. Our Saviour was near us in our morning prayers. The rest of the day we spent quietly together. It was like a beautiful summer day. In the evening we read some of Christel's hymns, sang the "Te Pleuram," and so closed the day in peace.

*Jan. 28.* After morning prayers the Brethren went to work; some split rails, others built the new fence. At noon was the usual liturgy.

*Jan. 29.* During the morning two men from the Meho River came to consult the doctor about a patient. One of them so urgently begged Br. Kalberlahn to go with them that we decided to send him, but the horses could not be found, so he could not go. In the evening two Englishmen came from Deep River, five miles south-east of our line, and spent the night.

*Jan. 30.* Several Brethren went out very early to search for the horses. After morning prayers the two strangers went on toward the Pilot Mountain. About nine o'clock the Brethren brought in the horses; Br. Kalberlahn prepared for his journey and set out to see the patient on the Meho, accompanied by Br. Herman. It was unusually beautiful, summerlike weather. In the afternoon Isaac Ferry came with two men from the Etkin, to take the doctor to see his sick wife; one of the others brought work to our tailor. They remained over night.

*Jan. 31.* After breakfast the strangers returned home. The Brethren were busy cutting wood and splitting rails. Evening we had singstunde.

*Feb. 1.* Br. Loesch held morning prayers. It rained, as also on

*Feb. 2.* The creeks are rising, and the Brethren are doing what work can be done indoors. In the evening we had singstunde, then went contentedly to rest.

*Feb. 3.* Sunday. We had morning prayers, and at noon read a sermon. It rained nearly all day, and we are worried about our two Brethren, for all the streams are up. In the afternoon our Bands met; and in the evening we had Lovefeast, and read some of Christel's hymns. Then we had the Church liturgy, evening prayers, and then went peacefully to sleep.

*Feb. 4.* At morning prayers we commended ourselves to the Saviour, and prayed that today and all the week we might be vividly conscious of His sacrifice for us. The Brethren continued their work of cutting wood and laying rails. In the afternoon the Brn. Kalberlahn and Herman returned. They had been detained two days by the high water, but Br. Kalberlahn was well pleased with the condition of his patient,



and thinks he will soon recover. The patient's parents were very happy, and offered Br. Kalberlahn a cow and a calf in payment for his services. Others too, came for advice; and Mr. Lauter from beyond the Meho, and Mr. Shad also, insisted that when Brethren came that way they should visit them. This afternoon our neighbor, Mr. Williams, an unmarried man, came for his new breeches. In the evening we had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Feb. 5.* Br. Loesch held morning prayers, then the Brethren went to their work. We began to build a new sleeping room; also burned tar, which Br. Kalberlahn will need in medicine. Evening we read from the records of the Single Brethren's Synod, then had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Feb. 6.* Br. Kalberlahn bled the Brn. Grube and Merkli, then he and Br. Loesch set out for the Etkin, where the doctor will visit Isaac Ferry's sick wife, according to his urgent request. Evening we began to read the Bible through, and enjoyed it, then had singstunde and evening prayers.

*Feb. 7.* In the morning hour we meditated upon the wounds and death of Jesus. Today the rails for our sleeping room were placed. In the afternoon Mr. Haltem and his sick son came to consult Br. Kalberlahn. In the evening the Brn. Jacob Loesch and Kalberlahn returned from the Etkin, where Br. Kalberlahn has attended seven patients, and the people are very thankful that he is willing to serve them. At night we read the first chapter in the New Testament with fresh interest and pleasure.

*Feb. 8.* We began to build a cabin for strangers. Evening we read in the Old Testament. Mr. Haltem remained with us tonight, while his son is being treated.

*Feb. 9.* We arose well and content and had our morning prayers. This morning Mr. Haltem and his son went home. Today there was a very heavy wind storm. By evening our lodging place for strangers was finished. It is built of wide rails laid up like logs, and has a small fireplace, so that in case of need we can lodge two sick guests. In the evening we read in the New Testament, and after singstunde and evening prayers went contentedly to sleep.

*Feb. 10.* Sunday. After morning prayers several Brethren went to seek out a way for a road to the Etkin, returning in the afternoon. At night we had a liturgy and evening prayers.

*Feb. 11.* We had morning prayers and then all the Brethren went to their work. After dinner Br. Kalberlahn went to the Etkin to see his



patients. Evening we read with interest in the Old Testament, had evening prayers, and then went to sleep.

*Feb. 12.* Nothing special happened.

*Feb. 13.* Br. Loesch held morning prayers. At noon a man came from Horse Pasture Creek, fifty miles from here, bringing his sick wife to Br. Kalberlahn. Our stranger's cabin comes in handy,—we lodged them there as they asked permission to stay several days and we could not refuse as they seem nice people. Br. Kalberlahn returned from the Etkin, fairly well content with the condition of his patients there. Evening we read in the New Testament.

*Feb. 14.* A young man arrived from Smith's River, sixty miles from here, bringing Br. Kalberlahn a letter from his mother, who is very ill and asks for help.

*Feb. 15.* Br. Loesch held morning prayer; then he and Br. Kalberlahn went to Mr. Benner's, where the doctor bled a patient. They returned in the afternoon. Two Germans stopped to ask the way to Haw River; one of them was the son of the Opitz of Büdingen, who passed to the Saviour at Marienborn. The young man from Smith's River started home taking to his mother a letter from Br. Kalberlahn, in which he gave the requested advice. Our Brn. Nathanael and Gottlob spent the third night at the home of this woman [on their return to Bethlehem]. Evening we again had a Bible reading from the New Testament, then went contentedly to our rest.

*Feb. 16.* We had morning prayers. Two Brethren went hunting, for today we have cooked the last of our meat, and our corn meal is getting low, so we hope our Heavenly Father will give us food from the forest. The other Brethren were busy cutting wood and burning stumps. Evening we sang the Passion Liturgy, and after evening prayers went immediately to rest.

*Feb. 17.* Sunday. Morning we prayed the Church Litany, and later read one of the Jünger's sermons. The man and his wife—who is considerable better—attended the service. We gave them some English sermons to read, and later the man said: "It must be a godly man who has written these," and he rejoiced that he could learn to know us better. In the evening we had a little Lovefeast, and thought much about our dear ones in Bethlehem. The Lovefeast was followed by our Choir Liturgy.

*Feb. 18.* After morning prayers seven Brethren went to clear a road to the Etkin, so that our wagon can go thither for meal and corn. At noon Br. Merkli followed them on horseback, taking provisions and blankets. Evening Br. Herman came home bringing report how far the way had been opened.

*Feb. 19.* After morning prayers Br. Kalberlahn went to the Etkin to see his patients. Those of us who were at home were worried about those in the woods, for there was a severe storm and so heavy a rain that we could hardly keep dry inside our cabin. In the afternoon two Englishmen came, one to take away his new clothes and the other to bring work to Br. Petersen. In the evening Hans Wagner's son came,—Wagner once lived on our land and built the cabin which we now occupy. He asked for four Brethren to come and help raise his father's new house on the Etkin, sixteen miles from here, but so many of the Brethren are still away working on the road that we could not promise.

*Feb. 20.* Hans Wagner's son went home. Toward evening the Brethren returned from the Etkin. Last night they spent with Isaac Ferry, who took good care of them and expressed a very friendly spirit toward the Brethren. The road which they have made is eight and a half miles long, and lies well. The Brethren were glad to be at home again, and after singstunde and evening prayers we went contentedly to bed.

*Feb. 21.* After morning prayers we all went to our work. Some split rails, others continued the new fence as far as the road. At noon Br. Loesch returned from the Etkin, where he had ordered some meal from Hans Wagner. Wagner was very busy with his new house, and about twenty people were helping him, but things never go well at such a gathering for more time is spent in drinking brandy than in working. Evening we had a Bible reading from the Old Testament.

*Feb. 22.* All went as usual.

*Feb. 23.* Sabbath. At morning prayers Br. Grube announced that the Lord's Supper would be celebrated today; and in the afternoon he spoke with all the Brethren, finding all eager to partake of the Communion. The Brethren stopped work somewhat earlier than usual. Evening the Lovefeast was announced with our new trumpet, which we have made from a hollow tree, and no trumpet in Bethlehem has a better tone. We had a happy Lovefeast, thinking much about our friends in Bethlehem, and wishing that we might soon have a visit from there. Soon after the Lovefeast we had the absolution service, praying our Saviour to forgive all our sins and our part in His sufferings and death; then we shared in His Communion, our hearts humbly bowed as we realized His unspeakable grace once more bestowed upon us. Then we went to rest.

*Feb. 24.* Sunday. We awoke with a continuing sense of the Lord's blessing; held our morning prayers and spent the day quietly. In the

evening we read one of Count Zinzendorf's sermons; closing the day with singing the *Te Pleuram*.

*Feb. 25.* After morning prayer all went cheerfully to work. Evening we read from the Old Testament, and had evening prayers.

*Feb. 26.* Br. Loesch held morning prayer. Most of the Brethren were busy setting the fence. Evening Bible reading was from the New Testament,—the story of the suffering of Jesus; and the hymns in our singstunde concerned His Cross.

*Feb. 27.* Br. Kalberlahn and Herman went to the Etkin, the former to visit his patients, the latter to get meal. They returned later in the day, accompanied by a man who wished to borrow 30 shillings!!! Evening we read from the New Testament the account of the Saviour's crucifixion and burial, and our hearts were touched thereby. After singing several hymns we went to bed.

*Feb. 28.* After morning prayers the Brethren spent the day burning stumps. At noon Isaac Friis and two others came from the Etkin, following several hunters who had stolen bear meat from Friis,—he had promised us 400 lbs. of it. Evening Mr. Guest's son came from the Etkin on a visit. He has recently moved to this section with his brother-in-law, and lives on the land formerly occupied by the elder Owen, between the two tracts belonging to the Brethren. He wishes much that we would become his neighbors, and says our land there is unusually good. In the evening we read from the Old Testament; then had singstunde and evening prayers. We had slept a while when another man arrived and waked us, asking for accommodation for the night. We lodged him in the cabin for strangers.

[Translation of selected extracts from Diary]

*March 2.* The weather was bad. An Irishman who was not well came from the Etkin, and left again. Lovefeast in the evening.

*March 3.* Sunday. We prayed the Church Litany. After breakfast Br. Jacob Loesch and Erich Ingebretsen left for Dan River; the former takes letters to our friends in Bethlehem, which we hope to send to Br. Marcus Jung, in Lancaster, by an Irishman who has been visiting in this neighborhood. The Brn. Loesch and Erich will go ten miles down Dan River in a canoe to get some peach trees. After dinner two men appeared, one coming for medicine, and the other to ask Br. Kalberlahn to go with him to a patient on the Etkin, which he did. In the evening Mr. Sweeten, who lives on our land down on Muddy Creek, came to consult Br. Kalberlahn, and asked to stay a few days.

*March 4.* Herman and Merkli drove to the Etkin for meal and corn. Br. Kalberlahn returned at noon. A German, named Moritz, born in



Büdingen, who lives sixty miles away, on Haw River, came to take Br. Kalberlahn to a Justice on the Jubari,<sup>5</sup> who some months ago fractured his skull, and has never recovered. Circumstances made it impossible for Br. Kalberlahn to go now. In the evening Mr. Cook arrived from Haw River to have his lame leg treated, and a man from the Etkin asked night lodging, so we have four strangers with us.

*March 5.* The Brethren returned from the Etkin, but had secured little meal and corn. In the evening one of our horses was sick. An elderly German appeared, saying he would like to come and live with us and rest. We told him what we thought, and he left. Some of the Brethren improved the King's Road on our land from Benner's to the Grassy Fork. Mr. Use, Justice on the Etkin, kindly arranged for us to do our share of the road work alone, which we appreciated.

*March 6.* Merkli, Lung and Hermann went to Dan River for peach trees and meat. Our best horses were sick. A messenger from the Etkin came to take Br. Kalberlahn to Isaac Ferry, who is dangerously ill. The Brethren at home burned stumps. Br. Grube cooked.

*March 7.* Mr. Cook returned to his home on Haw River, taking medicine with him. Br. Kalberlahn went again to Isaac Ferry, prepared to stay a few days. Mr. Benner and another man came seeking strayed horses. Nearly every day we have extra people to feed.

*March 8.* The Brethren returned from Dan River bringing meat, peach trees, and calves. Br. Kalberlahn also returned; Isaac Ferry was critically ill last night, but has now rallied.

*March 9.* It rained all day, so we had a day of rest.

*March 10.* Sunday. Br. Jacob Loesch went to visit Isaac Ferry, who was pleased with the attention.

*March 13.* After morning prayers several of the Brethren went a mile away to work in the meadow. Merkli ploughed; others worked on the new sleeping room. Br. Lung was busy with his garden. It was very warm today, almost like midsummer in Pennsylvania.

*March 14.* Some of the Brethren worked on the meadow, others on clapboards for the new sleeping room. It is very warm, and the grass is beginning to grow beautifully.

*March 16.* Two Brethren went a mile and a half away to get pine branches for burning tar water. At noon Mr. Haltem and two others stopped on their way to Court, which will be held thirty miles from here next week. Br. Herman returned from Dan River with meal. Br.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless the Uharie River, also called Huwarrie in a later year. The Diarist spells North Carolina geographical names phonetically, from the German standpoint as to letter sounds. There is a curious failure to identify the consonant sounds, if the names were then pronounced as they are today, but the Diary spelling is retained, as it may be philologically interesting to antiquarians as indicating earlier pronunciations.



Loesch laid off the orchard, and some of the Brethren planted apple and peach trees. Our new sleeping room is so far finished that tonight we could sleep in the dry. Evening we had Lovefeast, during which each man's sleeping place was assigned; then we had evening prayers in our new room. Br. Grube had composed several verses, which we sang; then commended ourselves to our Saviour, and besought His continued presence with us.

*March 18.* Three Brethren cleared land. Br. Herman went to the Etkin for corn for our horses, as we will plough again tomorrow. Two men came to take Br. Kalberlahn to a patient eighteen miles away beyond the Etkin. He went with them next day.

*March 20.* Last night it began to rain, which is very good for our garden, etc. The air dries the ground quickly here, and there is generally a good deal of wind.

*March 21.* An Englishman came sixty miles for medicine for himself and his child.

*March 22.* Another patient came for several days' stay.

*March 23. Saturday.* The Brethren stopped work at four o'clock. Evening we had Lovefeast and Communion.

*March 24. Sunday.* Mr. Haltem and another man stopped on their return from Court, and had much to tell about how confused everything was there. The usual services were held.

*March 25.* At morning prayer we read the story of the Annunciation. Br. Loesch went to the Town Fork to buy peach trees. Others began to clear land for a corn field.

*March 26.* Two sick men from the Meho arrived at noon. A number of Germans passed, on their way to Haw River, among them Stoffel Kopp.

*March 28.* The Brethren Loesch and Merkli went to the Etkin for corn and meat. Isaac Ferry and three other men stopped a little while on their way to Deep River. Most of the Brethren cleared land half a mile from here.

*March 30.* The Brethren have cleared four acres this week; they say it is harder work here than in Pennsylvania. Br. Kalberlahn is 33 years old today; we sang several hymns for him.

*March 31. Sunday.* The usual services were held. In the afternoon Br. Kalberlahn gave a Lovefeast because of his birthday yesterday, and we were happy together.

*April 2.* Two men came from Smith's River for medicine for their sick mother, and stayed over night, as they also were not well.

*April 3.* Today we planted corn, with pumpkins and beans between.

*April 4.* Br. Loesch went to the Meho for potato slips; and Br. Merkli to the Etkin for a couple of pigs, that are said to be of a particularly good breed.

*April 5.* Today the Brethren finished burning brush. Mr. Cook stopped a short time on his way to the Etkin.

*April 8.* Br. Loesch returned from the Meho, bringing four bushels of seed potatoes, which we at once planted.

*April 9.* The Brethren planted potatoes, beans and corn.

*April 10.* After morning prayers six Brethren cleared land. In the afternoon we brought in a wagon load of tar wood to burn tar water for Br. Kalberlahn's patients. Mr. Sweeten came with a man who wished to take Br. Kalberlahn to a Justice on the Jubari, who some months ago dislocated his hip.

*April 11. Maundy Thursday.<sup>6</sup>* Our morning prayers were blessed. In the evening we began to read the story of the Passion of our Saviour, closing with a blessed singstunde.

*April 12.* At morning prayers we continued reading the account of the Saviour's Passion; and in the evening read of His crucifixion, and sang a number of appropriate hymns. Isaac Ferry and another man from the Etkin spent the night with us.

*April 13.* We celebrated the first Sabbath<sup>7</sup> in North Carolina with a service in the morning, and the day spent quietly. Toward evening we had a blessed Sabbath Lovefeast reading many of our dear Christel's hymns, and thinking of the body of Jesus resting in the grave. In the singstunde we read a sermon preached by Count Zinzendorf on another Great Sabbath.

*April 14. Easter Sunday.* Early in the morning we greeted our risen Lord with an Ave, and read the story of His resurrection. At noon we had preaching; then some of our Brethren had to go to the woods after our horses, which had strayed away. Toward evening a couple of strangers brought in two of our horses, which they had found nine miles away on the Etkin. It is a difficult time, for the horses wander off, and many people have lost them that way. Isaac Ferry went home. In the evening we had service, ending with the Litany, which was precious to our hearts. Then we went to our rest.

*April 15.* Jacob Loesch and Erich Ingebretsen went to Dan River to get some cows,—part of them we have bought, and borrowed the

<sup>6</sup> Maundy Thursday, the Thursday of Passion Week, the week preceding Easter.

<sup>7</sup> Great Sabbath, or the Saturday of Passion Week.

others. After the noon liturgy our dear Brethren Friis<sup>3</sup> and Lischer arrived unexpectedly, accompanied by Br. Loesch, who had met them on the way and turned back with them, while Erich went on to Dan River. How glad we were can be easily imagined, we kissed each other tenderly, and thanked the Lord for His goodness. They brought us many letters, which rejoiced the Brethren, and we spent most of the afternoon reading the messages from our dear ones in Bethlehem and elsewhere. In the evening we had Lovefeast, and sang several verses in welcome of our Bethlehem Brethren. Br. Friis told us much about Bethlehem and about his trip hither.

*April 16.* Br. Kalberlahn went to the Etkin to see his patients. The Brn. Grube and Loesch rode with Br. Friis as far as the Beaver Dam to see something of our land. Evening Br. Friis held singstunde and evening prayers.

*April 17.* Last night it was very cold, and our corn and flax were hurt. Br. Erich returned from Dan River with one cow and calf, instead of the five he was to bring; Mr. Guest was not at home. A man came from the Jubari, some thirty miles away, to take Br. Kalberlahn to the Justice who had dislocated his hip. He brought with him a bear, which he had shot on our land as he came through, and presented it to us.

*April 18.* It was very cold again last night, and blossoms and young plants were somewhat hurt. Br. Kalberlahn started to the Jubari, and will be away several days. The Brn. Grube and Loesch inspected the Black Walnut Bottom.

*April 19.* Br. Loesch rode to Mr. Haltem and Mr. Guest to pay bills. The other Brethren began to cut wood for a new fence; also began to tan cow-hides.

*April 20.* It rained heavily last night. Today the Brethren tried to work in the fields, but it rained again so hard that we got a half day of rest.

*April 21.* Sunday. The usual services were held. Most of the day was spent in writing letters to Bethlelem.

*April 22.* The Brn. Grube, Jacob and Herman Loesch, rode into the lower part of our land, to where the three branches of Muddy Creek come together. It took from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M. then they returned four miles, and spent the night with Mr. Sweeten, who lives on our land.

*April 23.* The Brn. Grube and Loesch returned, bringing a deer which Br. Herman had shot. Br. Kalberlahn visited his patients on the Etkin.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. John Jacob Friis, born at Odense, Denmark, May 4, 1708. He was University bred. After leaving Wachovia he lived in Pennsylvania, for the rest of his life. During the Revolution he did brave service in time of great sickness in the Bethlehem military hospital. Died in 1793, in the Brothers House in Bethlehem, Pa.



*April 24.* It is very warm. Mr. Guest came from Dan River on a visit. He is our good friend, and has helped us in many ways. At the last Court he was elected a Captain (of Militia). Singstunde and evening prayers were held in English.

*April 25.* Before leaving Mr. Guest asked that his son might travel part way with us, to visit an uncle who is a prominent man in the Alleghany English Settlement. We could not refuse, though we prefer to go alone. Toward evening a man came from fifty miles away for medicine for his sick wife, but this time Br. Kalberlahn could not furnish it.

*April 26.* At the evening service Br. Grube read aloud letters from our dear Gottlob, Nathanael, and Seidel, and we rejoiced that they think of us so tenderly.

[Here the handwriting in the Diary changes, showing that Br. Friis took Br. Grube's place as Diarist, preparatory to Br. Grube's departure, he having been recalled to Pennsylvania.]

*April 27.* In the evening we had Lovefeast, at which much was said about the grace and blessings that had accompanied the beginning of this settlement; and in commenting on the text for the day<sup>9</sup> Br. Grube pointed out that the Saviour's giving of Himself to us in the Communion ought so to affect our lives that even our faces would show whom we loved. Afterward we partook together of the Lord's Supper.

*April 28.* Sunday. At morning prayers Br. Grube took an affectionate leave of us. We all accompanied him and Br. Herman Loesch, who goes with him, for several miles, then a few of the Brethren rode with them to the borders of our land, and Br. Jacob Loesch went as far as Mr. Guest's, beyond Dan River.

*April 29.* We burned brush on our second field. Br. Loesch returned from Dan River; he had bought two cow-hides, but was not able to get any cows.

*April 30.* We finished clearing our second field. That made ten acres, which by May 24th had all been planted in corn and pumpkins, with the exception of one half acre planted in hemp seed, and one-third acre in beans. Meanwhile our work ran as follows:

*May 1.* We began to fence in an eight acre cow pen, which was finished the 4th.

<sup>9</sup> In Herrnhut, in 1727, the custom was started of sending some one to each house in the village to make known a Bible text, which had been selected for the following day for personal meditation and for comment in the services. The next year the Text for the following day was announced at the evening service, instead of being sent to the homes. From 1731 on the Texts for each day in the year were arranged in advance, and given in book form to the congregations. (Croeger.) The Text Book is now, (1921) printed in twelve languages, and more than 200,000 copies are needed each year.



*May 3.* Rails were split for a seven-rail fence around the second field, which was completed by the 21st.

*May 6.* We cleared out a spring in the second field, about two hundred paces south-east from our cabin.

*May 17.* We planted cotton seed; also hauled oak bark for the tannery which has already been begun, and will be carried on by the Brn. Feldhausen and Pfeil.

*May 25.* We girdled trees, also felled and split some. Also weeded our garden and fields.

*May 27.* Began to hoe corn in the first field, which was planted in April. It was decided in conference to clear three or four more acres for corn, so a convenient place was selected two miles north-east from here, by the good spring, where there is good land and few trees, and a road thither was laid out.

*June 1.* We began to clear this third field, finishing by the 8th. There are three and a half acres; not many trees, but much brush.

*June 14.* Began to plant corn in the third field, finishing next day.

*June 17.* Began to split rails for a seven-rail fence around the third field, and finished it by the 21st, three weeks from the time we began to clear the field.

*June 19.* We have separated the calves from the cows, and for four days herded the cows in the forest, to accustom them to staying together.

*June 22.* We repaired the fence of the calf pen.

*June 24.* We made a cow pen, aside of the pen for calves.

*June 25.* From a tree we made a feeding trough, at which the cows can be tied. We also began the second hoeing of corn in the first field.

*June 28.* We began to pull flax; finished next day.

*July 2.* We picked the ripe barley from among the oats.

*July 5.* Began to cut wheat, continuing with it on the 6th and 8th.

*July 8.* We began to guard our millet from the birds, and continued the watch for three weeks, until the millet was cut and threshed.

*July 11.* Gathered blackberries for vinegar.

*July 12.* We stacked our grain; the crop was small.

*July 22.* We began to plough the fields from which the grain had been gathered; and by Aug. 6th had planted about five acres in buck-wheat.

*July 25 and 26.* Made a threshing floor.

*July 31.* The first churn was completed.

*Aug. 3.* Began to cut logs for corn-cribs, which were finished by the 8th.

*Aug. 5.* Most of us spent the day in the woods looking for our cattle which had strayed away. We found them toward evening.

*Aug. 10.* We cut fodder from the 3rd field.

*Aug. 12 and 13.* Gathered the hemp.

*Aug. 14.* Bro. Jacob Loesch set out for Bethlehem, returning Sept. 22.

*Concerning the weather.* From April 27th to May 8th we had beautiful spring weather. From May 8th to 19th there were frequent thunderstorms, with heavy rains. May 19th to 25th very warm. May 25th to June 15th frequent thunderstorms and rains, followed by some days of great heat. Heavy rain on July 21st and 22nd; heat and rain alternating until the end of the month. The first fourteen days of August were in general cloudy and rainy.

[At this point in the Diary there is inserted a resumé of the report sent to Bethlehem by Br. Jacob Loesch. The first part is practically a summary of the Diary as given above; then the following additional information is given.]

Their garden has given them good service; from May 8th to July 5th they had salad every day for dinner, and nearly every evening also. When the salad came to an end they had cucumbers for three weeks, with three or four meals of sugar peas, beans several times, occasionally cabbage, and squashes twice. Everything grows rapidly here.

Their usual and best food is milk and mush, and whatever can be made from cornmeal. During these three months [since Br. Grube left] they have shot only three deer and two small bears. (Mr. Altem gave them one deer). That is all the meat they have had during this period. They have not tried to do much hunting, partly because their task is to make a farm and cultivate the ground, and partly because game is scarce. The deer and bears are generally smaller than in Pennsylvania; one deer makes them three meals, and two young bears give less meat than one small-deer.

They now have 12 cows and 12 calves, one bull and one steer. The cattle here are very wild, as it is usual to feed them little and let them run in the woods, so they are generally of little use. The Brethren, however, are trying hard to tame them, and to take better care of them, and have more good of them, and it is succeeding well. Once they herded them for four days in the woods, to accustom them to staying together. They keep the calves and the cows apart, and have a separate pen for each group. At night they tie the cows to their feed troughs; and so it is gradually coming to pass that each evening at the proper time the cattle come home.

The Brethren have some good, helpful, pleasant neighbors, and are well thought of by other settlers. During the past three months they have entertained 103 persons, of whom 52 spent the night. Some of these came to trade with the Brethren, others were on journeys and stopped to call, others came for medicine. Br. Kalberlahn has a large practice. People have come more than a hundred miles to get medicine and advice from him. He has also gone far and wide to visit patients. It is generally said and believed that Carolina is unhealthy, having many kinds of disease. There is however a great difference between the eastern and western parts. The low land near the sea is unhealthy, owing to the absense of good springs, and to the sluggish streams, whose outlets to the sea are choked by sand-banks, so that there is much foul, stagnant water, especially in summer. But no one should say that the land toward the mountains is unhealthy, for it has fresh air and fresh water, and when one studies the matter it appears that the illnesses of the people there result from their irregular living, now with an abundance of food, now in want, and doing little of the work to which they were previously accustomed.

Br. Jacob Loesch made a trip to the Cape Fear, on which there is a Storehouse,<sup>10</sup> 140 miles from the Brethren's settlement. From there he went 140 miles further to Wilmington, to look into the opportunities for trade and shipping, so that he might bring an intelligent report to Bethlehem. He left for the Cape Fear July 24th, returning to Wachovia Aug. 8th; he left for Bethlehem Aug. 14th, reaching there Aug. 28th well and happy. He says the harbor is good, that ships go from the sea up to Wilmington, a town which lies five miles from the ocean in a direct line but thirty miles by water. Goods are taken up the Cape Fear,—which is a large river,—in large boats to the Storehouse already mentioned, where they can be bought at a reasonable price. From the Storehouse one travels a good road for one hundred miles, then it is forty miles more through the forest to our settlement.

Our Brethren have lived happily together, conscious of the presence of the Saviour; and their religious services have been helpful and blessed. Each day they have morning prayers, a liturgy at noon (except when work in the fields interferes, when it is postponed to evening), and in the evening they have singstunde, during which they read reports from other congregations, or a chapter from the Bible. Saturday evening they usually have Lovefeast; and they hold the Sunday services and observe the Church festivals carefully. The material they have used for their reading services has been the Diaries of Christ-

<sup>10</sup> This was doubtless at the place later known as Springhill.



iansbrunn and Bethlehem, the Onondaga Diaries of David Zeisberger<sup>11</sup> and Heinrich Frey, Minutes of the Synods at Heidelberg and Donnegatter in 1753 and 1754, and especially the "Diarium der Hütten,"<sup>12</sup> of which by Aug. 14th they had read the first 13 numbers of 1753. Of printed Unity books they have read with particular profit the Discourses on the Passion Litany and sermons preached at Berlin, Zeist, etc.

No one has yet come on purpose to attend their services, though some who were there over night have been present at their evening meetings; and two or three have welcomed conversation on religious matters.

*Continuation of the Bethabara Diary*

[Extracts translated.]

*Aug. 14.* After Bro. Loesch's departure all the Brethren went to their work. The 1st field was ploughed for turnips, and seed sowed in three acres on the 16th.

*Aug. 17.* Built a stable for the calves, though for the present it will be used for drying tobacco.

*Aug. 19.* Made hay in the meadow one mile west of our cabin, and on the 22nd mowed the bottom on the Grassy Fork, near the good spring, a mile and a half north-west from our house, where a good meadow could be made. We had expected to do more with hay in the future than this year, but on account of the very favorable weather we can use what we have made now.

*Aug. 27.* Built two corn cribs near our cabin.

*Aug. 31.* We thatched the fodder huts built in the 1st field yesterday; also gathered a quantity of fox grapes for vinegar.

*Sept. 2.* We built a pig pen.

*Sept. 9.* Built the third corn-crib near our house.

*Sept. 12.* Felled a large poplar tree in the 1st field, and began to saw it into boards. For two weeks Br. Pfeil has been making us shoes, and Br. Feldhausen barrels for storing food.

<sup>11</sup> David Zeisberger, "the great apostle to the Indians," visited the Onondagas in 1750, and in 1754 returned to them, spending nearly a year studying their language with the intention of founding a mission among them. In 1756 and 1759 he visited Wachovia, bringing messages from the Church leaders in Bethlehem.

<sup>12</sup> This manuscript Church newspaper was begun in 1747. At first it bore the name of "Diarium der Hütten" (Diary of the wanderers), or "Pilgerhaus" (Pilgrims), or "Jüngerhaus" (Disciples), and contained an account of the religious activities of Count Zinzendorf and his associates as they moved from place to place during his exile from Saxony, together with sermons, and reports from all parts of the Unity. The "Diarium" was copied by secretaries, and issued weekly, being sent to all congregations of the Brethren. After the death of Zinzendorf it was continued for many years under the name of "Wöchentlichen Nachrichten aus der Unitäts-Aeltesten-Conferenz" (Weekly Report from the Unity's Elders' Conference), and as "Gemein-Nachrichten" (Unity News).



*Sept. 21.* Finished gathering and shucking corn from the 1st field.

*Oct. 3.* Began to reap the buckwheat. When threshed it made more than thirty bushels.

*Oct. 10.* Gathered pumpkins. Otherwise this week was largely spent in felling trees, burning the brush and hauling the logs to the site for the new house soon to be built. Land was also broken for rye, seven acres being sowed in this grain by Oct. 28th; a little spelt was also sown for seed.

*Oct. 21 to 24.* The Brn. Loesch, Ingebretsen and Feldhausen were busy clearing the new road toward Pennsylvania, cutting it out for five miles. Others continued gathering corn and pumpkins. The evenings for some weeks were given to shucking and sorting corn.

*Oct. 28 to 30.* The Brn. Christensen and Kobus examined various creeks, and measured the fall of water, [searching for a good mill site.]

*Oct. 29 to Nov. 11.* Seven acres were planted in winter wheat, two acres in oats, and one acre in rye.

*Oct. 31.* Christensen and Kobus began to saw boards; Kobus was later replaced by Beroth, as he was troubled by an old injury and found the work too hard.

*Nov. 8.* Dug potatoes.

*Nov. 11.* Threshed the wheat we hold for seed. Br. Pfeil will spend some time making shoes for us, and Br. Petersen tailoring.

. . . . .

Our dear Br. Peter<sup>13</sup> [Boehler] arrived on Sept. 10, much to our joy. He was accompanied by Br. Höger and Herman Loesch. At a Love-feast that evening he told us that our tract of land had definitely received the name WACHAU; also gave us much interesting news, among the rest that Br. Joseph and many Brethren and Sisters had arrived in Pennsylvania.

One main object of his visit was to inspect the tract and measure it, and many days were devoted to this, various Brethren being appointed to accompany and assist him. A map was made by Höger, who also made a copy to be retained in the Wachau.

*Sept. 27 and 28.* The site for a new house was selected and staked; it was also decided that hereafter a small charge would be made to strangers seeking food and lodging.

*Sept. 30.* Br. Boehler left for Newbern, taking Br. Herman Loesch along as guide. They returned in good health Oct. 28th; found that the Brethren from Pennsylvania had arrived (Oct. 26th), and that

<sup>13</sup> Bishop Peter Boehler, a leader in the Renewed Unity of Brethren; widely known outside of the Moravian Church because of his influence on the religious life of John Wesley. He was born Dec. 31, 1712 at Frankfurt-am-Main; died in London, Apr. 27, 1775.

evening Br. Boehler told us about his trip, and that we were well thought of by the officials.

During his stay with us he became thoroughly acquainted with all our circumstances. He held many services for us,—singstunde, Love-feasts, Unity Days,<sup>14</sup> Liturgies, and Communion; on Sept. 29th he preached in English, five strangers being present, and they were glad to hear him. He also spoke with the nearest Captain of Militia about various things, especially our freedom from military service,<sup>15</sup> and the Captain was quite satisfied.

*Nov. 16.* was the first Sabbath we were able to observe with him, the press of work having been too great before. We had a blessed Communion, preceded by our first Pedalavium.<sup>16</sup>

*Nov. 17.* Sunday. Was the anniversary of the arrival of the first company, and their taking possession of this house. We celebrated the day appropriately; also held a general conference in which many things were discussed that needed to be settled together.

*Nov. 18.* Br. Boehler took tender leave of us; and in parting shared with us the Cup of Thanksgiving.

. . . . .

During this period [Aug. 14th to Nov. 18th], the following trips were made by Brethren.

Br. Friis accompanied Br. Loesch as far as Mr. Altem's on Aug. 14th, returning that evening.

Br. Jacob Loesch left for Bethlehem Aug. 14th; reaching here again Sept. 22nd, while we were in Communion. On Sept. 26th he went beyond the Etkin to Mr. Wagner's, seeking a new road toward Pennsylvania. Nov. 5th he went to Mr. Altem's, looking for strayed horses.

Br. Kalberlahn made professional trips as follows. On Aug. 19th to Mr. Fry, beyond the Etkin; later three or four more visits to the Etkin neighborhood; Sept. 2nd beyond the Town Fork; Sept. 23rd to 27th he was in Virginia.

The Brn. Beroth and Merkli made several trips to the mill.

Br. Lischer made a two day trip into Virginia, seventy miles from here, to get salt. We having been informed by a constable that within two weeks we must report our taxables he made two trips to the Justice.

<sup>14</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>15</sup> The Moravians of this period were conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, and by the Act of May 12, 1749, the English Parliament had granted them full liberty of conscience and worship throughout Great Britain and her Colonies, with freedom from military service, and the right to affirm instead of taking an oath.

<sup>16</sup> The form of this service is unknown. It was in remembrance of the washing of the disciples' feet just before the institution of the Lord's Supper. The service has been long extinct.

Finding him away from home both times he finally left a letter giving the desired information. Sept. 30th he left with fresh horses to meet the Brethren coming from Pennsylvania, finding them at the forks of James River, and returning with them Oct. 26th. They were all well except Br. Holder, who had fever. Nov. 18th he left for Bethlehem with the Brn. Boehler and Höger.

. . . . .

During this period there have been 136 visitors here, of whom 59 spent the night, and 12 came for medicine.

Among the strangers was an English minister, who was here Aug. 29th. He gave his name as Charles Wesley, and had traveled about, claiming to be a Brother, and preaching and baptising. On arriving he claimed to be a Brother, kissing several of the Brethren; but before he left we told him rather plainly that we considered him to be an evil man; and the people who had already doubted him because of his love of whiskey know now that we do not acknowledge him.

Two other ministers were here, a Presbyterian on Sept. 26th and a German Reformed on Oct. 12th. Both said frankly who they were, and were courteous and polite.

Another stranger, here on Sept. 19th, was Adam Spach, from the Manakesy in Pennsylvania. He lives three miles from our line, and says he settled as near as possible so that he might attend our services. To that end he has cut a road from his house to ours. On the 6th of October he attended a service at which a sermon preached at Marienborn, May 14, 1747, was read.

Sept. 14th an Englishman came with his wife,<sup>17</sup> who had been ill more than a year, and bed-ridden for six months. When they reached here she was too sick to go further, and had to stay until Sept. 29th, when she died; her body was removed the next day. Soon after reaching here she asked to borrow a book, and we lent her the Seven Sermons on the Godhead of the Lamb. Her husband read much to her from it, otherwise little was said to her, but the Saviour revealed Himself to her. She believed that He died for her, and went home in peace.

In addition to those already mentioned the surveyor, Mr. Churton, with three others, was here Oct. 13th. He came to survey some land for Br. Antes, bringing a letter from Br. Peter to Br. Loesch requesting that he help Mr. Churton. They rode together into the forest, but Mr. Churton left for the Cadaver<sup>18</sup> on the 17th, telling us to look over the land carefully while he was away, as because of poor land he had not

<sup>17</sup> Anna Greson, m. n. Johnson. [Wachovia Church Book.]

<sup>18</sup> No doubt the Catawba River is meant.



been able to measure the full amount for Br. Antes. There was so much danger from Indians on the Cadaver that he could do no surveying there, and returned much sooner than we expected him, and therefore he could not survey the Antes land for us but postponed it until a visit next spring. A very heavy rain detained him here until Oct. 25th.

On the morning of Oct. 30th Col. Schmidt rode through our yard, and without permission held Muster in our meadow, for his five companies. We had planted the meadow with grass-seed in the spring, but it was so badly trampled that it will have to be re-sowed as soon as we can get more seed from Pennsylvania. Capt. Guest was very considerate, he stopped and spoke to us only in passing, for fear others would follow him in, and gave orders to his company to stay out of our yard, but nearly all the rest rode right through. The noise and shooting frightened our horses badly, and the four new horses broke away into the woods. Two of them we found on the third day thereafter, but the other two were brought to us on Nov. 7th by hunters who had seen our advertisement. We had to pay them for their trouble though we had already lost much time in seeking the horses. In general the people behaved better than is usual on such occasions, though this does not apply to Capt. Hampy and his men. During dinner they passed through our yard and we asked that the beating of the drums cease because it frightened our horses and made them tear around the wagons, etc. They not only refused our request, but began shooting in addition. Capt. Hampy did not know the road through our farm, and when we offered to show it to him replied that he would ride where he pleased and make a way through our fences. After the Muster the men were so full of whiskey that they fought each other until they were covered with blood. However, through all the tumult, we safely continued our work. We hope the soldiers will hereafter find another place for Muster, and not use our land. However, this time there was this much benefit,—the neighboring people have found out that we have all sorts of things to sell, that we know exactly what we have, and that we will sell only for immediate payment.

. . . . .

Until Sept. 25th we have eaten mush for breakfast and supper, and at noon either green beans, which were planted in April, or pumpkins, which grow well here. During this period we have had no meat except one deer, which Mr. Fry gave us on Sept. 6th.

Partly because we were out of grease for our mush, and partly because we needed food that the Brethren could take with them when they



went surveying, we on Sept. 25th killed a small steer weighing 150 lbs. On Oct. 11th we killed another steer, weighing 300 lbs.; on Oct. 29th a 300 lb. cow, and bought half a cow; and on Nov. 5th killed a hog. In addition Mr. Haltem gave us a small bear. After we began butchering we usually had meat for dinner every other day, especially as the garden began to fail. With the meat we had potatoes or white turnips, which are very good, or else sequata.<sup>19</sup> In October we could have milk only once a day; the first part of November only every other day; and now we can have it only every third day. Therefore in the morning we have mush with milk or drippings; at supper mush with drippings, or pumpkins, or squashes; and at noon, when we have no meat, we use pumpkin or beans.

While our water-melons were not a great success we did have some good ones, especially late in August. We began to eat them early in August, and could still give some to the Brn. Peter and Höger when they arrived.

Sept. 15th we had the first mush and bread from our own corn, and it was a pleasure that the Brn. Peter and Höger could share in the first fruits of our fields. While much corn spoiled, and much was eaten by cattle and birds, still we had a good crop; and the corn planted on the 3rd field in June did as well as that planted earlier. Corn must serve us with bread and mush this year.

During this period we have killed no game except a bear and a deer shot by Br. Herman Loesch on Oct. 29th.

If one wishes to purchase cattle in this neighborhood it usually costs forty to fifty shillings a head, therefore it is cheaper to buy in South Carolina, if one wishes enough to make the trip worth the trouble. But if one can wait for an opportunity, and especially if one can pay in silver, which is scarce, cattle can sometimes be secured for half price here, and meat is cheaper food than corn.

Besides what we killed one calf died, so we now have 11 cows, 10 calves, 1 bull, and 1 steer.

In this period we have lost 9 pigs, and now have 11 old and 12 grown hogs, and 23 pigs, in all 46.

In the middle of August the weather cleared, and the second half of the month was dry and hot, with only one hour of rain. September began with two days of rain, which broke the hot spell, and except for rain on the 13th the month was dry and the weather pleasant. Oct.

<sup>19</sup> Sequata, probably a local form of squanter-squash, generally contracted into squash. At another place it is spelled squata by the Diarist, who writes it always with English letters, as he does all English words used.

3rd there was a hard thunder storm, with heavy rain, and it rained again on the 17th, otherwise it was dry until Oct. 23rd, when it rained heavily all day and night. The 24th was the first day that seemed like fall and thereafter it was not so warm, though the dry weather continued until Nov. 4th, when it rained and thundered. The next day it cleared, and the following night, Nov. 5th, we had the first frost. The weather continued dry and colder, with some ice at night on standing water, until Nov. 12th, when it began to rain, and the rainy weather has continued since then. We notice that in fall whenever it rains the weather grows colder.

Our services have continued as usual. On Aug 29th we celebrated our Choir Festival;<sup>20</sup> and Nov. 17th the anniversary of our arrival here.

. . . . .

*Nov. 18.* After our dear Brn. Peter, Höger and Lischer had started for Bethlehem we went to our work. Christensen and Kobus hewed logs for boards; Br. Holder, who has recovered his health, and Br. Beroth sawed the boards. Br. Pfeil worked on shoes, and Br. Petersen at his tailoring. We dug potatoes, and placed them in a hole in front of our fireplace.

*Nov. 19.* Four of the Brethren went to finish the new road toward Pennsylvania;—it is only a foot-way. The first path in the Wachau leading to Deep River was blazed. We fastened four cows in the stable for the winter, and drove the rest to the Black Walnut Bottom, where there are green reeds.

*Nov. 20.* Two strangers had their horses shod,—the first smith's work we have done for strangers. This evening we began to shred pumpkins for drying, as they spoil otherwise.

*Nov. 25.* Blazed a new path to the Black Walnut Bottom.

*Nov. 26.* Brought in turnips and buried them in a pit. This evening we laid the cornerstone for the new dwelling house two hundred paces south-east of our cabin. We placed it at the front corner, toward the west, and placed our names in it. Then we had Lovefeast, and discussed the Text for the day.

*Nov. 27.* We began to build the house, and this was our chief work until it was finished in January.

*Dec. 18.* We ate the last of our potatoes. We have had them hardly three months, but more than 20 bushels rotted because we could not dig them at the right time, being too busy with other things. Dec. 23rd

<sup>20</sup> The Covenant Day of the Single Brethren came on Aug. 29th, on which date, in 1741, the unmarried men of Herrnhut mutually pledged themselves to preparation for active service for the Saviour.

we had the last of the pumpkins. They also would have lasted longer if we had been able to bring them in at the right time, but still we have had them for five months.

*Dec. 21.* Built a small house 24 feet from the new dwelling house,—it will serve for the present as a smoke-house. It was finished by Jan. 2nd, and the first meat hung in it to smoke. For salting we killed cattle as follows: a cow weighing 400 lbs; an ox, 460 lbs; a cow 350 lbs; two oxen, each 400 lbs; and a cow, 200 lbs; all these between the 21st and 30th of December.

Of game during this period we shot two small deer and two wild turkeys. Bear fat, which is the best fat here, will be scarce this year, for the snow drove the bears to their dens unusually early.

Concerning the weather during this period we may say that Nov. 20th it cleared up cold, and ice formed on standing water. Several inches of snow fell on Nov. 22nd, continuing very cold until the night of Nov. 26th when it rained, followed by freezing weather until Dec. 10th, when it rained. From then until the last of the month there was alternate raining and freezing, the year ending in rain.

During this period 51 strangers have been here, 20 spending the night. Two came for medicine.

Adam Spach was here Dec. 22nd, and asked that one of us would come each Sunday and preach at his house, but we could not do this for him.

Our services continued as usual. On Dec. 24th we kept the Nativity Night-watch, and observed the 25th of December also.

And so with the forgiveness of our sins, and fresh grace and blessing from the Saviour, we closed this year and entered upon the new.

*An Act, for appointing Parishes and Vestries, for ye Encouragement of an Orthodox Clergy, for the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Direction of the Settlement of Parish Accounts.*

[This Act is printed by title only in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, but it is historically interesting, and throws light on Parish matters in Wachovia, so part of it is here re-printed from a MS. copy in the Salem Archives. The content of paragraphs not reprinted in full is indicated by the sub-title, taken from the margin of the original MS. and here inserted in brackets.]

At a General Assembly, begun and held at Newbern On the Twelfth Day of December in ye Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Four: being the first Session of this Assembly.



1. Whereas the present as well as future Happiness of Mankind essentially depends on the Knowledge and Practice of true Religion; & a permanent and certain Provision for an Orthodox Clergy, may conduce to the Encouragement of pious and learned Ministers of ye Gospel to settle & reside in the several Parishes in this Province to the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, & Encouragement of Virtue and Morallity.

2. *Be it enacted by the Governour Council & Assembly, & by the Authority of the same;* That this Government be & is hereby divided into distinct Parishes, in the Manner following: That is to say, *St. Paul's* Parish in *Chowan* County; *Berkley* Parish in *Perquimons* County; *St. John's* Parish on the South-West Side of *Pasquotank* River, & *St. Peter's* Parish on the North-East Side of *Pasquotank* River, in *Pasquotank* County; *Currituck* Parish in *Currituck* County; *Society* Parish in *Bertie* County; *St. Andrews* Parish in *Tyrell* County; *St. Thomas's* Parish in *Beaufort* County; *St. George's* Parish in *Hyde* County; *North-West* Parish in *Northampton* County; *St. John's* Parish in *Granville* County; *St. Matthew's* Parish in *Orange* County; *St. Luke's* Parish in *Rowan* County; *St. David's* Parish in *Cumberland* County; *St. Gabriel's* Parish in *Duplin* County; *St. George's* Parish in *Anson* County; *Edgecombe* Parish in *Edgecombe* County; *St. Martin's* Parish in *Bladen* County; *St. James'* Parish on the East Side of *Cape Fear* River, & *St. Philip's* Parish on the West Side of *Cape Fear* River, from the Mouth of the said River running up the *North-West* River to the Bounds of the County: Inclusive of the Island at the Mouth of the *North-West* & *North-East* Rivers, commonly called *Eagle's* Island, in *New Hanover* County; *St. Patrick's* Parish in *Johnston* County; *Christ Church* Parish in *Craven* County; *St. John's* Parish in *Cartaret* County.

3. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority Aforesaid:* That the Freeholders of each respective Parish aforesaid, shall & they are hereby Impowered & directed, to meet on the first *Monday* after the tenth day of *June* next after the Ratification of this Act at the Court House or Place where the County Court in each respective County aforesaid is or shall be held, or at the usual Place of electing Vestrymen, & on *Easter Monday* every Third Year thereafter then & there to elect & choose Twelve Freeholders to serve as Vestrymen for the Three Years next ensuing; which Vestrymen so chosen, shall, by the Sheriff or his Deputy in each of the said Parishes respectively be summoned to meet at the Church, & where there is no Church, at the Court House or Place where the County Court is or shall be held, within Forty Days



next after such Choice, to qualify themselves according to the Direction of this Act; & if the said Sheriff by himself or Deputy shall neglect or refuse to summon the Vestry as aforesaid he shall forfeit & pay the sum of twenty Shillings, Proclamation Money for each and every Vestryman not summon'd as aforesaid, who shall reside within his District; to be levied & applied as Herein after directed.

4. *And be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That every Sheriff or his Deputy, one month at least before the Election of Vestrymen for the Parish or Parishes within his County, shall give notice in Writing to the Minister & every Clerk & Reader within the Parish where such Election is to be held of the Time & Place appointed for such Election; and the Ministers and Readers respectively are hereby requir'd, to publish such Notice immediately after Divine Service, on every Sunday between the receipt thereof, & the Day so appointed; and on Failure thereof, each Minister & Reader so offending, shall forfeit & pay the Sum of Five Pounds Proclamation Money; & if the Sheriff shall fail to make such Appointment, and give Notice as Aforesaid, he shall for such failure forfeit & pay the Sum of Twenty Pounds like Money; one Moiety of which Penalty shall be to the Parish wherein the Offence shall be committed, & the other Moiety to the Informer; to be recovered with Costs; by Action of Debt in any Court of Record.

5. [Method of Election.] \* \* \*

6. And to prevent Disputes concerning who shall be understood to be a Freeholder *Be it further Enacted*, That no person who hath not an Estate Real, for his own Life or the Life of some other Person, or an Estate of greater Dignity, in Fifty Acres of Land in the Parish for which such Election shall be made, shall be deemed a Freeholder within ye Meaning of this Act; and any one of the Candidates may in Case he suspects any Person going to give his Vote, hath not a Freehold within the Meaning of this Act, object to such Person giving his Vote, and require the Sheriff to tender him an Oath or Affirmation concerning his Qualification; which Oath or Affirmation the Sheriff is hereby empowered & directed to Administer in the following Words; *to wit*

*You shall swear (or affirm) That you have been possessed of a Freehold of Fifty Acres of Land for Three Months past, in your own Right, in the Parish of....., & that you have not given your Vote before in this Election. So help you God.*

7. [No person under the age of 21 Years to vote.] \* \* \*

8. [Penalty on Persons failing to Attend Elections of Vestrymen.] \* \* \*

9. [Penalty on Persons voting who are not qualified.] \* \* \*

10. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid.* That no Person shall be admitted to be of any Vestry within this Government that doth not within Forty days after his being Chosen by the Freeholders as is before directed, take the Oaths by Law appointed for the Qualification of Publick Officers, & repeat & subscribe the following Declaration, *to wit*

*I A. B. do declare That I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is by Law established.* \* \* \* [Penalty for Neglect or Refusal & on which other Vestrymen to be chosen.] \* \*

11. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,* That the Vestrymen of each & every Parish respectively, or a Majority of them, shall, and they are hereby directed, within Sixty Days after *Easter Monday*, Yearly, to elect & choose out of the said Vestry, Two Persons, to execute the Office of Churchwardens, in each & every respective Parish. \* \* \* [Penalty for refusing to serve.] \* \* \* Provided that no Person whatsoever shall be obliged to serve as Churchwarden in any Parish for more than One Year, at the Expiration of which the Vestry shall again choose another to Succeed him; and the Churchwardens of every Parish, shall purchase at the Expense of the Parish, Books well Bound in Vellum, for keeping therein a Journal & Register, of all Proceedings of the Vestry, in which shall be fairly stated the accounts of all Monies as they, from Time to Time shall receive in Virtue of their Office, and all Disbursements & Expenses made on Account of the Parish, \* \* \* [Accounts to be posted during County Court after their Wardenship shall expire.]

12. [Churchwardens or any three of the Vestry may call the Vestry together at any time and upon any Occasion they shall judge necessary, by Warrants directed to the Constables. Penalty for neglecting to Attend.]

13. [In case of Death, etc., of Churchwardens others to be Elected by the Vestrymen.]

14. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,* That the Vestry of each respective Parish shall have full Power & Authority, and they are hereby directed and required, between *Easter Monday* & the first day of *November* Yearly to lay such a Poll Tax as they shall judge necessary, for purchasing Glebes, and Satisfying the Expence of their respective Parishes.

15. [How and by whom to be Collected & to whom Paid. Collector on Neglect to pay the Same to distress the Goods of the Delinquents. Penalty on Vestry neglecting to lay a Tax.]

16. [Parish Glebes to be purchased, to contain Two Hundred Acres at least.]

17. [Houses & Conveniences thereon to be erected. ]

18. [To be kept in Repair by the Minister, Accidents Excepted, Vestry of Vacant Parishes to put the Glebes in Repair.]

19. [Vestry may make such necessary Repairs as they think fit.]

20. And to the End that the Clergy may have a decent & comfortable Maintenance and Support, without being obliged to follow any other Employment than that of their Holy Function, in ye Cure of their respective Parishes, *Be it Enacted by ye Authority aforesaid*, That every Minister hereafter to be preferred to or receiv'd into any Parish within this Province shall have & receive an Annual Salary of Eighty Pounds, Proclamation Money, to be levied assessed collected & Paid in Manner herein before directed.

21. *Provided always* That no Vestry shall at any Time make Presentation to any Parish of a Missionary whose Duty requires him at any Time to be absent from such Parish unless such Missionary shall agree with the Vestry for such Yearly Salary as they shall think fit & reasonable considering ye Time his Duty will require him to be absent;

\* \* \*

22. [Right of Presentation in the Vestry for 12 Months; for Neglect in that Time, in the Governor.]

23. *Provided nevertheless*, That in Case the Vestry of any Parish that shall be vacant one Year, shall procure some neighboring or other Minister to serve in the Cure of such vacant Parish, by performing Divine Service once in Three Months; they shall thereby save to themselves and retain the Right of Presentation for so long Time as such Minister shall so serve in the Cure of such Vacant Parish; Any Thing herein contain'd to ye contrary notwithstanding.

24. *Provided also* That no Vestry within this Province shall present for their Minister any Person who shall not first have a Certificate from ye Bishop of *London*, That such a Minister hath been duly Ordained, conformable to ye Doctrine & Discipline of ye Church of England and is of a good Life & Conversation.

25. [Minister guilty of any Immorality to be turned out.]

26. [To Officiate at such Times & Places in the Parish as the Vestry shall direct.]

27. [Vestries' Power to call Persons who have received Parish Monies to Account. Suit brought by the Churchwardens may be carried on to Execution by their Successors.]

28. [Forfeitures & Penalties how recovered & to whom to be paid.]

29. [Repealing Clause.]

30. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid* That this Act shall commence & be in Force from & after ye first Day of *June* next; And that all Acts heretofore legally made & done by Vestries, heretofore chosen & Qualified agreeable to ye Laws of this Province, are hereby declared to be as good & valid as if this Act had never been made.



[Both England and France sent troops to America to prosecute the war; and both sides tried to gain the Indian tribes. General Braddock, leader of the English army, met a disastrous defeat in his attack on Fort Duquesne, and George Washington won his spurs by his valiant efforts to save the remnant of the English from destruction. The English deported the French settlers from Nova Scotia,—the episode on which Longfellow based his “Evangeline.”

North Carolina sent 100 men, under command of Capt. Edward Brice Dobbs, son of the Governor, to the northern army, while Capt. Hugh Waddell patrolled the western border of the Colony with a company of frontiersmen. Governor Dobbs visited his large tract of land on Rocky River and its branches, in the western part of the state, and with Captain Waddell selected the site for a fort, Fort Dobbs, to which settlers might retreat in case of need. It was on Third Creek, in what is now Iredell County.

The Unity of Brethren continued to grow. The Jüngerhaus returned from England to Herrnhut. Bishop John von Watteville made a tour of England and Ireland, organizing eight congregations, and consecrating one church. Emigration to America continued. The extensive mission work among the northern Indians suffered much from the war. Nov. 24th a number of Christian Indians, with their missionaries, were massacred by hostile Red Men at Gnadenhütten, on the Mahony, beyond the Blue Mountains; many others were led by their missionaries to Bethlehem, Pa., where they were given shelter, though this aroused the suspicion and anger of neighboring white settlers against the Brethren.

The Indian troubles, at this time, were worse in the northern Colonies than further south, and this sent a number of families to North Carolina, seeking homes.

With this year the Diarist of the Wachau began the custom of preparing the “Memorabilia” to be read at the closing service of the year. The form of the paper varied with the personality of the minister, but in general it was,—and is,—a resumé of the chief events of the year, both secular and religious, as they affected the Brethren. The Memorabilia will now be translated in full, then such extracts from the Diary will be given as seem needed, for many details of interest to the historian were naturally passed over in the final summary, which was

only intended to "remind the Brethren and Sisters of all the grace and mercy received from our most gracious Lord, from our dear Heavenly Father, and from the Holy Spirit, during the year just past; for which we together give Him thanks, honor and praise."]

*Bethabara Memorabilia, 1755.*

[Full translation.]

At the close of the year 1755 we poor sinners here in the Wachau have many spiritual and temporal blessings for which to give our humble, childlike, heartfelt thanks to our dear Saviour, our Heavenly Father and the Holy Spirit. We are grateful

1. For the daily consciousness of the presence of our gracious Lord and Saviour.

2. For the daily spiritual food provided by His word through our Liturgies and other Church services.

3. For the enjoyment fourteen times of the Holy Sacrament.

4. For the reading of the Jüngerhaus Diarium, and the Gemein-Nachrichten from Bethlehem, St. Thomas, etc.

5. For blessing in the use of our Hymnbook, etc.

6. For fifty-six general and three special Lovefeasts.

7. For sixteen Conferences, ten Unity Days, three Congregation Councils, two Pedalavia, and one Cup of Thanksgiving.

8. For our call of grace.

9. For the influence of the Holy Spirit in leading our poor souls to the Lamb of God.

10. For the blessing, assistance and protection graciously vouchsafed to us by our dear Heavenly Father here in the Wachau, and on the many journeys made by our Brethren to and from Bethlehem, and in this Province.

*A. In the Wachau.*

1. We were able to give shelter during the troubled times to Mr. Benner and his family, who came to us one night; to Mr. Haltem and his family twice; and to sixteen other persons who were driven from their homes and took refuge with us; and not a hair of our heads was harmed.

2. We were saved from a threatening fire.

3. When Br. Georg Schmid fell from the roof of a two-story house he was shingling he sustained no worse injury than a dislocated leg, from which he made a quick and complete recovery.

4. One Brother had a narrow escape when horned by a cow.

5. Various Brethren were ill, but all recovered.

*B. On Journeys.*

During this year the following reached us safely:

April 28, the Brn. David Nitschman, Benzien and Stauber;

June 13, Lischer, Baumgarten, Ranck, Steiner;

Aug. 3, Sauter, Keiter, and Joseph Müller, just when rumors were most threatening;

Sept. 15, Wütke, Gross, Richter, and Göpfert;

Oct. 11, Herman Loesch, Triebel, Pfeiffer, Küstner, and Angel;

Nov. 4, Br. and Sr. Christian Henrich, with six other married couples, ten Single Brethren, and three wagons with five drivers.

The following left us:

June 2, David Nitschman, for Bethlehem;

July 7, Lischer, with two other Brethren, for the Cape Fear,<sup>1</sup> to bring goods;

Aug. 11, Sauter and Keiter, for Bethlehem;

Aug. 18, Benzien and Stauber, for New Bern;

Nov. 10, Br. Friis and Georg Schmid, with three wagons and five drivers, for Bethlehem;

Dec. 2, Jacob and Herman Loesch, for Newbern.

11. For the blessing and help of our Heavenly Father in the mission of Br. Benzien to the Court at Newbern; also the mission thither of Br. Loesch.

12. For our Sovereign, King George II, and the consideration shown us by our Governor and the Assembly.

13. For the blessing on our lands, our fields, our meadows.

14. For food and drink, which not only never failed us but we were able to provide for 231 persons who spent the night here, that is

192 persons here over night, and given supper and breakfast;

4 patients who spent several weeks here in the doctor's care;

6 persons of Mr. Benner's family, here for some weeks;

6 persons of Mr. Haltem's family, here for some days;

16 others who spent a few days here during the troubled times;

3 who spent some weeks here working out debts;

---

231 in all with whom we were able to share our little store of food.

157 more visited us on business;

38 came for medicine;

---

426 total of our visitors for the year.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, to the Storehouse at the head of navigation.

15. For the blessing on our labor, by which this year have been begun or finished

- a. the new Brothers' House, with a cellar;
- b. the kitchen;
- c. the smithy;
- d. the mill;
- e. a little house by the mill, in which to store tools;
- f. the new Gemein Haus;
- g. a little house for the miller and guests at the mill;
- h. two bridges built;
- i. two roads opened;
- j. 16 acres of land cleared;
- k. 261½ acres sown.

16. For the finding of the beautiful spring, not far from our houses.

17. For all not mentioned, part already forgotten, part beyond expression, for His goodness is immeasurable.

*Bethabara Diary, 1755.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 1.* Wednesday. Having been awakened by the blowing of the French horn we assembled in the presence of our Saviour, and with hymns worshipped Him in His beauty. About eleven o'clock we read a sermon preached at Marienborn on Jan. 1st, on the text: "Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our Profession, Jesus Christ," Heb. III, 1. We enjoyed the sermon, and then prayed the Litany. During the afternoon and evening we entertained ourselves by reading extracts from the Diary kept from the beginning of our settlement here to the present day. A poem composed for this New Year was also read, and we closed the day with Liturgies and evening prayer. Toward evening a Quaker, his wife, and two hunters arrived. As our cabin was so crowded they built a fire outside, staying by it until we went to bed. It was quite cold today.

*Jan. 2.* The Quakeress, who understands German, attended our morning prayers. Then we all went to work, some on the building of the new house, others sawing boards, and still others covered the new kitchen, and hung in it the meat which is to be smoked.

*Jan. 7.* The Brn. Loesch and Merkli rode to Mr. Owen and Mr. Altem, returning in the evening. They brought with them some of our



cattle, which had wandered from the rest as far as the Town Fork. We hauled in fodder from the 2nd field, and hay from the meadow by the good spring. The Brn. Feldhausen and Pfeil worked in the tannery. Began to build a chimney in the new kitchen. For lack of vegetables we are now eating meat each day for dinner, which agrees with us well, and makes us feel strong for work. A stranger from Virginia came and spent the night.

*Jan. 14.* Two Brethren went to the mill with three bushels of wheat we threshed yesterday, bringing back the first flour from wheat we have raised in the Wachau.

*Jan. 15.* Br. Georg Schmid, who was shingling our new house, fell from the second story and dislocated his leg; Br. Kalberlahn set it without great pain, and then bled him. It was a great mercy that he was not worse injured.

*Jan. 16.* Mr. Ferry sent a man for the first barrel that our cooper has made for an outsider.

*Jan. 27.* Br. Loesch went beyond the Town Fork to buy bear fat from the younger Guest.

*Jan. 30.* In the afternoon it rained heavily, so we began to dig a cellar under our new house.

During this month the weather in general was mild and serviceable. There was rain on the 3rd, snow on the 8th, rain and thunder on the 17th, rain on the 30th, and rain and thunder on the 31st. The second half of the month was so mild as to be almost like spring.

Work on the two-story house and its cellar has already been mentioned. Plans were made for a mill, and trees felled for it. Advantage was taken of the good weather to lay off and clear a new eight acre field.

A little game was shot.—Two squirrels and a deer were killed during the snow. Eight ducks, the first the Brethren had seen in the Wachau, were brought from Mr. Altem. Two small deer were killed on the 11th.

Kalberlahn made professional visits to the Etkin and the Meho; and some persons came for medicine.

*Feb. 2.* Today we caught the first wolf in our wolf-pit.

*Feb. 3.* Monday. After morning prayers we went to work. The Brn. Ingebretsen and Beroth continued sawing boards for the mill; Christensen and Kobus squared timber for the mill, and as the moon is on the wane they will this week fell some more trees. Five Brethren cleared land. Toward noon four strangers arrived, bringing letters from Br. Matthew Hehl and Br. Christian Seidel to Br. Peter. They

were written Oct. 14th of last year, and were sent by the so-called Catholic weaver, but he himself was not here. We read the letters in the evening, being much interested in the news they contained.

*Feb. 7.* Today Br. Loesch rode beyond the Etkin to take our taxes to the Justice. He took with him the scalp of the wolf we caught, and the Justice, having asked whether he could swear that the wolf was killed in this County, gave him a certificate without further formality. Today it was snowing and freezing. Two Brethren split wood on the cleared land; five dug in the cellar; Br. Kapp helped with the work on the mill; Br. Christensen made a turning-lathe. As we were out of salt, and could not well send to Virginia for more, we reclaimed some by boiling brine, and found it good and strong.

*Feb. 8.* For the first time we had Lovefeast bread baked half flour and half corn-meal. We caught another wolf in the pit.

*Feb. 12.* Toward evening a man named Georg Müller arrived. Some weeks ago he asked to be allowed to come here for treatment, or that Br. Kalberlahn would come to him; neither request could then be granted, but now he was brought by two friends, who remained over night. Three months or more ago the man was struck on the head with an axe by some one who wanted to kill him. A surgeon treated the wound, and it seemed to heal, but it has opened again, his mind is weak, and he suffers much pain.

*Feb. 13.* Br. Kalberlahn operated on the injured man, and removed a splinter of bone from the skull; has also agreed to keep him under his care for several days here.

*Feb. 19.* A man came yesterday to take away our patient, but he did not want to go, so the man returned without him, and we will try further whether he can be helped. He does not trouble us, being as obedient as a child.

*Feb. 21.* It was very cold last night, and we had to take into our little cabin one of our horses which was sick. This weather is hard on our cattle, and especially the calves, for it is cold and they find little to eat in the woods. Two carpenters came to sharpen their axes.

*Feb. 26.* Br. Georg Schmid can now walk without a cane. For two weeks he has been making baskets and sieves. On the 28th he began work on a pair of bellows for the forge.

Practically the entire month of February has been so cold that those who have lived here several years say it has been an unusually hard winter. It snowed four times, on the 6th, 7th, 20th, and 24th. Yet we can not imagine another winter when nearly all our cattle and calves

and horses must be left to take care of themselves in the woods; nor another winter in such poor quarters, especially our sleeping room, which is of rails between which a man may thrust his hand. Yet with our blankets we have been able to stand it, so it can well be said that with fairly good accommodations the winter here is not to be dreaded.

*March 4.* Today we ate our first millet porridge; Br. Christensen has made a fine pestle for millet.

*March 5.* A stranger came and complained that we had taken away land he had taken up, and that he was not willing to let it go for nothing; we told him we could do nothing for him.

*March. 6.* Mr. Benner came for medicine. We burned charcoal again.

*March 8.* Br. Herman Loesch took the sick man [George Müller] home; brought him back again on the 10th. Two men came and bought axes.

Christensen and Kobus made several trips in the earlier part of the month, looking for stone from which mill-stones might be made. They finally selected some about ten miles away, near the South Fork, on our land. A road was cut to the place, and on March 15th the wagon took thither the bellows, iron for chisels,—and for lack of other iron we will have to use some grubbing-hoes and the like,—provisions, and other needful things. The Middle Fork was much swollen by rain, but was crossed in safety, and the wagon returned that evening, three men remaining at the South Fork to work on the stones, which were finished by the 27th.

*March 17.* The snow is eighteen inches deep. The fodder is nearly all used so we cut maple and other sprouts in the bottom and brought them in so that our milk cows could eat the buds. To these we added the straw and chaff from our bed-sacks, lest the cows, for lack of food, lose their milk. For this country the winter is lasting unusually long.

*March 23.* Sunday. The weather is much milder, and tonight we had the first dew. At morning prayers we were reminded that the Passion Week begins today, and the services would all touch on the theme of the Saviour's sufferings. The sick man who has been with us for some time, asked to attend, and was permitted to do so.

*March 24.* The sick man has now reached a point where his treatment can be continued at home, and Br. Ingebretsen escorted him thither.

*March 25.* At morning prayer we were reminded of the Annunciation, and of the love of God, beyond man's power to understand, which led the Creator to leave eternity for this passing time.



*April 5.* Today the smithy was roofed,—it was begun April 2nd. We brought in charcoal, also began to plough the 1st field. Nine strangers were here today, of whom one came for medicine, and two spent the night. Among them was Mr. Garder, [Carter], a prominent man in this County, and at present an Assembly-man. He said that he had taken up land quite near ours, but had not wished to complete the purchase until he knew whether we wished to take more land, and he asked to be informed if we should do that. He said also that while he belonged to the Church of England he thought a man ought to know the principles of other denominations, and he would like to be informed as to ours. We promised him that at the earliest opportunity he should receive one of our printed books, which would give the information he wished. He and other prominent men of the land have offered to help us whenever they can, and promised to be our friends,—the reason for this we do not know. Among the visitors was also Capt. Shephard, who brought us the first letter to come from Chelsea<sup>2</sup> to the Wachau via Wilmington and the Cape Fear. It was from our dear Br. Lauterbach, who sent with it the Daily Word and Doctrinal Texts<sup>3</sup> for this year, a printed sermon on Phil. III, 17, etc. We were very glad to receive this letter, and gave God the thanks and praise. In the evening we read the introduction to the Text Book, and Br. Lauterbach's letter, and hoped that his good wishes for us may be fulfilled.

*April 9.* Begin to build a bridge across Lick Fork, near our houses, so that we can haul logs to the site for the mill.

On the night of the 10th there was frost; then it turned warmer, and on the 12th beans were planted, cucumbers and potatoes on the 14th, peas and beans on the 15th. On the latter day there was rain and hail, the first rain since April 2nd.

*April 16.* There was a light frost last night. Today the Brethren finished planting potatoes, and planted cotton-seed. The stone cellar-wall under the new house is not yet finished. The Brethren who have been cutting wood for the new mill think they have enough, and today put up a little cabin to shelter their tools at the mill-site.

*April 18.* Pumpkins, water-melons and cantaloupes were planted today. Corn planting began April 22nd.

*April 27.* Sunday. The usual services. Adam Spach was here in the afternoon. Toward evening several Brethren had to go to the 3rd

<sup>2</sup> Moravian head-quarters in London, England, were in Chelsea, where Count Zinzendorf had bought a house.

<sup>3</sup> See Glossary.



field to guard the fence, which was threatened by fire in the woods near by.

*April 28.* There was so heavy a frost that the acorns were hurt. Br. Loesch rode to the Yadkin, and returning brought with him a letter from Chelsea to Br. Friis, under cover to Br. Cossart, and dated Dec. 16th of last year. Then our dear Brethren David Nitschmann,<sup>4</sup> Benzien, and Stauber arrived from Bethlehem,—that was joy added to joy! We welcomed them with a little Lovefeast that evening, during which they told various pleasant things; and Br. Nitschmann closed the service with a short singstunde and evening prayer.

*April 30.* The cold has continued for this entire month, though now by day it is warmer. People here in Carolina say it has been a cold and extraordinary winter. Many of our Brethren have not been well, though none were confined to their beds.

Hitherto the names of the rivers and places have been written as well and as clearly as we could, but now that we know them better they shall be spelled and named correctly, for instance “Ten River” will hereafter be written Dan River, etc.

*May 3.* Letters were sent to a Quaker named Hannibal Edwards, living thirty miles from here, who has promised to forward them safely to Bethlehem. As Br. Stauber is not well, and there is a sick man in the Quaker’s home whom we would gladly serve, Br. Kalberlahn took the letters.

*May 5.* Br. Feldhausen and Br. Beroth began to dig a tanyard vat, which will take them three days. Br. Petersen, who has been busy with tailoring, will also help Br. Lung with the cows morning and evening. We hauled in boards for the new houses, and finished planting corn on the eight acres of cleared upland. Four strangers were here today, one to see the tailor, and one to get medicine for Mr. Altam. At night there was frost again.

*May 7.* Br. Loesch returned from the Yadkin and reports that he was able to engage 80 bushels of corn and 20 bushels of rye forty miles from here, but the man demands pay in hard money. It is fortunate that we have it on hand, but unfortunate that we will have to haul the grain so far through the forest. A cow which we bought this winter, and which is still rather wild, hooked Br. Peterson near the eye; we are glad that the eye itself was not injured.

*May 8.* At morning prayers we were reminded that this is Ascension Day.

<sup>4</sup> At this time there were three David Nitschmanns, all prominent workers in the Moravian Church. This was Bishop David Nitschmann, “the carpenter,” who had been one of the first missionaries to the West Indies in 1732.

*May 10.* Br. Nitschmann went with Br. Loesch to the Black Walnut Bottom. There the dogs treed a bear, which Br. Loesch shot; it was lean but eatable. Br. Kobus this morning shot a wild turkey. A man brought work from Mr. Ferry to the tailor, and brought a hide to the tannery, in which Br. Pfeil is just now very busy. We gave him a letter for London, under cover to Br. Van Vleck in New York who will send it on by ship. A man on his way to Dan River to buy cattle stopped over night with us.

*May 11.* Sunday. We wanted to have a Unity Day, and looked about for a place to meet, for the cooking fire made it too hot in our small house, as the days are now fairly warm. We were about to go into the wagon shed when it occurred to one of the Brethren that we might use the new house, although the floor was not yet laid, and we at once followed the suggestion. Br. Nitschmann opened the service with a hymn, then prayed earnestly to the Saviour that He would bless this house and all who should dwell therein. Various reports were read, and after dinner another session was held, with more reading. Toward evening we had a conference, and decided what most needed to be done this week. In the evening was Lovefeast, in view of tomorrow's anniversary of the remarkable 12th of May,<sup>5</sup>—it was a great pleasure to have with us a Brother [Nitschmann] who could tell us what his eyes had seen and his heart had felt thirty-one years before. We must observe the anniversary today, for tomorrow Br. Nitschmann and others are riding out, and besides the farm work dare not be interrupted. Br. Friis composed several verses which were read at this service.

*May 15.* Mr. Altem came today to have a tooth pulled. Two others came from eighty miles away, one of them for medicine.

*May 16.* Last night a bear ate one of our best hogs. Br. Herman Loesch went to the woods today to drive him away, and if possible prevent further damage. The Brn. Petersen and Stauber who have been beyond Dan River for cattle returned today with eight cows and calves and five oxen.

*May 18. Whit Sunday.* At ten o'clock we prayed the litany, and there was an address on the Text for the day,—“Ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost,” Acts I, 5. In the afternoon we read the account of the giving of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles,—Acts II,—and several appropriate hymns were sung. Then we held our usual conference. The day was closed with a liturgy and evening prayers.

<sup>5</sup> May 12, 1727, the Moravians in Herrnhut, Saxony, signed the “Brotherly Agreement,” the first great step in the re-organization of the Unitas Fratrum.

*May 20.* Five strangers<sup>6</sup> were here today, two for work at our smithy. They had shot a deer, of which they only cared for the skin, so they offered us the meat, which we took.

*May 22.* Today we finished laying the floor in the second story of our new house. Br. Nitschmann has helped with it all this week, and has also made a table for our assembly room. A stranger came to consult Br. Kalberlahn.

*May 24.* Saturday. Toward evening we had Lovefeast, followed by Communion,—the first in our new house.

*May 29.* It is so dry that we can neither plough nor plant until rain comes. In the afternoon the Brn. Nitschmann and Benzien returned. They went to Salisbury on the 26th, and had a satisfactory interview with Councillor Hasell. The letter which we sent to Mr. Ferry on the 10th of this month to be forwarded to London was returned to us as the man did not go to the Cape Fear as expected; it has now been entrusted to Mr. Hasell. Today five men were here from the Catabes<sup>7</sup> and Virginia, three wishing medicine and one to have work done by our tailor. Three stayed all night.

*May 30.* We had a formal Congregation Council to consider the farm and how it can be improved, and also to consider where and how a new farm should be laid out in the fall. Br. Jacob Loesch has sent a detailed report of this to Br. Joseph. We were informed that Br. Nitschmann will leave for Pennsylvania next Monday. It was very warm today until it began to rain a little.

*May 31.* All who were not in the fields were busy with letter writing. It was an unusually cold day for this time of the year. Within the last two weeks we have lost some twenty hogs, large and small. In the evening Mr. Churton arrived; he will survey two Entries for Br. Cosart. We closed the day and the month with a liturgy and evening prayers.

This portion of the Diary will be sent by Br. Nitschmann next Monday. Thanks be to the Saviour for all the grace which we have experienced to this hour.

[At this point the Diarist inserts the following about the new house now nearing completion, and about the men who have built it.]

<sup>6</sup> "Freunden," translated "strangers" for lack of a better term, did not always mean that the men were totally unknown to the Brethren. The Diarist uses the word to include all those who were not members of the Moravian Church, and were not intimately associated with them. "Freunden"—"friends"—was later used for those whom they knew well, and with whom they were on friendly terms; "Nachbarn" were "neighbors," more or less friendly as the case might be.

<sup>7</sup> Catawba River.

Nov. 26th, 1754, when the corner-stone was laid for the new house, which has been built by the Single Brethren whose names are given below, the Texts for the day, taken in connection with those of the preceding day, were "We have found them, that is, Thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God," Ps. LXXXIV, 3.; and the word of the Saviour, "It is well for thee that thou hast kept the word of my patience," Rev. III, 10.

As the corner-stone was laid we sang:

An humble people, yet Thou hast received us,  
And through Thy grace wilt ever onward lead us;  
On Thee, Thy bitter death, Thy Passion, centered,  
Life here is blest, and life above is entered.

The Corner-stone of a new house we're laying,  
And for Thy presence, Lord, we're humbly praying;  
May Thy dear blood, for our salvation given,  
Our work and rest, our thoughts and actions, leaven.

Oh Jesus, grant our prayer:—may every Brother  
Here live in joy and peace one with the other,  
And Thou with us; and every day and hour  
Show us Thy wounds, and their redemptive power.<sup>8</sup>

Jacob Friis, born May 4, 1708, in Odense, Fünen, Denmark.

Jacob Loesch, born Nov. 22, 1722, in Shockery, New York.

Hans Christoph Christensen, born Feb. 7, 1716, in Hamleo, near Hadersleben, Schleswig Holstein.

Christoph Merkli, born March, 1714, in the Nuremberg District, Wurtemberg.

Jacob Lung, born Oct. 24, 1713, in Hedelfing, Wurtemberg.

Hans Petersen, born Oct. 20, 1725, near Stenderup Strand, Danish Holstein.

Johannes Beroth, born Nov. 13, 1725, in Oppau, in the Palatinate.

Friderich Jacob Pfeil, born July 5, 1711, in Winneden, Wurtemberg.

Erich Ingebretsen, born Dec. 10, 1721, near Röras, Norway.

Hans Martin Kalberlahn, born March 30, 1772, in Drontheim, Norway.

Herman Loesch, born March 15, 1726, in Tulpehocken, Pa.

Henrich Feldhausen, born Dec. 20, 1721, in German Holstein.

Johannes Nagel, born Sept. 12, 1715, in Menchinin, Wurtemberg.

Jacob<sup>9</sup> van der Merk, born Dec. 18, 1728, in Sopus, New York.

<sup>8</sup> The hymn, (here given in translation) was evidently composed for the occasion, as they often were. It is typical of the religious thought of the Moravians of this period.

<sup>9</sup> Short for Jacobus—he is called Kobus by the Diarist, and the English form James is occasionally used.



Jacob Kapp, born Dec. 30, 1729, in Minckenstein, Switzerland.

Georg Schmid, born March 29, 1719, in Kirchenberg, Wurtemberg.

Andreas Betz, born Jan. 4, 1727, in the Palatinate.

Georg Holder, born Jan. 16, 1727, in Oley, Pa.

Johannes Rank, born May 27, 1737, in Erlin Town, Pa.

[Continuation of Diary Extracts]

*June 1.* Sunday. At ten o'clock part of the litany was read in English, followed by a sermon out of the "Nine Public Discourses," the English being used because of Mr. Churton's presence. Three strangers came by whom we suspected of being deserters as they wore "mondour," but we took no notice of them except to give them the food for which they asked.

*June 2.* This morning early Br. Nitschmann set out for Bethlehem, taking important letters with him. He decided to go himself in order to consult with Br. Spangenberg about the 20,000 acres on the Yadkin, which he and Br. Jacob Loesch went to see. Adam Spach spent last night here,—he came searching for strayed horses.

*June 3.* Mr. Churton left, having surveyed about 1280 acres of good land for Br. Cossart. A woman came for medicine, as did also Georg Müller, who was recently ill here for several weeks. He brought us two bushels of salt, and was glad to see us, and we rejoiced to find him much improved, though his speech is somewhat affected. Mr. Altem sent us a deer by Adam Spach, and Br. Stauber bought some hens from him. Toward evening two strangers took a deer to the Brethren working at the mill. Br. Petersen took some linen to Adam Spach to have two shirts made.

*June 6.* Yesterday Br. Kalberlahn was called to a man who had cut his foot badly. As we expected, the only chance to help him is to bring him here for some days, as Br. Kalberlahn reported on his return. Afternoon we held a conference as to the best and cheapest and most satisfactory way to make bedsteads; we have no boards to use, and yet we do not wish to move into the new house until the bedsteads are made.

*June 7.* This morning the injured man, Abraham Wilson, arrived before we expected him. We hastily cleared out Br. Benzien's cabin for him, moving Br. Benzien into the new house, where in the second story we improvised a partition wall out of a wagon cover. Wilson's friends, who had brought him to us, left again in the afternoon. The patient seems to be a pleasant, quiet man, who will not inconvenience us.

*June 8.* Mr. Loving goes home, after a stay of two days to have work done at the smithy.

*June 9.* We brought in the bear which the Brn. Kobus and Holder shot in the woods last evening. We have finished corn planting. Nine Brethren are working on the mill-race. Br. Feldhausen has hurt his arm and will not be able to work for some days.

*June 13.* This afternoon Br. Lischer arrived, bringing Baumgarten, Rank and Steiner. They have been on the way since April 28th, were at sea for four weeks, partly because of head winds, and partly because the Captain ran into various harbors, and was detained there.

*June 14.* We put all the Brethren to work making bedsteads, and completed as many as we need, that is twenty-three. Then we moved out of our old cabin and sleeping room into the new house. In the evening we celebrated the event with a Lovefeast. First we sang several verses composed for the occasion; then welcomed the newly arrived Brethren; closing the service with a litany. We also made certain changes in assignment of tasks. Br. Merkli will be our cook, taking the place of Br. Kalberlahn who can not well continue in this position. Br. Kalberlahn will have charge of the house and table and sleeping hall. Br. Lung has had charge of the washing, the garden, and the cows, but it is too much for him, and we have given him Br. Nagel as assistant. The Night-watch will begin with today. This has been throughout a blessed day, and as we went to bed the Brethren were once more commended to the Saviour in several hymns.

*June 16.* Two Brethren made nails to fasten the boards on the mill dam. Br. Loesch went to Mr. Banner's for a couple of hundred tobacco plants. Mr. Ferry and two other men were here, one to be bled.

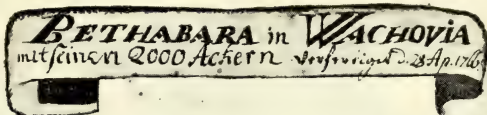
*June 20.* A two-hour rain last night made it possible to re-sow our garden, where much that we planted did not come up on account of the drought. For this reason we have had very few vegetables this summer. Kobus went to two mills today with four horses loaded with corn, but could not get it ground for lack of water.

*June 23.* There was a good rain last night so we can re-plant corn and pumpkins where they did not come up. A stranger came to buy two dozen horse-shoe nails.

*June 24.* Seven Brethren go to clear five miles of the road to the Cape Fear.

*June 26.* The barley which was cut yesterday was hauled today and stored in our former sleeping room. We also sowed flax seed yesterday, to see whether it is possible to raise two crops a year. Five Brethren with ten horses went to bring in the mill-stones from Sweeten's place.

*June 30.* Br. Kalberlahn went to Mr. Steward's to see his patient. We staked fences, made two large wagon-racks, and brought the second



## EXPLICATION

① Gatteland    Y. Mischen Stig    Watterley Holz    Bpau Haupt    Viel Hoff    Beide Hall und Schenke    Conventen  
 ② Miller    M. Mischen    ③ Lige Hime    ④ Lige Brud.    ⑤ Hand    ⑥ Bpau Hoff    ⑦ garten    ⑧ Lige Schenke  
 ⑨ Lepicoll    ⑩ C. Laffanen    ⑪ Gravel Ground    ⑫ Scala von 300 Ricken welches    ⑬ Fuß oder 2  
 ⑭ Bpau    ⑮ J. van Bep    ⑯ Viel    ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿  
 ① Schwin    ② Wilsch Wilsch.    ③ hane Hone    ④ 100    ⑤ 200

MAP OF BETHABARA TRACT  
(Original in Salem Land Office)





mill-stone to the mill site. Mr. Volkerson brought us a letter from Bethlehem.

*July 3.* Abraham Wilson, who can now use his foot somewhat, was taken home by friends. Br. Petersen went along to get the pay for his treatment, which is two cows, valued at 50 shillings each. Wilson's friends brought a letter from Br. Nitschmann, written from Orange Court House, in which he said that he found it necessary to take Herman Loesch the whole way with him, [instead of letting him return after two days]. As Br. Kapp has been sick some days Br. Pfeil is appointed nurse. Br. Feldhausen is setting up his carpenter shop in our old dwelling, Br. Schmid is put in charge of the iron tools, Br. Erich of the wooden farm implements, and Br. Michael Rank of the harness. Br. Petersen remains Fremden Diener.<sup>10</sup>

*July 13.* The litany and sermon were in English, as Owen and Altem are here.

*July 19.* Br. Feldhausen has finished a large chest, to be used for things we have to sell. Christensen and Kobus made for the mill two bran boxes, a bolting chest, a case for the mill-stones, and a hopper, and have finished shaping the mill-stones. Mr. Davis from the Yadkin came to consult Br. Kalberlahn, remained over night, and begged a book to read; we lent him the Berlin Sermons. Late at night the Brethren returned with the wagon from the Cape Fear.

*July 22.* A so-called Dunkard or Bearded Man came to the smithy. He has just come from New River with his entire family, fearing to remain there longer because of the Indians, who are wandering about. Although his home was only about seventy miles from here the journey has taken them three weeks, as they had no other road to take than to the Roanoke. The man told us that some ten weeks ago a man named Stahlnekker, living on Holston River, about 100 miles from the New River Settlement, had been captured by the Indians, and his entire family murdered. It was believed that he would be cruelly tortured, since the Indians hated him. A few days before the Dunkard left several families had been attacked, and part murdered, part captured; and the last night before his flight the family of one of his nearest neighbors had been murdered, only three miles from him. So far as the man knew 28 persons had been killed or taken prisoner. When the man reached the Roanoke he found other refugees from New River, but it was no place to stay, for the settlers there were much alarmed by the news they brought; so this man decided to take his family to the Town Fork, twelve miles from here. There he found Mr. Altem and

<sup>10</sup> See Glossary.

his family packing up and moving; so the poor fellow is at a loss to know what to do next. When his work at the smithy was finished he went back to his people on the Town Fork.

During our evening service Mr. Benner and one of his neighbors arrived; they had been out several days looking for strayed horses. We gave them something to eat, and they went on home. About four o'clock in the morning the Brethren were awakened by a terrible crying, and when they investigated they found it was Mr. Benner, who was almost frantic. When he had reached home he had found his wife and four children gone, and that his house had been robbed; he had searched the near-by woods in vain, and then knew nothing else to do but to come back to us. We did our best to comfort the poor man, but in vain. As we were all up we now held our morning prayers, kneeling before our dear Heavenly Father, and beseeching His care and protection. The Texts for the day suited our circumstances wonderfully. This was the first time that at morning prayer we have used the trumpets, which the last company brought with them from Pennsylvania. At the close of the service Br. Loesch ordered the gun to be fired twice, and that the blowing of the trumpets be continued, so that if any one was near it would be known that we were not asleep. As the trumpets began again we heard a call, ran thither, and found Mr. Benner's wife and four children; one child she carried on her back, another little one was in the arms of an older child. We were overjoyed, hastily called Mr. Benner, and when he came to his family they fell on each other's neck, and could not speak for weeping. We brought them into our house, full of sympathy for the poor people and their great joy. We gave them food, and when they had somewhat recovered their composure the wife told us what had happened. During the night, as she waited for her husband, the dogs had become very restless, and running toward the woods had returned howling. She went to see who was there, and stones flew by her; then running into the house she took the children and hastened away. As she fled she saw three persons spring into the house, but did not know whether they were whites or Indians. So she and the children fled into the woods, and fortunately found their way hither, though they had never been here before. Probably the robbers were driven away by Mr. Benner's arrival. About eight o'clock Mr. Benner set out, accompanied by Br. Loesch and Lischer, partly to see how things were at the Benner home, and partly to warn the neighbors. When they reached the Benner place they found not much had been taken, so evidently the thieves were frightened away by Mr. Benner's approach during the night. Br.

Loesch and Lischer rode towards Mr. Altem's, but met William Owen, who told them that all the families on the Town Fork had moved away, etc. Hearing this Br. Loesch came home.

Meantime a man from the Little Yatkin came to the smithy, and without knowing what had happened here last night told us that the people on the Yatkin were planning to get together, in order to be safer from the Indians. Mr. Benner returned during the afternoon and remained over night. We spent the day to good advantage, though near the house, for we did not want any of the Brethren to be far away. Doors and window-frames were made, and other work done on the new building. We divided the night-watch, one Brother to watch until 1 A. M. and the other from then until dawn, instead of one man taking the entire night as heretofore.

*July 24.* Work was resumed as usual. We heard many reports, especially that people were moving away from this neighborhood. Mr. Benner begged that he and his family might remain with us, and this request was granted, and our old cabin was cleared out for him.

*July 25.* Mr. Benner's brother-in-law and the younger Mr. Guest were here, and said that their settlement also was going to move, but they did not yet know where. In the evening we had conference, and decided what to do in case it became impossible for us to remain here, for instance, to bury all our iron implements in the creek, and to bury in the ground all else that would not be injured that way. We also agreed to keep ourselves well supplied with provisions, especially meal, for Br. Lischer, who has been to the mill today, reports that the miller is leaving tomorrow, though he will leave his mill in such condition that any one who wishes meal ground can use it for himself.

*July 27.* Sixteen strangers were here, eight remaining over night. Among them was Mr. Altem. Last week he moved his family to Haw River, but it is too far from his farm, and besides they do not feel safe, so he asked to come with them to us, to which we agreed. A man came to call Br. Kalberlahn to a German named Johann Dop, who had been accidentally shot through the body; the man was dead when the doctor reached him.

*July 28.* At the request of Mr. Altem three of the Brethren went to his home for some of his things. Next day he and his family arrived and we lodged them in our former cabin for strangers.

*July 31.* A store-keeper from the Meho came with a constable, and asked our help in arresting William Owen, who was suspected of having robbed his house several days ago. We politely excused ourselves.



Since the 12th of this month we have had cucumber salad several times a week, and beans also since the 20th, and it looks as though they would continue for some time.

*Aug. 3. Sunday.* Early this morning we were rejoiced by the coming of the three Brethren, Sauter, Keiter, and young Joseph Müller. On the way they heard all sorts of alarming reports about us, and were tempted to turn back, but the Saviour moved their hearts to go on, and they found us in peace, and the people who fled from their farms are beginning to return to them. The Altems and Benners went home today, thanking us heartily for all the love that has been shown to them.

*Aug. 8.* Yesterday the Brn. Benzien and Loesch returned from a visit to Mr. Guest on Dan River, and report that everything is again uncertain. Today Mr. Altem, his family, and another family living two miles from him, arrived unexpectedly, saying they did not feel safe at home and asking to remain with us. We received them kindly, and again lodged them in the cabins.

*Aug. 10. Sunday.* Adam Spach here on a visit. Mr. Altem and his two older children go home, but ask that the wife and two younger children may stay a few days, as they do not feel safe though the alarm is again subsiding.

*Aug. 11.* Br. Sauter and Br. Keiter leave for Bethlehem, taking letters with them.

*Aug. 12.* Br. Kalberlahn went to the Yatkin to see Hans Wagner, who has been very ill, but is now better. Mr. Crank, his wife and two children came to see the doctor, and remained over night, as did also young Mr. Guest. A man came from the Yatkin and offered to sell us his 50 head of cattle and 800 bushels of corn, as he wishes to move away. Br. Loesch promised to go and see the cattle; and on the 15th bargained with him for £35 for the lot, large and small together.

*Aug. 16.* Mrs. Altem and her children went home.

*Aug. 18.* The Brn. Benzien and Stauber set out for Newbern, Br. Lischer going with them as far as the Cape Fear to buy wine. Two more men came from the Yatkin offering to sell their cattle.

*Aug. 26.* A consumptive came with his mother, and asked to remain two weeks for treatment, and we could not refuse. We lodged him in the old house. In the evening there was a heavy thunder-storm with much rain.

*Aug. 29. Saturday.* The Covenant Day of the Single Brethren, but at the morning prayers it was announced that the services would be postponed until tomorrow. Work on the mill is being pushed.



*Aug. 30.* The usual festal services were held. Justice Hughes was here to list us for taxation, there are 22 of us registered, as Joseph Müller is still too young.

*Sept. 1.* The consumptive was taken home by his brother, who came for him last evening. He,—Mr. Boon,—returned on the 6th, accompanied by his father, who remained over night. On the 15th his brother came for him once more, and he left, there being small hope of his recovery.

*Sept. 13.* Today we ate the last of our cucumbers; they have done well this year, and we have had them for nine weeks, and every day for the last four weeks.

*Sept. 15.* In the afternoon our dear Brethren Wütke, Gross, Richter, and Göpfert, arrived from Bethlehem. They were rather worn, for three of them have had fever for three days. Br. Richter had fever a week ago, but is now well, and has nursed the others. It has been warm, and food for the horses has been scarce, but they have encouraged each other, making light of their hardships. And indeed they have fared better than might have been expected in these times, for on no day have they lacked bread. They brought letters from Br. Joseph, Matthew, and Lauterbach. We are thinking often these days of our Brn. Benzien and Stauber, and their mission to the Assembly.

*Sept. 16.* We have found and cleaned out a fine spring a hundred paces from our house, and plan to build a house there.

*Sept. 17.* Work at the mill continues. Today the frame was raised, and we sang several verses to the Saviour as we laid the foundations of this building in His name, placing our names under the sill at the south-east corner.

*Sept. 18.* Today for the first time this year we made hominy.

*Sept. 19.* Gathered our second crop of flax, and this year it is better than the first crop.

*Sept. 24.* Today we are without bread; we can eat meat with hominy, and stewed pumpkins. As it rained a little last night Br. Rank took corn to the mill, but could not get it ground. Next day he went to the Town Fork, seventeen miles away, to a mill that was reported to have some water. On the 28th, the Brethren once more had bread to eat.

*Sept. 26.* Began to cut buckwheat, which was hurt by sharp frost last night. The frost has come a month earlier this year than last.

*Sept. 29.* The night-watch has been divided among several Brethren. The clock that has been given us is especially useful for them, and we appreciate the gift.

*Sept. 30.* We began to make brick for a chimney, and a new bake-oven.

Since the 26th there has been frost every night until last night; now the weather has changed, and it looks like rain.

We are eating meat every day, in the evening pumpkins, and for breakfast milk or thickened soup. We are using as little bread as possible, partly because grain promises to be high, and partly because just now it is difficult to have meal ground.

*Oct. 2.* In the singstunde we remembered that two years ago today the first company destined for this place left Christiansbrunn for Bethlehem, to make the further start from there.

*Oct. 6.* Br. Lischer went 20 miles from here, beyond the Yatkin, for salt. Six strangers were here, and four of them spent the night. They were very curious to know how much more land we expect to take up. It is reported to us that people on the Yatkin have sent a messenger to Wilmington to the Assembly to find out.

*Oct. 7.* Br. Steiner is helping Br. Pfeil in the tannery. Five and a half pieces of good sole leather are now ready, and four have already been used. Little Joseph Müller cut his foot, but thanks to the buckle the injury was not serious.

*Oct. 8.* Two years ago today the first company set out from Bethlehem for the Wachau.

*Oct. 11.* During the evening service Br. Herman Loesch arrived with four other Brethren, all in good health.

*Oct. 13.* Yesterday Br. Lischer went beyond the Yatkin to send an order for nails by a man about to start to the Cape Fear. A man from the Town Fork brought five cows, two calves, and two yearlings, which we bought for £10. In the morning we had two hours of good rain, and in the afternoon a thunder-storm and an hour of heavy rain, which was very badly needed. There was another good rain on the 17th, after which it turned cold.

*Oct. 21.* Altogether we have planted seven acres in rye, and nineteen in winter wheat. We have also begun to fell timber for building a new house for the use of the seven married couples who are now on their way hither.

*Oct. 22.* The place for the new house was staked off today, and work begun in excavating for the foundations.

*Oct. 23.* Today we killed ten pigs. It is too expensive to feed them at home, and to let them run wild in the woods and profit by them requires conditions that do not exist here. They have too many enemies,

wild-cats, and foxes, and wolves when they are small, and bears when they are older.

*Oct. 24.* Corn is hard to buy, and costs about two shillings a bushel.

*Oct. 25.* Saturday. Today we laid the corner-stone of the new house, placing it at the front corner toward the west. First some specially composed verses were sung, then we had Lovefeast, during which a poem was read in honor of our dear Johannes von Watterville's birthday. Several appropriate chorals were sung: we also remembered the fact that two years ago today the second company of settlers reached here. We also sang a few verses for Br. Lung, in honor of his birthday yesterday.

*Oct. 26.* Three men came today,—they are Germans from New River, but now living on the Town Fork. Two of them undertake to make us 9000 shingles in three weeks, the third will fell and trim 100 trees, the pay to be a pair of shoes each. During their stay they will be lodged in the strangers' cabin. A man from beyond the Yatkin sold us 40 barrels of corn, at 10 shillings the barrel.

Rain on the 28th and 29th interfered with the building of the mill and new house, otherwise the latter was particularly pushed. More corn was bought. There were many visitors, hunters, and also men seeking strayed horses and cattle. A man who owed money at the smithy worked it out on the mill dam.

*Nov. 3.* Yesterday Sauter arrived and announced the approach of the new company; today we all worked hard on the new house, and Br. Loesch rode back with Sauter to meet the new-comers, who arrived toward evening on Nov. 4th, and were heartily welcomed. There were seven married couples, ten Single Brethren, and five drivers for the wagons. The Single Brethren were lodged in the old dwelling house, and the married people in the first story of our new Brothers House, where they made a partition with their tent cloth until it can be replaced by boards. We are much crowded, but the Saviour makes it easy for us to bear what otherwise would be uncomfortable, and blesses us with His consolation.

*Nov. 5.* The new-comers unpacked, the rest busied themselves with various kinds of work, seeking to bring matters into better order. Evening in the singstunde letters were read from Br. Joseph and Matthew [Hehl]; the former stated that Br. and Sr. Christian Henrich<sup>11</sup> [Rauch] had been appointed to take spiritual charge of the

<sup>11</sup> Christian Henrich (or Heinrich) Rauch seems to have used his last name very little. In the Wachovia lists his name appears as Christian Henrich, and his wife as Anna Henrich. m. n. Roberts. Before coming to Wachovia he was a missionary to the Indians; and he left Wachovia to become a missionary in the West Indies.



congregation, and Br. Gottlob Hoffman to be Pfleger of the Single Brethren. On the 6th the Henrichs held the first Enge Conference.<sup>12</sup>

Nov. 7. Besides the usual work we today cut reeds in the Black Walnut Bottom, which will be sent in the wagons to Bethlehem. The Sisters had a Lovefeast. After supper the Communicants had a conference, and among the rest they were told that the wagons will leave for Bethlehem next Monday; also that Br. Bachhoff is to be the Diarist, and assist Br. Christian Henrich in the reading meetings; and that Br. Sauter is to be the Vorsteher of the Single Brethren.

Nov. 9. After morning prayers Br. Christian had a conference with the Brethren about to leave for Bethlehem, that is Br. Friis, Georg Schmid, and the five drivers, Pitschmann, Rubel, David Kuntz, Giers, Martin Hirt. At 11 o'clock we prayed the litany, spent the rest of the day quietly. In the evening we had Lovefeast followed by the Communion. In the latter service Br. Christian Henrich presided, and he with his Anna served the Sisters, while Br. Friis and Br. Gottlob Hoffman served the Brethren. There were 60 communicants,—46 Single Brethren, and 7 married couples.

And here this Diary of the Single Brethren comes to an end. What shall the Diarist [Friis] say who has written it for a year and a half? I bow in the dust at the feet of the Lamb, and thank Him for all the grace and mercy that He has vouchsafed to us. To Him be thanks and praise to all eternity.

---

*Diary of the Little Pilgrim Congregation that on Oct. 2, 1755, left Bethlehem for the Wachau in North Carolina.*

[Written by Sauter. Extracts translated.]

The members of this little Pilgrim Congregation were selected Sept. 11th and 12th. The next week four of them started with Br. Herman Loesch [on Sept. 18th], having partaken of the Communion the preceding day. Sept. 23rd the rest of the party bade farewell to Br. Joseph, who was leaving for New York on the morrow, and received from him the kiss of love and blessing; then they shared with the entire congregation in the harvest Lovefeast.

Sept. 29th was the birthday of our beloved and honored Father Nitschmann.<sup>13</sup> A Lovefeast was given by the members of the congre-

<sup>12</sup> At this time wives of ministers, and officers among the married or single Sisters, were ordained as Akoluthie or as Deaconesses. The wife of the presiding minister frequently assisted in the distribution of the bread and wine to the Sisters in the Communion. Sisters holding office were members of certain Church Boards, attending the sessions when the matters to be discussed affected the women. The "Enge Conferenz" was a conference of leaders, as distinguished from larger conferences which all attended.

<sup>13</sup> "Father" David Nitschmann, a wheel-wright and joiner by trade, was an uncle of Bishop David Nitschmann. Father Nitschmann was one of the most influential men in the early history of Bethlehem, Pa., and the first of its members to become a naturalized citizen.



gation who were born in Moravia, and the Brethren and Sisters destined for Carolina were invited to attend, and hymns blessing them for their journey were sung, as well as hymns of prayer for Father Nitschmann.

*Oct. 1.* The company was commended to the Lord by the Congregation, and shared once more in the Holy Communion, at which an indescribable sense of God's grace came upon them.

*Oct. 2.* After many tears and tender kisses the company set out, the Single Brethren with Br. Hoffman as leader going by way of Oley to Reddington and Warrick, and the married people with Br. and Sr. Christian Henrich, accompanied by the two baggage wagons, going by way of Maxedanien and Reddington to Warrick.

The Single Brethren stopped for bread and butter at Salisbury at nine A. M.; where Beringer called upon them. Having said farewell to Johannes Bonn and Friedrick Weber, who had accompanied them so far, they went on, and stopped for the night near the home of Jacob Lang, who made them welcome.

*Oct. 3.* Made an early start, and held morning prayers in the woods. Reached Oley at ten o'clock, where Br. and Sr. Moller supplied them with provisions prepared the preceding day for them. The Brethren wished that with every one hundred miles they might find such hosts, whom may the Lord bless as his own! At night they stopped eight miles from Redding at a mill kept by an Englishman, where they found good lodgings.

*Oct. 4.* After morning prayer in the woods again they breakfasted with young Mathaus Riem. At noon they stopped at David Bieler's where they had milk, bread and butter; and at 3 o'clock reached Warrick School-house, where several Brethren and Sisters welcomed them, and gave them a cup of tea. Scarcely had they removed the dust of travel when the company of married people arrived; they had had trouble in finding lodgings the night before.

*Oct. 5.* Sunday. The day was spent at Warrick, where services were held.

*Oct. 6.* The Single Brethren set out for Lancaster, and while Passes were being obtained from a Justice most of the Brethren went to walk.

*Oct. 7.* They crossed the Susquehanna, meeting near the river the other wagons, which had gone by Peter Frey's. At Yorktown Br. Soelle gave them tea, and they spent the next day in that town.

*Oct. 9.* At noon an Inn-keeper, hearing that they were bound for Carolina, gave them most distressing reports of Indian outrages on the Atkin, where forty persons were said to have been killed, and property burned.

*Oct. 10.* Spent this night at Frederickstown; and the next night in their tents, which they put up for the first time.

*Oct. 13.* Crossed the Potomac at noon. A heavy storm during the day and another at night, was uncomfortable at the time, and made travel difficult for the next day.

*Oct. 15.* Ate the last bread for breakfast; dined on dried biscuit and water. Two of the Brethren went ahead of the wagons to secure food, and were kindly received at a tavern, where the host killed a cow for them, selling them 193 lbs, at 2d. a pound. He also sent them a sheep by his negro servant.

*Oct. 16.* Spent the morning cooking meat and baking "Jannie Coks" [johnny cakes], starting again at eleven o'clock. Spent the night near a negro plantation, found the negroes polite.

*Oct. 17.* It had turned cold, and as the day was Sunday several Brethren went out at 3 A. M. to cut fire-wood. When the others were waked for morning prayers at five o'clock they found a good fire, and every one who had hands went to work to put the camp in good order for the day. The Sisters made us good coffee, and as it was the first we have had on the trip we enjoyed it greatly. Then different ones washed, shaved, darned, and mended. Some Sisters made dough from corn-meal, and the Brethren baked Jannie Coks. The stream of visitors, white and black, continued as it was yesterday; beginning early in the morning and lasting until late at night. We were surrounded on all sides by plantations, and the people gathered in and stood with mouths wide open, not knowing what they wanted to say. They particularly admired our strong horses, beside which theirs looked like colts. At noon a crowd swarmed in, begging to see our trumpets, over which they joked and laughed a long time. We let them alone, watching to see what they would do next, but they gave no trouble. At noon we ate beef, with corn instead of bread. Afternoon was mostly given up to the baking of Jannie Coks, from which we made our supper. We went to bed about eight o'clock, but about ten were awakened by a crowd of negroes who came with chickens, beans, chestnuts and apples for sale. Br. Christian Henrich, who was one of the watchman, questioned them closely as to whether the things were theirs or stolen from their masters; he also took them some distance from the tents, so that we should not be disturbed by their talking. As he was out of small coin and they could not make change he was able to buy only 18d. worth.

*Oct. 20.* We started again at four o'clock in the morning. At eight o'clock we overtook two wagons from Maryland, also bound for Carolina. It was one family, twenty people, with eleven horses. They

did not at all like our passing them, doubtless thinking that we would take all the available provisions, and they would not be able to get any. There is much poverty here, and neither money nor good words can buy much. Br. Christian Henrich rode ahead to order provisions, and an Inn-keeper sold him  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of corn, advising him to take it on the cob, as the cobs could be shredded and fed to the horses, and it would be better for them than the corn alone. We made thirty-one miles today. Br. Christian Henrich, who was ahead, sent back word by a gentleman that we should stop for the night by a certain spring. It lay off from the road, and when we approached the place we found a sign fastened to a tree, telling us where to turn, and by the spring we found a fire ready started.

*Oct. 21.* Reached James River at noon. Here we were stopped by an English Quartermaster, stationed at the Courthouse, who demanded to know where we came from and whither we were going. We explained politely, and he said that at first he thought we were deserters from the army, and that he was placed there to arrest such, and though he was sharp at first he became pleasant and bade us a courteous farewell. The Brethren crossed the river on the ferry, the wagons went through the ford, a horseman riding ahead to pick a way among the stones. The ascent of the other bank was very difficult, as the road was narrow and steep, and the Brethren had to push and pull with all their might, but no accident occurred. At night the watchmen occupied themselves with baking and roasting food for the following day, as has become customary.

*Oct. 23.* This morning we passed another colony on its way to Carolina; they had two wagons. At noon the Sisters cooked potatoes, which we ate with the meat roasted yesterday. We liked them better than the German potatoes, they are large and sweet, almost like Basternadoes.

*Oct. 24.* We were uncertain which of two roads to take, both were bad. However next morning we were able to buy 100 lbs. of beef, by waiting until the animal was killed. Now we see why the Lord led us to take this road, which was not the one marked on our travel map.<sup>14</sup> Had we taken the other road we might not have found food, and even if

<sup>14</sup> The "lower road" across Virginia can be followed on a modern map through the Counties of Loudoun, Fauquier, Culpepper, Orange, Louisa, Fluvanna, and Cumberland. From here one road, much used later, led across Prince Edward, Charlotte, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Henry, and Patrick Counties, coming down to Wachovia through Stokes Co., N. C. This company kept on south from Cumberland, through Prince Edward, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg Counties, entering North Carolina through Vance Co., going west across Granville, Durham, Orange, Alamance, and Guilford, and entering Wachovia on the "Deep River Road" whose general course was directly east from Bethabara. The road taken on the 24th evidently rejoined the one given on their map.



we had found it there might have been none left for the colony on our heels. Verily the Saviour has provided for us and for them, and we cannot sufficiently thank Him. Surely He is with us, He takes care of us, guards us, and watches over us; He stands always by us with His mighty power. Near our camp we found several grape-vines of unusual size,—the stock was nearly five spans in circumference, and the height above the tallest oak trees.

*Oct. 26.* We camped last night by a mill, but the water was so bad that Br. Christian Henrich decided we should make a very early start and go elsewhere before camping for Sunday. Five or six miles further on we found a good spring, and stopped by it. Another company was already there, and we set up our tent a short distance away in the woods. A rather amusing incident occurred. Several of the Brethren went to a neighboring plantation to buy milk. There they saw a negro servant who followed them back, bringing on his head a basket of potatoes. When he drew near he called us to come and buy, we replied that he should come to us. But when he saw how many of us there were he became frightened and ran away, potatoes and all, crying out "I am afraid of you, you can come to my master and buy there!" We had chocolate for breakfast. Br. Schaup, who is our best baker, made Jannie Coks today.

*Oct. 27.* We did not start until noon, as we had a chance to buy ten bushels of oats, which some of our Brethren had to thresh. We also bought three bushels of beans, and 40 to 50 pounds of tobacco. We again passed a large colony, three families, who have been four weeks on the road from Maryland. The road was very bad, and we could hardly have found the way to the Roanoke, had not a friendly man ridden with us as guide. We only made ten miles today, because after leaving the spring where we have camped we will find no water for seventeen miles. But near our spring we have entered Carolina.

*Oct. 28.* In spite of rain we made a long day's march, camping for the night beside Tar River. After supper we lay down to rest, but had a bad night, for it stormed and rained so that the water ran through our tent and we were wet through and through. At midnight the wind struck us, the tent-pegs, already loosened by the rain, gave way, and the tent went down in a heap. So all night we had much trouble and little sleep!

*Oct. 29.* We rose early from our damp beds, wrapped the dripping blankets around us, and clustered around the fire to dry them, the Sisters on one side and the Brethren on the other. It was a funny sight! Any one seeing us would assuredly have thought it was a group of Indians! On account of the rain last night Br. Schaup could not



bake Jannie Coks, so for breakfast we had potatoes baked in the ashes. We were visited by Capt. Sennet's son, who lives here on Tar River; he recalled that some years ago Br. Horsefield stayed for some time with his father. We meant to make fifteen miles today, but four miles short of that found we could buy an ox, which had to be killed for us. The people were very kind and allowed the Sisters to cook and sleep in their house, and let the Brethren occupy a corn-crib. We secured 287 lbs. of meat, at one penny one farthing the pound. The drivers also bought corn fodder for their horses.

*Oct. 30.* We stopped at a plantation for cider. Some of the Brethren made a fire, others went into the house to warm. One of the people said that about four weeks ago Br. Loesch and his company had stopped there; also that when the Newbern Court was over the people who had been there reported that the Brethren in the Wachau had been granted all that they had asked. We made sixteen miles in the afternoon; had dumplings for supper. The night was very cold, and many of the party were disturbed by the terrifying howling of a wolf.

*Oct. 31.* The road was miserable, but we made 26 miles, crossed the Haw River, and camped near Drollinger's. He was not at home when we arrived but returned late, somewhat intoxicated. He made a great stir when he saw that a fire had been built on his land, but when he learned who we were he excused himself,—“he was ashamed that he had drunk so much,—we should not think ill of him,—we were heartily welcome,—he was a poor fellow who could not help himself,—but he was at our service.” He soon went to his house, and we were well content. We nearly had a serious misfortune today, for fire was discovered in the beds in the Sisters' tent. Fortunately it was found in time and extinguished. As the Brethren slept by the fire at night a burning log rolled toward them, but they were waked in time.

*Nov. 1.* Drollinger attended our morning prayers, and gave our drivers some hay, and went with us to a road leading to a mill. He was much ashamed of last night, and wished that we could spend the day with him so that he might kill a cow, and share it with us as a peace offering. We felt sorry for the poor man, for he seems to love the Brethren, and the Saviour will not let his willingness to serve us go unrewarded. After dinner Br. Sauter rode ahead to the Wachau; Br. Christian Henrich gave him a letter to the Brethren there announcing our approach. We had a fairly good night, but toward day the wolves waked us with their not particularly agreeable howling.

Our Graff joined in the concert, but when the wolves heard the new voice they suddenly stopped.

*Nov. 2. Sunday.* We should have been in the Wachau today, and could have made it had we not been detained by the need of getting provisions, and if the English law did not forbid Sunday travel. We are now about forty miles from the Wachau. At noon we ate schnitz<sup>15</sup> and pork. In the afternoon a boy brought us a bushel of corn-meal, which was very welcome, as we have been out of bread for several days. The boy was sent by a friend of the Brethren, Hannibal Edwards, at whose house Br. Sauter spent last night. The Sisters at once made dough and Br. Schaup baked Jannie Coks.

*Nov. 3.* We breakfasted on Jannie Coks and butter, starting on our way about five o'clock. It was hardly light, but the boy who came yesterday showed us the road, which is rough and rather dangerous. At noon we came to the home of Hannibal Edwards. He is a pleasant, friendly man, and he, his wife, and children treated us as if they too were Brethren. He is a Quaker, but often visits the Brethren in the Wachau. He invited us all to dinner, but seeing that he did not have very much we excused ourselves and told him we had dinner with us. This did not satisfy him, so Br. Christian Henrich arranged that the Sisters should dine with him and his wife. We gave him some tobacco and the hat that Br. Sauter had brought from Bethlehem for him, and Br. Fockel cut out a coat which his wife will make for him. We had hardly taken leave of him when we met Br. Sauter and Br. Jacob Loesch, and the latter greeted us heartily, and welcomed us to the Wachau with a kiss. He had brought bread with him, which we were glad to use at supper.

*Nov. 4. Tuesday.* After morning prayers we took up our last day's journey toward the Wachau. It was only 20 miles but the road was very bad. We reached the boundary of the Wachau at 11 A. M.; and stopped at noon at Lischer's Creek, where there is beautifully clear water. About five o'clock in the afternoon we met the first of the Brethren, Br. Lischer, and he was followed by Br. Friis. From our party Augst and Opitz rode ahead, blowing on their trumpets the verse

"Peace and health and every good be with you,"

and the Brethren of the Wachau were not slow to answer with their trumpets, and to welcome us from the peak of their new house. Then there was an affectionate exchange of greetings, letters and messages from Bethlehem were delivered. The little daylight left was spent in

<sup>15</sup> Apples or peaches, sliced and dried.

looking over the new house. After supper there was Lovefeast, with tea and bread, and the formal welcome was extended to the new-comers. Br. Friis began the service by singing the following verses:—

Welcome into Wachovia,<sup>16</sup>  
Dear Sisters and dear Brothers,  
Our Great High Priest has led you here  
As He has led the others.  
Now rest the weary pilgrim feet  
That hither bravely brought you;  
The Lamb, Who gave your bodies health,  
Has strength and courage taught you.  
  
We thank our God, our hearts rejoice,  
Oh company beloved;  
In welcome we our Lovefeast hold,  
To praise the Lamb we're moved.  
His bleeding wounds have saving power,  
Today we feel their blessing;  
He brought you to us, and you come  
Faith in His Cross confessing.

Br. Friis then discoursed on the Texts for the day, and after the evening prayers we went to our rest.

---

*Diary of the Brethren and Sisters in the Wachau.*

[Extracts translated.]

Beginning with Br. Friis' departure for Bethlehem, Nov. 10. 1755, it will be continued by Br. Bachhof.

*Nov. 10.* Breakfast was followed by a little Lovefeast in honor of Br. Friis and the others who were about to set out for Bethlehem. They left at ten o'clock in a heavy rain, Br. Hofmann and Jacob Loesch going with them a short distance. The Single Brethren who had slept in the little Brothers House [the first cabin] now moved their beds to the garret of the new Brothers House. After supper Br. Jacob Loesch assigned some of the Brethren to special quarters in the lodging for strangers, the little Brothers House, the shoe-shop, the kitchen, the smithy, and the wash house.

*Nov. 11.* The Brethren who were not working on the new house fitted up their quarters in the small houses with tables, chairs, and

<sup>16</sup> This is the first time the name of the tract belonging to the Brethren is so spelled in the Diary. This spelling was first used in print in the Act of Assembly erecting Dobbs Parish. It was generally adopted, and except in the Diary superceded the German spelling of the name.

benches, arranging them to suit their trades. Br. Betz took charge of the smithy, Br. Georg Schmid having left. In the evening there was a Congregation Council at which the new-comers were assigned to work; in preparation for this the master-workmen had a conference in the afternoon.

*Nov. 13.* At morning prayer Br. Christian Henrich spoke of this day,—the day dedicated to our Chief Elder.<sup>17</sup> He wished that we might give the entire day to worship, but work on the new houses was so pressing that it was a case of taking the ox out of the ditch on the Sabbath. Therefore work should continue during the morning, each Brother and Sister in heart communing with the Saviour; the afternoon and evening would be devoted to appropriate services in the *Gemein Saal*.<sup>18</sup>

*Nov. 14.* The shoe-maker took down his house to kill the rats, which have done much damage. Many were found. By evening the logs were nearly all laid up again. Georg Müller, and the wife of his neighbor Wisnand, came to consult Br. Kalberlahn. Next day both were bled. Müller bought 1000 nails, and ordered mill-stones.

*Nov. 15.* Saturday. At two o'clock we had a liturgy; at four a reading meeting. At six was our Sabbath Lovefeast, at which our flutes were used for the first time. Br. Christian Henrich reminded us that two years ago the first Brethren arrived, of whom eleven are still here. They found only one small, poor cabin, but we have found a new Brothers House and six cabins, which their industry has erected. They had then no music except that provided by the wolves, today they furnished their own music. Br. Sauter's travel Diary was read, and after other hymns remembering two recent birthdays the service closed with the hymn

As long as Jesus Lord remains  
Each day new rising glory gains.

During the next ten days work of all kinds continued. Until a new wash-house was built for the Sisters they washed the first part of the week and the Brethren had the second part. The Brethren made soap; the Sisters helped gather corn. Cattle were bought and killed, for the turnip and cabbage crop was poor and much meat needed to be salted for winter use. Christoph Schmid began to make brick; Augst [a potter] went out to look for flint which he could use in making glazing. Feldhausen took charge of the cooper-shop.

<sup>17</sup> Nov. 13, 1741, there was "a powerful experience, in the Unity of Brethren, that Jesus is the Chief Shepherd and Head of His Church," its "Chief Elder."

<sup>18</sup> See Glossary.



*Nov. 27.* Br. Jacob Loesch started for Salisbury, where he wished to consult the Chief Justice about his proposed trip to Newbern. Hearing that many were there ahead of him seeking audience, and not wishing to give much time to it, nor to force himself in ahead of others and so give offense, he turned back, and learned later that the Chief Justice did not attend court this time.

*Nov. 28.* This afternoon the mill was run for the first time; the saw-mill is not yet ready, and the dam is not finished. The mill was first tried in grinding flint for glazing, — it made a fine powder. Then it was a difficult task to remove the upper mill-stone, clean and recut it. Then a little corn was ground, and finally two bushels of wheat, which the Brethren threshed today; it made very nice flour.

*Nov. 30.* First Sunday in Advent. At ten o'clock a liturgy was sung. This was followed by a meeting in which a sermon, preached by Count Zinzendorf the preceding year, was read. In the afternoon the married people were "spoken" for the Communion, the Brethren by Br. Christian Henrich, and the Sisters by Sr. Anna. At five o'clock was Lovefeast, and we used for the first time bread made from flour ground in our own mill. Br. Christian Henrich said he wished greatly that Br. Friis could have been there to eat of it with us, and that he knew Br. Joseph and other dear ones would also have been glad to share with us in this great blessing. Shortly afterwards the Lord's Supper was celebrated. And so we closed the month, and with it the Church year.

*Dec. 1.* Several bushels of wheat were threshed, ground, and baked into Zwieback for the Brn. Jacob and Herman Loesch to take on their trip to Newbern, on which they started the next day.

During the first half of the month work was pushed on the new house; Pfeiffer and Melchior Rasp, who had been breaking stone, were appointed to build the wall, Christoph Schmid to plaster it on the outside. Br. Christensen worked on the steps when the mill was not running. Br. Krause taught Br. Angel to break and hackle hemp. Br. Feldhausen, besides his usual cooper work, put together the Sisters' spinning-wheels; they began to spin on Dec. 5th. Br. Augst dug clay and made pottery, for which the people were eager; he also began to make clay pipes. Several Brethren sawed boards, relieving each other hour by hour. The cows and calves were branded. Adam Spach came and ordered a coat for his child; Mr. Banner asked for a book to read, and was given the Berlin Sermons; Mr. Loving arrived, and was paid in full for the small amount owing to him.

*Dec. 16.* A cloudy, rainy day. The wind unroofed the little Brothers House, so the Brethren put on a new roof, building a chimney. Next

day, at bed-time, the tailor shop was found to be on fire, but the flames were extinguished before they did much damage.

*Dec. 19.* The weather was beautiful, clear and cold. The teamsters hauled to the mill the logs which had been prepared for building a small house for the miller. Br. Erich finished some window-frames for the Single Brothers House, and they were then filled with paper. The Brn. Kalberlahn and Peterson went to see Isaac Ferry, who was ill; the Brethren consider him one of their best neighbors. In the evening the Brn. Jacob and Herman Loesch returned from Newbern. The Governor [Dobbs] had received them most graciously, had re-issued Br. Jacob's Commission, had given him the Act recently passed by the Assembly in our behalf, and had courteously offered to further serve the United Brethren in any possible way. Br. Jacob also brought with him a letter written by Br. Benzien during his stay in Newbern. It was addressed to Br. Friis, and had been intrusted to a man who was not friendly to the Brethren, and he had left it in Newbern, where it remained until Br. Jacob Loesch arrived. Br. Benzien heartily praised the Governor's kindness, love, and friendliness toward us, in which most of the Assemblymen joined, and recommended that as often as we thought of it we should thank the Saviour for their favor. Br. Jacob also brought a newspaper, containing a letter written by a French officer in Canada, in which the Brethren were described as friends of the French.<sup>19</sup> This is unfortunate, and if this newspaper circulates here it is likely to make trouble for us. Br. Christian Henrich spoke to the congregation about it, advising that if anybody spoke to a Brother about it, he should keep quiet and not answer back.

*Dec. 21.* St. Thomas' Day. The first snow of the season fell. Next day the miller's house was raised.

*Dec. 24.* At ten P. M. the congregation had the Watch-Meeting. Hymns were sung by pastor and people, Br. Christian Henrich made an address, and also read from the large Hymnbook hymns written in all centuries concerning the night of Christ's nativity, drawing special attention to one written by Count Zinzendorf thirteen years ago. The service closed with a Lovefeast, and evening prayers. A deep snow fell during the night.

*Dec. 25.* Thursday, Christmas Day. The trumpets wakened us. At 10 A. M. Br. Christian Henrich preached an earnest sermon on the Text for the day. In the afternoon a Christmas sermon of Count

<sup>19</sup> The Brethren in Pennsylvania were accused of this because they sheltered the Christian Indians, some thinking, without foundation, that the Christian Indians were in the pay of the French. The massacre of the Christian Indians and missionaries at Gnadenhütten refuted the accusation beyond doubt.

Zinzendorf's was read, Col. I. furnishing the text. In the evening service Br. Christian Henrich made an address on the text "Abide in me, and I in you"; and so this day of great grace and blessing was happily and thankfully ended.

*Dec. 26.* Two of the Brethren felled trees, from which troughs were made, to be used for converting maple sap into vinegar.

*Dec. 27.* An express from Mr. Haltem brought word to Br. Jacob Loesch that Mr. Owen, — who owes us money, — has joined the Highwaymen. There are a great many Highwaymen about, and they have gathered in a fortified place. The express said further that day before yesterday the Justice called for 100 men to attack the Highwaymen and destroy their fort, and yesterday 70 men set out. These Highwaymen are keeping the land in terror, as they both rob and murder.

*Dec. 31.* Already in morning prayers there was an especial sense of the presence of the Saviour. Work continued as during the last days, except that the Brethren who yesterday made laths sawed boards today. Those who have been threshing today finished with the rye. Br. Lischer branded five head of cattle; Br. Angel broke hemp. At noon the congregation sang a liturgy in honor of the Holy Spirit. In the afternoon the teamsters returned with their horses; the man from whom they were to get corn was not at home, so they left the wagon there. Toward evening a woman and her son came, bringing us butter. At ten in the evening we gathered for the Watch-Meeting. Hymns were sung, and then Br. Christian Henrich read the account of the Jüngerhaus Watch-Meeting in 1754, the reading being interspersed with chorals. Br. Peter and our Br. Kapp have had birthdays this week, and hymns were sung asking God to bless them. Then the Brethren were reminded of all the grace and mercy which we have received from God our Heavenly Father, our gracious Lord, and the Holy Spirit, in the year just passed, for which we render Him our thanks and praise. A poem was also read, composed by one of the Brethren, in which he recalled the goodness which the Saviour had showed him from his cradle to this hour. Then Br. Christian Henrich spoke on various topics:—the Lord's purpose with this land, the attitude of the Brethren toward the Indians in case they should visit us, and also how a child of God should conduct himself when there was tumult and unrest abroad. Finally, with the singing of a hymn, we passed from the old year into the new, then knelt and thanked our Saviour for all His goodness to us, and besought Him to bless us anew with grace and power, and to accompany us through the new year with His mercy. With a final petition for blessing on our slumber, the Brethren then went peacefully to bed.



*Laws of North Carolina, 1755.**Chap. XIII.*

*An Act, for erecting that Part of Rowan County called Wachovia into a distinct Parish*

I. WHEREAS the *Unitas Fratrum*, or the people called the United Brethren, inhabiting that Part of the County of *Rowan* called and known by the Name of *Wachovia*, have represented to this Assembly that their being erected into a separate Parish will enable them to discharge their several Parochial Duties with greater Ease and Convenience than they can at present:

II. Be it therefore Enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That the Tract of Land in the County of *Rowan*, called and known by the name of *Wachovia*, and the several Surveys of Land to the United Brethren belonging, contiguous and adjoining to the said Tract of Land called *Wachovia*, according to the known boundaries and limits thereof, shall be, and is hereby erected into a Parish, distinct and separate from the Parish of *St. Luke* in the same County, and shall be called and known by the name of the Parish of *Dobbs*: and shall and may from Time to Time, hold, use, and exercise the like Authorities and Powers and possess and enjoy the same Immunities and Privileges as other Parishes in this Province shall, may or can do; and all and every other Person and Persons who are, or shall be, Inhabitants of the said Parish of *Dobbs* shall be, and are, from henceforth released and discharged of and from all Parochial Duties to the said Parish of *St. Luke*.

III. AND be it Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Freeholders of the said Parish of *Dobbs*, shall, and they are hereby required and empowered, to meet at the Court-house of the said County *Rowan*, on the first *Tuesday* in *June* next, then and there to elect and chuse Twelve Freeholders of the said Parish, to serve as Vestrymen of the same; which election shall be made by the Sheriff of the said County of *Rowan*, under the like Rules and Restrictions, and under the like Pains and Penalties, as other elections of Vestries in this Province are by Law appointed to be made; and the Twelve Freeholders so elected, within Forty Days after being so, shall, instead of the Oaths appointed for the qualification of Public Officers, make a Declaration of the same, according to the Form of the Act of Parliament, intituled, *An Act, for encouraging the People known by the name of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America*, and subscribe the Declaration by Law appointed to



be subscribed by Vestrymen; and from henceforth shall be, and are hereby declared to be, the Vestry of the said Parish of *Dobbs*; and shall, and may, and are hereby required, to exercise and use the same Powers and Authorities as any other Vestries in this Province can, may or ought to exercise, use or enjoy; and shall be liable to the same Penalties and Forfeitures as other Vestries or Persons elected Vestrymen are in any Manner liable and subject to; and the said Vestry, when qualified as aforesaid, shall chuse Two Church-wardens for the said Parish for the ensuing year, who shall and may continue in Office One Year, and no longer; at which Time the said Vestry shall chuse other Church-wardens.

[Frederick the Great of Prussia, having learned that Austria, France, and their Allies were secretly planning to overthrow and divide his kingdom, hastened to strike the first blow, and in August marched into Saxony, took its entire army prisoner, forced the Elector of Saxony to retreat into Poland, and then invaded Austria. This was the beginning of the Seven Years War in Europe.

When Saxony was captured Frederick the Great gave the Brethren of Herrnhut a safe-guard for that village and other Saxon centers of the Unity, and exempted them from having Prussian soldiers quartered in their homes. He knew Count Zinzendorf personally, and thought highly of his religious and philanthropic plans.

In America the French and Indian War continued without much change, the advantage being rather with the French and against the English.

Bishop Peter Boehler, who had been to Europe, returned to Bethlehem with a large company of new settlers for the Moravian villages.]

### *Memorabilia of 1756*

#### [Full translation.]

Jan. 2nd our dear Heavenly Father through His angels saved us from harm when the rafters in the new Gemein Haus<sup>1</sup> fell.

Feb. 1st the new Gemein Saal was consecrated.

March 5th the Married People moved from the new Brothers House into the Gemein Haus, and the Single Brothers who had been scattered among the cabins moved into their own quarters.

On March 13th the new sleeping-hall of the Single Brethren, and on March 24th their dining-room and assembly-room, were consecrated.

During April the Choir meetings were brought into their proper order.

May 12th little Anna Johanna Krauss was baptised; she had been born the preceding night. May 30th the office of Gemein Jünger was instituted.

Early in June the election of twelve Vestrymen took place in Salisbury; and on the 21st two Church-wardens were elected here.

In July many of our neighbors requested that if the turmoil in the land increased they might come to us for protection.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Glossary.

In August the Brn. Matthaëus [Hehl] and Christian Seidel brought us the welcome gift of five Text Books and the 2nd part of the Large Hymnbook.

Sept. 16th the liturgical night-watch was established; and on the 20th the Helfer Conferenz was begun.

In October Br. Christian Seidel re-organized the Bands among the Single Brethren.

We thankfully remember the blessing attending the special Church Festivals:

- a the covenant day for all Choirs;
- b the Passion Week;
- c the anniversary of the "going home" of our never-to-be forgotten Christel [von Zinzendorf];
- d the Thirteenth of August;<sup>2</sup>
- e the Single Brothers Covenant Day on Aug. 29th;
- f Sept. 7th<sup>3</sup> the first celebration here of the Covenant Day of the Married People;
- g Nov. 13th, ["Chief Elder"], the 17th [first arrival in Wachovia,], and the 24th [anniversary of the massacre of missionaries and Christian Indians at Gnadenhütten].
- h Dec. 21st [St. Thomas' Day], Dec. 24th and 25th [Christmas].

We have received much blessing through the reading of the Jüngerhaus Diary, and the Gemein Nachrichten from Bethlehem and other Congregations.

The Congregation shared in the Lord's Supper-----	13	times
Choir Communications-----	3	"
Pocula Eucharistias [Cup of Covenant]-----	6	"
Sabbath Lovefeasts-----	50	"
Other Lovefeasts-----	20	"
Pedalavia-----	3	"
Unity Days-----	12	"
Conferences-----	8	"
Congregation Councils-----	5	"

We thank our dear Father for the rich harvests, and for the good bread of rye and wheat which we have been able to eat.

For the peace within and without which we have enjoyed, despite the unrest in the land.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. 13. 1727, the congregation of Herrnhut, assembled for the Holy Communion at the Parish Church in Berthelsdorf, experienced a remarkable out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, which had such an effect on the life of the Church that the event is often spoken of as the birthday of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.

<sup>3</sup> The Covenant Day of the Married People was placed on Sept. 7th, because that was the anniversary of the marriage of their much-loved Count and Countess Zinzendorf.

For the use of our grist mill and saw mill.

For His gracious blessing on the work of our hands.

The following have been completed:

the new Gemein Haus;  
 the tailor shop;  
 the King's Highway repaired, and a new road made to the mill;  
 brick burned three times;  
 two new mill-stones, and two small stones for the potter;  
 a potter shop;  
 the new Brothers House finished inside;  
 26 acres of land cleared;  
 60 acres of land planted in wheat, rye, oats, corn, hemp, flax,  
 turnips, etc.  
 a wash-house built for the Sisters;  
 a new cow pen;  
 a wall built by the saw mill, and the ground filled in;  
 palisades placed around our houses;  
 a new threshing floor made;  
 stoves placed in the Gemein Haus and in the Brothers House;  
 the saw mill and bark mill were finished;  
 a house built for drying pumpkins and flax;  
 a bridge built over the crooked creek;  
 the road to Bethlehem and the Cape Fear repaired, and  
 bridges thrown across the holes;  
 a new race dug behind the mill;  
 ceilings placed in the kitchen, pottery, and Brothers House;  
 a new joiner's shop built;  
 also a cow stable;  
 log houses erected for distillery and bakery;  
 a second chimney built in the Brothers House;  
 the mill house roofed.

During the year 25 Brethren have arrived, (some to remain, some to visit);

There are now here

9 married couples, that is-----	18
Single Brethren-----	44
Older Boy-----	1
Children-----	2

---

Total-----	65
------------	----

Born and baptised, one child.



Strangers staying over night 360, not counting those at the mill, and those that have eaten dinner with us.

We note in closing that during this year the dear Saviour has taken no one from our midst to Himself. A few Brethren were ill, but were soon restored to health. This speaks well for the country, and is a sign that the climate is good.

*Memorabilia of Outward Affairs, 1756*

[Full translation.]

*January.* We were especially busy with the building of the new Gemein Haus and the mill, for which certain Brethren were detailed to make boards and shingles. We also laid up a small log house for a tailor's shop. In addition hemp was broken and hackled; oats threshed; land cleared; the mill-dam repaired; charcoal burnt; brick made; and a new highway opened. The professions [trades] were all in good condition. Br. Kalberlahn had five patients. Twenty-eight persons spent the night here.

*February.* Work continued on the mill, the Gemein Haus and the tailor's shop. Boards were made; stones hauled for a pottery. Watchmen were appointed for the several houses. Brick was burned; logs cut for the saw-mill. Br. Christensen and three other Brethren made two new mill-stones, and a pair of small stones for the potter-shop. The garden was enlarged; the new tailor-shop finished and occupied; a wash-house for the Sisters begun; candles, shingles and bedsteads made. Land was cleared; trash burned; corn planted. Thirty-six spent the night here. Br. Kalberlahn had five patients.

*March.* On the 5th the married people moved into the Gemein Haus, and the scattered Single Brethren moved into the Brothers House. Br. and Sr. Schaub moved to the mill, he as miller, and she to care for those who come to have grain ground. Br. Gottlob Hoffman moved into the small room in the tailor shop. On the 10th the Single Brethren occupied their sleeping-hall, which Br. Gottlob Hoffmann consecrated with the singing of several hymns. On the 17th the Brn. Sauter and Lischer left for Bethlehem; and on the 31st Br. Stauber arrived from there with various pieces of good news, but also with the sad tidings that eleven Brethren were slain by the Indians on the Mahoni [Nov. 1755,] and that Gnadenhütten is ruined.

Our work on the saw mill was the most important labor this month, with finishing the Brothers House, and adapting it fully for the use of the Brothers' Choir. The potter-shop was finished, and Br. Aust immediately began to make pottery. A new lane was opened; boards made; land cleared; barley and rice planted. The mill-stones were finished and brought to the mill. Thirty persons spent the night here. Br. Kalberlahn had three patients.

Hitherto we have eaten corn bread and rye bread in turn; but now that our mill is started and we have had a good harvest we are eating rye bread and wheat bread.

*April.* The mill-house was finished. Br. Aust made a small oven and burned some earthen-ware. The Sisters' wash-house [of logs] was finished and roofed; a new cow-pen built. Land was cleared and planted; ditches cleared; hemp seed sowed. From February to the 22nd of April twenty-six acres were cleared by the labor of six, often only four, Brethren.

On the 14th the Single Brethren were assigned to their rooms in regular order. On the 18th it was announced to the Congregation that Father Nitschmann, of Bethlehem, had named twenty of the Brethren here as Freeholders, and had assigned to each fifty acres of land.<sup>4</sup> On the 21st Br. Stauber left for Bethlehem. Twenty-eight persons were here to visit or over night; Br. Kalberlahn had four patients.

*May.* There were three note-worthy incidents in this month.

1. The passing of two companies of Cherokee Indians, who behaved very badly toward the people of the land, robbing and stealing from them. One of these companies came to our mill one night when it was not running, but were satisfied with the food and drink given to them.

2. The arrival of our dear Br. David [Zeisberger] from Bethlehem on the 28th of this month.

3. The election of twelve Vestrymen in Salisbury, whither our twenty Freeholders went on the 30th.

During this month we worked on the saw mill, cleared ditches, made rails and fences, ploughed, planted corn, and made brick. Thirty-six persons spent the night here; Kalberlahn had five patients. We usually had salad for dinner.

*June.* On the 2nd the Freeholders returned from Salisbury. On the 21st they qualified before the sheriff, Mr. Johns, and Justice Hughes, and elected the Brn. Jacob Loesch and Wütke as the two Church-wardens. On the 22nd Br. David returned to Bethlehem. Harvest began on the 23rd, and in preparation for it two head of cattle were slaughtered. Work on the saw mill continued; wood was hauled; brick burned; corn hoed; and bark hauled for the tan-yard. A potter's kiln was begun. About thirty persons were provided with food, drink, and a night's lodging.

*July.* Certain people from the Town Fork begged that if danger increased they might come to us. Mr. Banner came on the same errand; and the younger Guest and his wife and mother-in-law stayed with us fourteen days, for it was reported that the Indians were out again in Virginia, had seized a fort, killed the men in it, and burned

<sup>4</sup> This appointing of 20 Freeholders was only a legal form, the men never claimed the 50 acres apiece as their own.

the houses. We could not refuse their requests; and at a Conference held on the 5th it was decided to protect our houses with palisades, and make them safe before the enemy should invade our tract or attack us, for if the settlers were all going to retreat we would be the last left on the frontier, and the first to be attacked. All who were not busy with the harvest went to work the same day, and by the 23rd the palisade was finished except the gates. Some who came to the mill and were detained there several days offered to help us, and Mr. Banner and his mulatto also helped us industriously for several days. On the 11th we refused to sign a petition sent us by Justice Hughes, as it was a military matter; and the next day the Brn. Jacob Loesch and Petersen were sent to him to explain our position and he was satisfied.

In the remaining days of the month work on the saw mill was continued; corn hoed; fruit gathered; and a new threshing-floor made. About 40 persons were at the mill this month, many remaining several days, and in addition we had some 20 visitors here who remained over night. We had a good harvest of rye, wheat, hemp, and flax.

*August.* Besides work on the saw-mill a chimney was built at the pottery, and ground dug out for a milk-house. Br. Aust burned earthenware in his new kiln for the first time, and was pleased with it. We also ploughed, threshed, gathered hemp, mowed, felled trees for fuel and for shingles, gathered beans, and retted hemp. A number of the Brethren were ill, so on the 13th a Sick Room was arranged in the Brothers House. The Brn. Matthaeus Hehl and Christian Seidel arrived from Bethlehem on the 22nd. On the 27th Br. Lischer was sent to the sheriff about Parish affairs. About 20 visitors spent the night here.

*September.* Toward evening of the 1st, to our mutual joy, the Brn. Benzien and Stauber arrived from Newbern, safe and well. Br. Stauber, indeed, had an attack of fever after leaving Newbern, but on Aug. 29,—the Covenant Day of the Single Brethren,—the fever left him. Br. Benzien's efforts in Newbern were successful.

On the 4th we ate the first grapes gathered on our land [this year]. About ten o'clock in the evening of the 10th Georg Schmid arrived, and reported that he had left Br. and Sr. Bishoff with a wagon at Drollinger's sixty miles from here. They also arrived in good time on the morning of the 12th, to our great joy. The 14th we had Congregation Council. On the 16th we ate our first pumpkins for this year.

During this month the carpenters were busy at the saw-mill, and the masons built a wall there, several Brethren filling in ground behind it. Br. Aust made a second burning of earthen-ware. A corn-crib and a feed-barn were built; shingles made for the mill-house; corn gathered, hauled and shucked; stone was broken and hauled for the spring-house; and logs for a barn were cut and hauled. On the 17th the long-ex-



pected sheriff, Mr. Johns, arrived, but he had little time to spare, and after a short but friendly talk with Br. Benzien about Parish matters he took his departure. On the same day Br. Christensen had a farewell Lovefeast with the Brethren who have helped him at the saw-mill. On the 20th the three Brethren Christensen, Ziegler and Giers left with the wagon for Bethlehem. On the same day the new Helfer Conferenz<sup>s</sup> was organized by Br. Matthaeus [Hehl], and it met for the first time on the 24th. On the 21st, after partaking with us of the Cup of Covenant, our dear Brn. Matthaeus, Benzien, and Stauber left for Bethlehem. On the 24th we received word that our iron had reached the Cape Fear. Two days later the under-sheriff brought us a Proclamation from our Governor appointing Oct. 6th as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer for this Province. Twenty-five visitors spent the night here this month.

*October.* On the 1st our Gemein Saal was hung with green curtains, and our small clock put in place. On the 3rd the pioneers of this little company held a separate Lovefeast. On the 8th our saw-mill was given a satisfactory trial. The first frost came on the 10th. Next day a medicinal garden was laid out for Br. Kalberlahn; the Helfer Conferenz also met. On the 18th we began to cover the saw-mill and grist-mill. Next day the Brn. Jacob Loesch and Erich Ingebretsen went to the Court at Salisbury, and secured a license for a Tavern. On the 29th Br. and Sr. Grabs, with their little son, five Single Brethren, two wagons, and four drivers, arrived from Bethlehem. The King's Highway was improved; a little house built for drying pumpkins; brick was made; corn gathered; and saw-logs hauled. The masons built an oven in the pumpkin house; another corn-crib was raised; wood cut for burning, and for the saw-mill; pumpkins were sliced for drying; and a bridge was thrown across the creek. About 20 persons were here over night, in addition to those who were with Br. Schaub at the mill.

*November.* Congregation Council was held on the evening of the 1st. The 3rd was a very busy day, preparing the two wagons, which with their drivers set out for Bethlehem again on the 4th. On the 11th ploughing and sowing were finished for the year. On the 15th four Brethren began to dig a new race behind the mill. On the 19th the bark-mill was tried for the first time, and ran successfully. On the 22nd Br. Lischer rode to the Cape Fear to see about our iron; the same day there came a stranger who would have liked to bring his children to us to school. On the 23rd Br. Loesch went to Salisbury Court to confer with the Chief Justice, but he did not appear, and Br. Loesch returned two days later with nothing accomplished. The new joiner's shop was finished on the 26th; and during this month a log house was raised for a bakery and distillery; and a temporary cow-stable was begun.

<sup>s</sup> See Glossary.



Ceilings were placed in the kitchen, pottery, and Brothers House. Br. Aust burned stove tiles, and when they were ready he set up stoves in the Gemein Haus and the Brothers House, probably the first in Carolina.

*December.* During this month the cow-shed was finished; chimneys were built in the distillery, the Gemein Haus, and the Brothers House; trees were felled for saw-logs for building timber, and for fuel; charcoal and tar were burned; hemp and flax broken; grain threshed. Visitors continued to come; patients were brought to the doctor from as much as one hundred miles away; and the mills were run steadily for the use of neighbors as well as for the Brethren.

*Bethabara Diary, 1756*

[Extracts translated. Some items grouped for convenience of the reader.]

*Jan 1.* Freezing last night, and people say it has been a long time since there has been such continuous, very cold, weather.

*Jan. 6.* Epiphany. It has turned warmer, and today we see that the masonry in the new house has been badly injured by the cold, for it is falling apart.

*Jan. 7.* Toward evening two men arrived who were returning from the attack on the Highwaymen. They reported that the fort had been burned, and five women and eleven children captured, but the Highwaymen themselves had escaped. On the 19th two other men came who said they had met and spoken with the Highwaymen, but being too few in number to capture them they had been obliged to do nothing. On the 22nd a troop of the pursuers passed, with one prisoner, a Highwayman named Cumberland. They left with us a horse which they had taken from another Highwayman, and which was too worn out to be driven further. On the 27th the original owner of the stolen horse came for it. On the 28th Mr. Altem came by. He had with him two sons of the Highwayman Owen, also Owen's sister-in-law (they had been in prison). He reported that Owen had talked with one of his pursuers, who was not able to capture him and his companions, and that Owen had sent by this man a message to the Court to the effect that if it was decided to bind out his sons he wanted them sent to the Moravians, one to be apprenticed to the tailor and the other to a carpenter. [This was not done, however.]

*Jan. 10.* Owing to heavy rain the water was so high that the mill could not be run. Two of the Brethren shot a big, fat bear, which they found in a hollow tree in the woods.

*Jan. 12.* Captain Guest, who is planning to move away from his present residence, came to see us and say goodbye. He told us that there was a report current that the Indians in Pennsylvania were doing much damage, that Bethlehem and Nazareth were almost completely destroyed, and that only three men had escaped death. While we neither could nor would believe this, for we know that we have a gracious Saviour, and that His Father is also our Father, and able and willing to save those who belong to His Son, still we wish we could have word direct from the Brethren in Bethlehem. Other travelers coming from Pennsylvania have told us that at Tulpehocken some have been scalped, many taken prisoner by the Indians, and their houses burned.

*Jan. 16.* The Sisters today had a little Spinners' Lovefeast, the first in North Carolina.

*Feb. 1.* Morning prayer for everybody was held once more in the Brothers House. At ten o'clock we began the consecration of the new Gemein Saal [in the new Gemein Haus] by singing a liturgy. At two in the afternoon we met again, and Br. Christian Henrich made a short but earnest address on the Texts for the Day:

1. Daily Word,—“And the Lord God planted a garden”;  
Make my heart a garden fair.
2. Name of Christ,—“That Man,” Acts XVII, 31.  
No one can praise Him and thank Him enough.
3. Doctrinal Text,—“The Holy Ghost shall bring all things to your remembrance.” John XIV, 26.  
We thank Thee, God, the Holy Ghost.

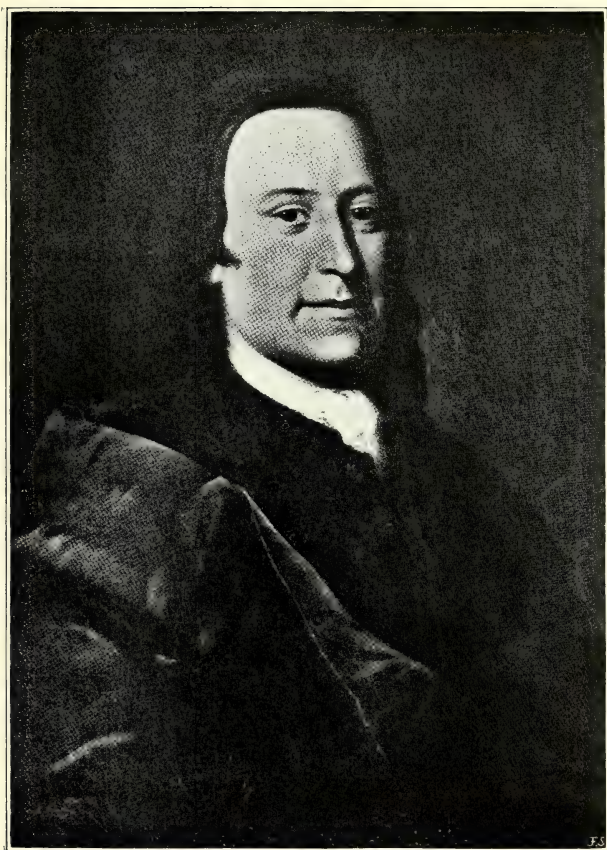
This service closed with the singing by Br. Christian Henrich of several verses.

Toward evening we had a Lovefeast. Hymns were sung, a poem composed for the occasion was read, and thanks were extended to all who had worked on the house. Finally a hymn of blessing was sung for Br. Opitz, whose birthday comes this week.

After a short interval the congregation re-assembled in the Gemein Saal, and while all knelt Br. Christian Henrich read the Absolution Prayer,—composed by Count Zinzendorf,—humbly confessing our sins and short comings, and asking absolution for them from our Saviour. Then we shared His blessed Sacrament.

We had much rain all day.

*Feb. 9.* Two traders from Virginia asked for lodging for the night, and we allowed it and gave them food. They had six horses loaded with skins and tobacco,—we bought some tobacco from them. They



NICHOLAS LEWIS, COUNT ZINZENDORF





said that a man who had read a Pennsylvania paper had told them that some Brethren had been killed in Bethlehem, and this makes us wish the more that we could hear direct. While we feel that reports must be exaggerated, we almost think there must be some truth in them. We will see. God loves us, that we still believe, and will yet prove.

On the 15th Br. Jacob Loesch, who had been to Salisbury to pay our taxes, returned with the report that the gifts given by Virginia to the Cherokees had filled eight wagons; also that the sheriff had told him that he had seen in the newspaper that the Indians in Pennsylvania had attacked one of the Moravian villages in the Blue Mountains, as the residents were at morning prayers, and had killed all who could not escape. This repeated report makes us uneasy for Bethlehem and our other villages.

On the 21st two men who had been for salt stopped with us. They had a newspaper which stated that Gnadenhütten had been overpowered by the Indians and that six persons (it proved to be eleven) had been killed, the rest had fled, and the houses had been burned. If this be true we can only say, "Lord, Thou hast never made a mistake in Thy ruling, Thou art still our Master, and our faithful God."

*Feb. 14.* Two men, who owed us money, came to bring us several dozen wooden plates, and other dishes, which we accepted on account.

*March 1.* Today we ate the first fish we have had in Wachovia; they were caught in the mill-race, and there were enough that each of us might have a little.

*March 5.* The Married People moved into the Gemein Haus,—Br. and Sr. Christian Henrich had already moved there Feb. 2nd,—and the Single Brethren moved back into the Brothers House. On the 7th the Single Brethren were given a Lovefeast, at which Br. Christian Henrich gave them formal thanks for their work on the Gemein Haus, and urged them now to put their own House in order, for at the moment it bore little resemblance to a well-arranged Brothers House! Work was begun the next day, and by the 13th the sleeping hall,—in the third story,—was finished. The second story was then arranged into a dining and assembly hall, with rooms for the Pfleger and Vorsteher; while the first floor was divided into living rooms. Erich Ingebretsen became Single Brothers' Vorsteher, in place of Br. Sauter, who left for Bethlehem on the 17th. The consecration of the assembly hall took place on the evening of the 24th, and beginning with the 27th evening prayers were held separately in the Gemein Haus and Brothers House.

*March 10.* Br. Loesch rode to Dan River, returning in the evening with the report that Indians have again murdered two whites near New River.

*March 31.* Toward evening Br. Stauber arrived from Bethlehem, via Edenton, after a five weeks' journey. He brought dispatches to Br. Christian Henrich and Br. Gottlob Hofmann, and after they had glanced over them they were read to the congregation in the evening service. Br. Joseph's letter to all the Brethren in Wachovia touched us deeply, and with tender hearts and many tears we listened to it. This much is true,—our sorrow, and sympathy, and tears were more for those in Bethlehem than for Wachovia.

*April 5.* A Congregation Council was held, and the Act in our favor passed by the Assembly last year was read, with explanations as to why this could not be done sooner. Br. Angel read it through in English, then it was taken up point by point and explained in German. The next evening the twenty Brethren who had been named as Freeholders in the Parish of Dobbs by the congregation of Bethlehem, and especially by Father Nitschmann, came together, and a letter of instruction was read to them by Br. Christian Henrich, and carefully explained.

*April 7.* There was a heavy frost last night, the oak-trees look as though they had been cooked, and there is small chance of mast for our hogs this year.

*April 9.* Mr. Johns came and brought us bear fat. Capt. Bryant brought us a letter from Br. Benzien, written in Newbern, and a package of Palma Christi seeds [castor oil beans].

*April 18. Easter Sunday.* The usual services had been held during the Passion Week. On this morning the Brethren were awakened at dawn by the trumpets, and before sun-rise they gathered in the Gemein Saal for a service commemorative of the Lord's resurrection.

A messenger came from Adam Spach to Br. and Sr. Christoph Schmid, saying that his wife was in labor, and after dinner they went to her assistance. On the 23rd Spach asked whether we could baptise his child, but Br. Jacob Loesch told him to apply to the rector of the Parish of St. Luke.

*May 18.* Mr. Haltem came to see us, and reported that the Highwaymen captured some time ago have been condemned to the gallows; also that many people are again leaving their farms for fear of the Indians. Br. Jacob Loesch, who had ridden out early in the morning to get oil, came home in the evening and reported that he had met

11 Indians, who had a white woman with them. They wanted to take his horse and repeatedly ordered him to dismount, but he refused to do it. They asked if he had rum in the keg which he had taken for the oil,—he said no, and struck the keg to show that it was empty. Then they again told him to dismount, he refused and said he needed the horse, that he could not travel afoot. They looked surly, and he then asked them whether they were hungry, and told them to come to his farm, twelve miles away, and he would fill them full of food. The white woman said he was a fool to tell them where he lived, that they would come and take everything he had. Then they went on their way and he on his, filled his keg, fed his horse, and set out on his return. On the way back he heard that the Indians had been to a farm and seized the horses and saddles, that they had taken Mr. Haltem's horse from him after he left us, and that Mr. Benner and all his family had fled, whereupon he came home at a gallop. After the evening services, having consulted with Br. Christian Henrich and Br. Hofmann, he called some of the Brethren together, told them what he had seen and heard, and that he thought we should be on our guard, and appointed them as a night watch here and at the mill. He also sent Br. Holder "Express" to our neighbor, Justice Edward Hughes, giving him a report of all that had occurred, and that the Indians were going in his direction.

Next day Br. Holder returned bringing the thanks of Justice Hughes, and word that fifteen of the neighbors had already before he left gathered at the home of the Justice to try to capture the Indians. At noon the Brn. Jac. Loesch and Kalberlahn went to see whether Mr. Benner had come home, but they met him, his wife, children and servant, coming to stay with us again for several days. He said that he and his family and servant had been in the corn-field, and the Indians had entered his house and taken the best clothing and all his money. His wife had met one of them, and he had run away, which encourages us to think that they are local Cherokees and not French or other strange Indians.

*May 20.* We hear that the Indians went to Justice Hughes, and behaved very politely,—probably because there were so many people there. When the Justice heard that they were Cherokees from the fort near Haw River, who had left there because of lack of food, he gave them plenty to eat, and sent them with a strong guard to another fort, seventy miles away. By Br. Loesch's advice Mr. Benner and his family went home; he spoke of moving away, selling his corn in the field, we should be very sorry to have him do this, and hope he will re-consider.



*May 25.* Today Mr. Benner's wife, children, negress and mulatto arrived again, also the younger Guest and his wife, Mr. Haltem's wife and children, and a Dunkard, or Bearded Man. They asked for a few days lodging, since a troop of Cherokees were marching through, and had frightened and annoyed them. We cleared out the joiner's shop, shoe-shop and strangers' house for them. The Dunkard was sent to the mill, and hardly reached there when a party of eight Indians also arrived there. Our Brethren went quietly on with their work; Br. Jacob Loesch went to them, spoke to them kindly, asked who they were, where they came from, and whither they were going, all of which they answered politely, it appearing that they were Cherokees from the fort. We gave them a few clay pipes, for which they were grateful, and went gravely from one to the other of us shaking hands. Then we gave them food, and they camped in the woods near the mill, spending the night very quietly. Perhaps we were too many for them, for there were several at the mill, and other Brethren went over to see them; twelve Brethren stayed at the mill all night, on guard. They told us, partly by signs, that there were eight more companies on the way. They breakfasted by the mill next morning, then bade the Brethren a polite adieu.

*May 29.* Br. Kalberlahn, who had been to visit patients, returned with the report that the Irish, helped by the Catawba Indians, had taken from the companies of Cherokees the goods they had stolen, and the white men had taken the things to Salisbury, where any one who had been robbed could go to reclaim his property.

After supper the Freeholders had a conference, arranging for their journey tomorrow.

*May 30.* Sunday. At the ten o'clock liturgical service Br. Christian Henrich announced that the Freeholders named by the Brethren in Bethlehem would set out today for Salisbury to the election, and that he and Br. Loesch would follow early in the morning. The 18 Freeholders traveled 14 miles today, camping in the woods one mile beyond Adam Spach's, who was expecting them and had tea, milk, and butter for them. Some stopped to eat butter-bread and tea with Spach, others went on to make the camp, to which they were followed by all but two who were not well, and who stayed with Spach. Those in the camp could not sleep much because of the cold.

At sunrise next day the Brethren Christian Henrich and Jacob Loesch set out, and caught up with the larger party at noon, passed them, and hurried on towards Salisbury, selecting a place for the camp five miles from that town.



*June 1.* At 9 A. M. they reached Salisbury, where they lodged with Mr. Berry, and were heartily welcomed by Mr. Carter, Justice Hughes, and the sheriff. Mr. Waddell, Captain of the Fort, called on them and was very courteous and friendly. He recently met Br. Benzien during his stay in Newbern. After a short, affectionate, interview with Mr. Carter, the Justice and the sheriff, the Freeholders were called to the Court-house, exactly at ten o'clock, for the election of Vestrymen. The "Herald" proclaimed what was about to be done, then the sheriff took the names of all the Freeholders and their votes, which were then inspected by Justice Hughes, and the names noted. The names of the elected Vestrymen were then publicly announced to all present. This being done the Justice reminded them that within forty days the newly elected Vestrymen must return to the Court for the election of two Church-wardens; but the sheriff suggested that this would be somewhat troublesome for them, and offered to go to them at the appointed time and qualify the twelve Vestrymen for the election of the Church-wardens,—an offer which the Brethren greatly appreciated, and for which they thanked him heartily. And so this matter was successfully ended, (thanks be to the Saviour). Then there was a session of the Court, which had already been in progress for two weeks, presided over by the new Chief Justice, whose name is Handely. Mr. Carter, Justice Hughes, and the sheriff attended Court, and then took dinner with the Brethren, and there was much pleasant conversation. Dinner over Mr. Carter and Justice Hughes bade the Brethren a friendly farewell, and the sheriff took Br. Christian Henrich and Br. Loesch to call on the Chief Justice, who was unusually friendly and gracious.

All now prepared themselves for the return trip, which began at three in the afternoon; they covered eighteen miles, and camped for the night at the place where they stopped for dinner yesterday. With the Brethren went Mr. Haltem, who had been to Court to reclaim his stolen horse, and two other men.

*June 2.* Mr. Haltem, whose wife and children were still in Wachovia, Br. Christian Henrich and Br. Loesch rode home ahead of the others, reaching there about noon; the rest came more slowly, to spare their horses, arriving between three and four o'clock, wet through and through by a rain storm, which had lasted two hours. At singstunde in the evening Br. Christian Henrich told the congregation the story of the journey, up to the safe return of the Brethren.

*June 13. Sunday.* During the morning a *Fremden Stunde*<sup>6</sup> was held, with the reading of a sermon by Count Zinzendorf on the text "Ye believe in God, believe also in me," John XIV, 1. At the later service Br. Christian Henrich read to the congregation part of a letter from Br. Matthaeus, and explained that for a long time he had had it on his heart to suggest to the communicants that the Hourly Intercession<sup>7</sup> should be organized in Wachovia, as it was in Bethlehem and other Moravian towns. He emphasized the fact that in these troubled times prayer was the best safeguard and weapon of the Brethren. As the approval of the Bethlehem Brethren to this step had now been received he suggested that the Single Brothers should tell Br. Hofmann what hours would be most convenient for them, and the Married People should give him the same information.

*June 15.* Announcement was made of the hours assigned to the *Stundenbeter*,<sup>8</sup> from 4 A. M. to 11 P. M.

Mr. Balding came by with salt, of which we secured nineteen bushels at 12 shillings per bushel.

*June 20. Sunday.* An hour before the morning litany the sheriff, Mr. Johns, and our Justice Hughes arrived quite unexpectedly, in order tomorrow to qualify the Vestrymen. Another man came bringing a letter which he wished Br. David to take to Pennsylvania for him. At the Choir Liturgy of the Married People Sr. Krauss, whose six weeks were over, was commended to the Saviour in the singing of several hymns.

In the afternoon Br. Jacob Loesch conducted the sheriff and Justice to the mill, which they inspected with surprised admiration. On their return they were served with a cup of tea, and passed the rest of the day in pleasant conversation with the Brethren. After the evening service the 12 Vestrymen had a short conference with Br. Christian Henrich.

*June 21.* After morning prayers, which the sheriff and Justice Hughes attended, the twelve Vestrymen met in Br. Jacob Loesch's room, Mr. Johns and Justice Hughes being with them. Justice Hughes read the formal Declaration, to which they unanimously answered "Yes," then the sheriff qualified them as a Vestry, as which they at once elected two of their number as Church-wardens,—Br.

<sup>6</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>7</sup> The Hourly Intercession was begun in Herrnhut, Aug. 27, 1727. Its object was the offering of continuous prayer and praise to God. In Herrnhut it ran through the entire twenty-four hours; in Bethabara a "Liturgical Night-watch" filled the time from 11 P. M. to 4 A. M., supplementing the Hourly Intercession, and doubling the number of men on guard in the village.

<sup>8</sup> See Glossary.

Jacob Loesch and Br. Samuel Wütke—and the election was confirmed by the Justice. We thank the Saviour a thousand times that this matter has been arranged in every respect as the Brethren wished it to be. The sheriff and Justice Hughes were then served with breakfast,—good coffee, bread and butter,—and when that was over and they had been liberally paid for their trouble they bade the Vestrymen a courteous and friendly farewell.

*June 26.* An elderly man arrived, who had fled from Virginia and had settled fourteen miles from us. When we asked his name he said it was Garrison, and further inquiry revealed that he was an uncle of our beloved Captain Garrison, Sr. He was delighted to once more have news of his kinsman, and to hear that he belonged to us, and had for thirteen years been Captain of our ship.<sup>9</sup> He begged that his hearty greetings might be sent to him. We gave him a good breakfast, and he left most happily.

*July 2.* During the morning a man came for medicine. He reported that in Virginia, near the Roanoke, the Indians had attacked the fort which a man had built around his house, and as the fort was not strongly manned, and the powder gave out, they had captured it, killed everybody in it, and burned the fort. Shortly afterward a Dunkard came, and confirmed the report, and asked whether, if the trouble grew worse, he and several other families might come to us for protection, and whether they might bring some of their property to us for safe-keeping. After dinner some of the Brethren met in conference, and after full discussion of the situation decided (1) that if the danger increased this man and the other families might come to us for some days or weeks; but on condition that if time permitted they should build their own log cabins, since we did not have room enough to house them; (2) that they might bring some of their things with them for safe-keeping; (3) that if they came they must bring some cows with them. This decision was repeated to the man, who left, grateful and relieved. At the conference the question was raised whether this should not be entered in the Vestry Book, but it was decided to wait until we saw how the matter turned out. Next day Mr. Benner, with his wife and children, came to us with the same request for defense if necessary, which was gladly granted.

<sup>9</sup> During this period the Moravians owned three successive Church Ships, for service between Europe and America. The *Catherine*, Capt. Thomas Gladman, was bought in 1742 to take a large company of Brethren to Pennsylvania, and was then sold in Philadelphia. The *Little Strength*, Capt. Nicholas Garrison, was bought in England in 1743; and was captured by a Spanish privateer in 1744. The *Irene* was built for the Moravians by John Van Deventer of Staten Island, being launched in 1748. She made fourteen voyages, being commanded by Capt. Garrison until the end of November, 1755, and then by Capt. Christian Jacobsen. In 1757 the *Irene* was captured by a French privateer, and by the mismanagement of the prize crew was wrecked six weeks later—Jan. 1758.



*July 4.* The younger Guest, his wife, and mother-in-law, arrived, and asked permission to stay, as they feared another outbreak of trouble with the Indians. After supper the Brethren gathered for a conference. Br. Christian Henrich laid the whole matter before them, stating that it seemed to be true that the Cherokees, hitherto our friendly neighbors, had joined the French, and therefore the danger was much increased, families were leaving their farms and retreating, leaving us on the frontier, and therefore likely to be the first point of attack. He suggested that it might be wise to take measures for our defense, reading extracts from letters from Br. Joseph and Christian Seidel as to what had been done in Bethlehem. The matter was discussed pro and con, but no conclusion reached. Then Br. Christian Henrich recommended that each Brother think the matter over quietly, and lay it before the Lord, and then state his view to the head of his room,<sup>10</sup> or to Br. Hofmann; for himself he had no fear, he was chiefly considering the others, but foresight was seemly for the Children of God.

Next day, after dinner, Br. Jacob Loesch called the Single Brethren together to decide the matter discussed on the 4th, which was quickly done, the unanimous conclusion being that all work, except the harvesting, should be dropped until a palisade had been built around the houses, making them safe before the first incursion of the Indians should take place. Duties were assigned to each man,—felling trees, digging the trench, continuing the harvesting.

*July 11.* A messenger from Justice Hughes brought us a Petition to the Governor, in the name of all the people of the County, which he asked us to sign. A conference was held and most of the Brethren were opposed to doing this, as it was a military matter. Next day Br. Jacob Loesch and Br. Petersen rode to the Justice, to explain our position, that as the Petition related to Military Affairs, from which the Brethren were exempt by special Act of Parliament, they could not sign it; but under the provisions of the aforesaid Act they were ready and willing to contribute in money whatever was right; also that they had every confidence that His Excellency, our gracious Governor, as a wise ruler and father of the country ["ein Landes Vater"] would not fail to take all possible and needful measures for the protection of the country and the safety of those dependent on him. Justice Hughes was entirely satisfied with this explanation, which he accepted without argument; and the Brethren, having dined with the Justice, returned home, reaching there about four in the afternoon.

<sup>10</sup> The Single Brethren shared a common sleeping-hall, but for other purposes were grouped in several living-rooms; for the sake of convenience and good order each room company had its superintendent or head.



*July 21.* Three mill-guests took a friendly leave today. While waiting for their grain to be ground they have helped in the repair of the mill-dam and with the setting of the palisades. They refused any pay, saying they were quite content with the food and drink they had had, but we gave them some bread for their journey, and promised them some earthen-ware, when it had been burned. Mr. Haltem and his entire family arrived. He said he had heard we were placing palisades around our houses and he and his mulatto would be glad to help; the wife and children came because they were afraid to stay at home alone.

*July 23.* Today the palisade was finished, except for the gates. Mr. Haltem and his mulatto have helped industriously.

*August 8.* A man and his wife asked lodging for the night. The woman was somewhat weak in mind, and was being taken to Dr. Berger, who had promised to cure her in a few days.

*Aug. 9.* Justice Tate brought work to the smith. As Br. Petersen had not been well for some days and could not act as Fremden Diener Br. Jacob Loesch invited him into his own room for breakfast. A number of the Brethren have not been well recently, though not really ill. Mr. Benjamin Young came to the mill, to have grain ground; two others came for their meal. Mr. Young spent the night here.

*Aug. 14.* Yesterday a "sick-room" was opened in the Brothers House, for the first time. A German by the name of Mattheus Walch came with his wife and child to visit us and to hear a sermon; we served him as best we could.

*Aug. 15.* Our neighbor, Mr. Isaac Ferry, came to see us for the first time since his nine months' illness.

*Aug. 19.* A man came from Virginia to consult Br. Kalberlahn about his ears,—he lost his hearing some years ago. Br. Kalberlahn cleaned out his ears and gave him some medicine to use.

*Aug. 22.* Sunday. At nine in the morning, quite unexpectedly, the Brn. Matthaëus [Hehl], Christian Seidel, and Lischer, arrived from Bethlehem. What a joy this was can not be expressed. At the afternoon service, Br. Matthaëus told us many things of interest, for instance that Bethlehem and Nazareth had been stockaded; that at Warwick a place had been selected for a Unity town, and had been named Lititz, etc. A letter from Br. Joseph to the Brethren here was read, which stated that Br. Matthaëus had come on a Visitation, but that Br. Christian Seidel would take the place of Br. Christian Henrich as Ordinarius, the latter being called to the mission in Jamaica. Mr. Churton and Captain Shepherd arrived and stayed until Tuesday.

*Aug. 23.* Br. Aust glazed pottery for the first time today.

*Aug. 26.* At the afternoon session Br. Matthaeus called the attention of the congregation to a new tune then very popular in the Jüngerhaus, and sang it for them to the accompaniment of two violins.

*Aug. 31.* The congregation assembled in the Gemein Saal and partook of the Cup of Covenant once more with Br. and Sr. Christian Henrich, who then left for Bethlehem, Br. Lischer going with them as far as the Roanoke, taking two horses to meet the wagon approaching from Bethlehem.

*Sept. 1.* The Brn. Benzien and Stauber arrived; they had come by way of Newbern.

*Sept. 4.* Today we ate the first grapes from our land [this year]; they grow wild in the woods, are small, but of a fairly good flavor.

*Sept. 10.* Br. Aust burned pottery today for the second time,—the glazing did well,—and so the great need is at last relieved. Each living room now has the ware it needs, and the kitchen is furnished. There is also a set of mugs of uniform size for Lovefeast. At nine in the evening Br. Georg Schmid arrived, and announced the approach of the Bethlehem wagon, with Br. and Sr. Bishoff. They had met Br. and Sr. Christian Henrich near the Roanoke, and had spent a Sunday together there in the woods. Br. Schmid had left his party two days travel from here early this morning, and had ridden the 60 miles without stopping, so gaining 24 hours on them,—so strongly does the longing for Wachovia draw a man! The Bishoffs arrived on the 12th.

*Sept. 20.* Sheriff Johns passed, and had a short talk with Br. Benzien three days ago. Today, just before dinner, the Vestry met and extended a formal call to Br. Jacob Rogers to become the Minister of the Parish of Dobbs. The call will be sent to him.

*Sept. 23.* Mr. Haltem spent last night here. He used to be our neighbor, but because of the Indian troubles moved to Cow Heaven, so called because of its good pasturage.

*Oct. 4.* In the evening the English Minister Miller arrived with his entire family. He had been appointed by Governor Dobbs as minister of St. Luke's Parish, but the people would not have him; he said he was on his way to Granville County.

*Oct. 6.* Wednesday. A Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer in the land. At morning prayer we had a special sense of the nearness of the Saviour. At 9 A. M. we knelt before Him in humble and trustful prayer, using the Church Litany, and laying before Him the needs of the Congregation and of the entire country. Br. Christian Seidel preached on Is. XLV, 22, "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the

ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else." A man came to sell rock fish, but we told him we were buying nothing today, if he choose he might leave them and we would pay him another time, which contented him. During the preaching a Colonel Lewis, a Captain, and Indians passed; they had been among the Cherokees since spring, and had built them a fort, were now returning to Virginia. The Brethren had a reading meeting in the morning, another in the afternoon, and a third in the evening; there was also Lovefeast in the afternoon, and the day was closed with evening prayers.

*Oct. 18.* Tiles were made for covering the saw mill and the grist mill; the latter has so far been roofed only in North Carolina fashion.

*Oct. 20.* Shortly before the singstunde, which Br. Bishoff held, the wife and all the children of the elder Owen arrived to spend the night.

*Nov. 13.* It was remarked that this festal day had been observed in a different place each year in Wachovia:—in 1753, at dawn, the first company crossed the line into North Carolina; in 1754 the services were held in the first little cabin, in 1755 in what is now the Single Brothers House, and today in the Gemein Haus.

*Nov. 21.* We had roast chicken for dinner.

*Nov. 30.* After supper an English class was begun for the Single Brethren.

*Dec. 1.* Two merchants from Cape Fear, on their way to the Yadin, arrived, accompanied by Capt. Shepherd and Mr. William Hughes.

*Dec. 2.* The two merchants went on their way. One of them was a Mr. Fullerton, who keeps a store at Cape Fear. His recommendation to Gov. Dobbs is from Ireland. He is very anxious to have our trade but we cannot decide until Br. Lischer returns from his trip. He seems to be a substantial man; posted an advertisement on our mill signed *Lyon and Fullerton*.

*Dec. 13.* The four people who brought a sick child about 100 miles to Br. Kalberlahn returned to their home with the needed medicine.

*Dec. 14.* Three wagons, loaded with grain, came to the mill today; two were from New Garden, a Quaker settlement, and the third from the Jersey (Irish) Settlement.<sup>11</sup>

*Dec. 15.* A bear hunter brought his gun to our gun-smith. He complained that neither he nor his companions had seen a single bear,—all the hunters say the same this year.

<sup>11</sup> New Garden is now Guilford College, in Guilford Co., N. C. The Jersey Settlement is now Linwood, in Davidson Co., N. C.



*Dec. 16.* A messenger came to Br. Kalberlahn saying that Dr. Barker had fallen and dislocated his arm, and asked for help; Br. Kalberlahn went at once, and spent a day with him. On the 22nd he went again to bandage the arm, returning the following day.

*Dec. 19.* Br. Lischer returned in good health from a four weeks' trip; he superintended the transportation of our iron from Wilmington to the Cape Fear. He was accompanied from Cape Fear by Mr. Mesher and his wife, who wish to consult our Br. Kalberlahn. The first snow of the season fell tonight.

*Dec. 24.* The Watch Meeting began at 10 o'clock, eight musicians leading the congregation [with their instruments].

*Dec. 31.* Mr. Walch and his son arrived at noon. He and his family are fond of the Brethren, and they were welcome guests. About 8 P. M. quite unexpectedly Martin [Mack] and Nicholas Garrison, Jr. arrived from Bethlehem, Br. Mack bringing us greetings from the Brethren there. At 9 o'clock there was Lovefeast; the Memorabilia of the year just ended was read; there was the Absolution service, the Pedalavium, and the closing midnight meeting to end the old and begin the new year.

### [English]

#### North Carolina

By his Excellency Arthur Dobbs Esq., Captain General Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the said Province

#### *A Proclamation.*

Since it is the particular Duty of all Christian Kingdoms and States, to set apart Days of solemn Fasting and Humiliation upon Account of the many national as well as particular Sins, they are daily guilty of against the divine Majesty, and as it is a more immediate Duty to call upon Almighty God in Time of War and Confusion to avert the Judgments threatened particular States upon Account of their heinous Sins and forgetfulness of Gods Laws; and since it has pleased our God and Saviour to save this Province from the dreadful Earthquakes in which many Kingdoms have suffered, which may be soon extended to this Province, in case we do not repent of our Transgressions.

And as this Province is more immediately to apprehend the Judgments of God to be poured out upon it, upon Account of the Vices and Immoralities which prevail from the Want of proper Christian Clergy and Pastors to instruct the Inhabitants in Christian Duties and Virtue, and for Want of Schools to educate the rising Generation; up-



on which Account Vice, Idleness and Debauchery seem to gain Ground, and true Christian Principles and Faith in our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, seems to decline in this Province.

To avert the heavy Judgments threatening for our great and manifold Sins and to call upon our God and Saviour in a most solemn Manner, that he would prevent the Earthquakes, which have extended over so many Nations, and the Wars and Depredations which have afflicted the Neighboring Colonies from extending to this Province; and that our God, who is the God of armies would conduct the Forces of his British Majesty, and give them Victory over our inveterate and cruel Enemies, whose Ambition nothing less will satisfy than the Conquest of all British Colonies in America, in order to reduce them under Popish Superstition, Slavery and arbitrary Power and by that Means extirpate the true Protestant Christian Religion in the British Empire. I therefore by the Advice and Approbation of his Majesty's honorable Council of this Province do appoint Wednesday the sixth Day of Octob. next to be set apart for a Day of public Fasting and Humiliation for our enormous Sins and to deprecate God's Judgments, which hang over us, and at the same Time to return Thanks to Almighty God, for having so long protected this Province from the Wars, Depredations and cruel murders with which the neighboring Colonies have been afflicted; and that our God and Saviour would conduct and give Victory to the British Armies and Fleets and particularly to the Armies under the Command of his Excellency the Earl of London, to preserve the true Christian Religion, our Liberties and Possessions and to put it out of the Power of our perfidious Enemies hereafter to molest and distress these Provinces.

And I do command and require that all the Clergy Pastors and Readers and all Civill Magistrates do assist that divine Service may be held in the several Churches and Chapels or other Places of divine Worship on the said sixth Day of Octob. next; and that all the Inhabitants of this Province may abstain from Labour and keep the said Day of October next as a Day of public Fasting and Humiliation to humble themselves before God and to return him sincere Thanks for his so long protecting and preserving this Province in Peace and Safety.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at Newbern this 19th Day of August 1756 in the thirtieth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

ARTHUR DOBBS.

By his Excellency's Command  
Richard Spaight Secretary

GOD SAVE THE KING.

*Call to Br. [Jacob Rogers] as Minister for the Parish  
of Dobbs in Wachovia, [Sept. 20th] 1756.*

[English]

In the Name of God our Creator Jesus Christ the great Shepherd of His Flock, purchased and redeem'd with his own most precious Blood.

In the Name of his and our Dear Father, whose Heart was to that Degree affected with the Misery of Mankind, that He gave his only begotten Son to be a Sacrifice for us, that we thro' Faith in Him might inherit everlasting Life. And

In the Name of the Holy Spirit, who as the Church's Mother cares for and nurses the Souls and prepares & adorns them for the Marriage of the Lamb. We the Subscribers do by virtue of the Power we are invested with by a certain Act of Assembly of this Province, Erecting Wachovia into a separate Parish by the Name of Dobbs Parish, call you our dear and Revd Br. Jacob Rogers to be Minister of the said Parish, hereby entreating you will please to take upon you this office and Charge, and act therein agreeable to the sound Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and according to the Laws of this Province. And we on our parts will likewise care that you shall be provided from Time to Time with what is necessary for your Subsistance. Wachovia the [20th] Day of [Sept.] 1756.

Jacob Lösch,  
Sam Wutke,  
Gottlieb Fockel,  
Chrn. Pfeiffer,  
Erich Ingebretson,  
Jac. Lung,

Carl Opitz,  
John Nagel,  
Christoph Merkly,  
Jac. Kapp,  
Hans Peterson,  
L. G. Bachoff.

## 1757

[In Europe the Seven Years War continued with varying aspects. Prussia lost Saxony, but later regained it; the Unity of Brethren marveled that through all dangers their towns and congregations remained unharmed.

In India Robert Clive led an army of British troops and Sepoys against Surajah Dowley, who the preceding year had surprised and overthrown Fort William, and imprisoned 146 English soldiers in the infamous "Black Hole of Calcutta." Clive's success at the battle of Plassey established English sovereignty in India.

In America the French still had the advantage. Hostile Indians threatened the frontier of South Carolina, and two thirds of the militia of the lower Counties of North Carolina were held in readiness to go to her assistance, while bands of friendly Indians were sent to the help of Virginia, and a battalion of men was sent to the northern army under command of Captain, now Major Dobbs. The Cherokees were still counted as friends of the English, but Northern Indians came to within thirty miles of Bethabara, spreading alarm on every side.]

### *Memorabilia of 1757.*

#### [Full translation]

At the close of this blessed year of 1757 we give thanks and praise for the following:—

1. For the safety and peace vouchsafed us by our Heavenly Father in these times of war. Many of our neighbors, driven hither and yon like deer before wild beasts, came to us for shelter, yet the accustomed order of our congregation life was not disturbed, no, not even by the more than 150 Indians, who at sundry times passed by, stopping for a day at a time and being fed by us.
2. For the precious presence of the "Man of Sorrows," felt not only in our church services, but in each individual soul.
3. For the never-failing love, care and leading of the Holy Spirit.
4. For the monthly celebration of the Sacrament, together with the special Communion held by the Single Brethren on the anniversary of the death of their beloved Christel, in the presence of his and their undying Friend.

5. For nine celebrations of the "Cup of Covenant."
6. For our Sabbaths, Agapae<sup>1</sup> and special Lovefeasts.
7. For our monthly Gemein Tag.
8. For the blessed effect the reading of the Jünger-haus Diary produced in the congregation, the Choirs and individual souls.
9. For the spiritual food provided in the Gospel and especially in the Texts for the children.
10. For the revised Liturgies which we have enjoyed daily, especially the one beginning "Oh head so full of bruises," which we have used each Friday evening, to the strengthening of our souls.
11. For the blessings of the Gospel spread far and wide among our neighbors, who having been sent to us by the Indian alarms, have attended our services, and the Word there heard has not been without effect.
12. For nine Congregation Councils and various Conferences.
13. For the many days this year consecrated to the "Son of Man," especially the Passion Week, the forty days after Easter, the 28th of May, the 13th and 29th of August, the 7th of September, the 13th, 17th and 24th of November and the Christmastide.
14. For the services of Maundy Thursday.
15. For the two baptisms, which made a deep impression upon our visitors.
16. For the first little blossom (Anna Maria Opiz) gathered here this year by our dear Saviour.
17. For the blessing on the work of our hands.
18. For the protection of our Brethren in dangers incurred in their work.
19. For the guarding of our Brethren on their journeys.
  - (a) Our Brn. Michael Ranck and Anspach on their journeys to and from Cape Fear in January and March.
  - (b) Br. Jacob van der Merk to Bethlehem in April.
  - (c) The Brn. Jacob Loesch and Grabs to and from Cape Fear in April.
  - (d) The Brn. Carl Friedrich and Pizman from and to Bethlehem in June.
  - (e) Br. Jacob Loesch to Bethlehem in July.
  - (f) Br. Nicolaus Garrison from and to Bethlehem in September.
  - (g) The Brn. Michael Ranck, Holder and Steiner with a wagon and eight horses, to Bethlehem, and their return in November with four married couples and one child.

<sup>1</sup> Agape—a Greek word signifying the "meal in common" from which the Brethren took their Lovefeast. It here means simply the regular, stated, Lovefeasts, as distinguished from those celebrating special occasions.



(h) The Brn. Christian Seidel and Lischer to and from Newbern.

20. The strengthening and increase of our little company by eight people, among them Br. and Sr. Lawatsch, whose visit of several months was a benefit to our entire congregation, and especially to the Married People.

Our little company now consists of

13 married couples-----	26
Single Brethren-----	42
Older Boys-----	1
Children-----	3
	<hr/>
	72

Born      —1  
 Baptised —2  
 Died      —1

*Wachovia Diary, 1757.*

[Extracts translated. A summary of the work in each month is given instead of translating those items.]

*Jan. 3.* The Married People had a Lovefeast in honor of David Bishoff's birthday. Michael Ranck and Anspach went to the Cape Fear, taking a load of flour, returning the 16th with our iron.

*Jan. 13.* Many people here to buy and sell, some remaining over night with us, and some at the mill.

*Jan. 23.* A Lovefeast was held for the Brethren employed in the stables. In January land was cleared, grain threshed, hemp and flax broken, charcoal burned, trees felled for saw-logs and fuel, stone broken for filling the hole below the mill.

*Feb. 8.* Mr. Churton and Sheriff Johns visited us. The former, with the help of his assistant, Mr. Lewis, surveyed some land for us.

*Feb. 21.* Bro. Wütke took Br. Holder's place in the mill. Br. Lischer became Br. Krause's assistant in the care of the cattle. Thomas Hoffman went into the tannery; and Münster took charge of a team.

Ploughing began this month. Jacob van der Merk began to set up the oil-press. Br. Aust burned earthen-ware; Br. Kalberlahn arranged a laboratory. The grist and saw mills were kept busy.

*March 3.* The Sisters had a spinners' Lovefeast.

*March. 15.* High water at the mill drove Br. and Sr. Schaub from their house into the mill building, and it took the labor of many Brethren to save the dam.

With this month seed-sowing began; trash and stumps were burned. The wolves have killed many of our calves this spring, and many others have died.

*April 12.* Jacob Loesch and Fockel were elected Church Wardens.

*Apr. 19.* Neighbors from the Town Fork came with the request that they and certain other families might move to us for safety, and we could not deny them.

*Apr. 23 and 26.* More families came for protection, driven in by fresh alarm of Indian outbreak, so that we had about 40 refugees with us. Congregation Council appointed a committee to look after them. As this proved to be a false alarm, they gradually returned to their homes in the next days.

During April farm work continued as usual. The site was selected for a guest-house, and the foundation begun. Fence rails were split.

*May 8.* We had a Sunday service for strangers for the first time this year, and will continue to do this.

*May 18.* Was a Day of Humiliation and Prayer in Carolina.

*May 23.* Br. Erich took our County Taxes to Salisbury. This year they are 9sh. 4d. a person.

*May 30.* The carpenters have finished the dairy and the Sisters can move the milk and butter into it.

During May land was cleared, corn planted, fields fenced and ploughed, charcoal burned, grain threshed, wood hauled. A new work shed was built; the potter again burned earthen-ware. The first [lin-seed] oil was made in the press.

*June 2 and 3.* The new tannery was raised, and guest-house walls prepared for the rafters.

The month was largely spent in making hay and harvesting grain. Land was cleared for a vineyard.

*July 3.* Forty-five Cherokee Indians, led by four Englishmen, camped near us. We gave them food and drink, for which they thanked us most politely and the next day John Lischer and Michael Ranck, with four horses, escorted them as far as Edward Hughes'.

*July 7.* The wagon from Bethlehem having brought us a good supply of reading matter, our Reading-Meetings began again.

*July 8.* Congregation Council was held to consider three matters: Work on the farm, trade with the neighbors, and the need for building a sleeping-hall and sick-room for the Single Brethren.

*July 16.* Our potter burned earthen-ware for the third time this year.

*July 19.* A great sale of earthen-ware today.

*July 23.* Five Cherokee Indians here. Two of them attended the Fremden Stunde, and afterwards had much to tell the others about what they had seen and heard.

*July 26.* Yesterday and today a number of families took refuge here, there being a new alarm of Indian trouble. All of our small houses and cabins are full again.

*July 27.* Sauter and Nagel were appointed night watchmen, and a committee was again selected to look after the refugees, about 50 in number.

*August 2.* Our refugees were given permission by the committee to fell trees and erect small cabins for themselves.

*August 8.* Wütke, Lischer and Herman Loesch went on guard at the mill. Four Cherokee Indians passed through on their way to Virginia.

*Aug. 16.* Fifty Cherokees passed and were given dinner. At the mill more than 20 neighbors were given meals.

*Aug. 19.* Mr. Loving and his family fled to us from Virginia and were lodged at the mill.

*Aug. 21.* Thirty Cherokees called at the mill on their way home.

This month the second crop of hay was gathered and tar was burned. For the sake of safety in case of attack by Indians, the Manakes hill<sup>2</sup> was cleared of trees.

*Sept. 2 and 3.* All the trees within gunshot of the mill were felled.

*Sept. 24.* The new road to Deep River was opened.

During September grain was threshed, seed sown, brick burned, corn gathered, meadows mowed for the third time.

*Oct. 1.* Wild grapes were gathered in the forest.

*Oct. 3.* Some of our refugees returned home. The Manakes hill was stockaded.

*Oct. 6.* Sheriff Johns came and posted an advertisement on our Tavern calling upon the Freeholders of Dobbs Parish to assemble on the 18th to vote for an Assembly-man.

*Oct. 17.* Fockel and Erich [Ingebretsen] went to Court at Salisbury to pay our taxes, renew the license [for the Tavern] and give our vote for Col. Waddell for Assembly-man. Fifteen Cherokee Indians camped over night by the mill.

During this month 20 loads of pumpkins were gathered, cut and dried; a quantity of oil [linseed] was made for our own use; the Gemein Saal was plastered; English lessons were begun again for the Single Brethren; the new bakery was finished; and the usual work in cutting logs, etc. continued.

<sup>2</sup> Manakes hill was directly south of the village, close enough to make it a point of danger in the hands of savages who might fire upon the village from its higher ground.

*Nov. 4.* The shop hitherto used by the joiner has been cleared for a shoe-shop for Br. Opiz.

*Nov. 17.* We rejoiced over the arrival from Bethlehem of our Brethren and Sisters Lawatsch, Loesch, Hege, Martin Lück, and the Brn. Michael Ranck, Steiner and Holder, with two heavily loaded wagons. In the evening we had a Lovefeast in commemoration of the coming of the first settlers.

*Dec. 20.* Last night a little daughter was born to Sr. Opiz, and at noon today she was baptized by Br. Christian Seidel and received the name of Anna Maria.

*Dec. 26.* The soul of Anna Maria Opiz returned to its eternal home, and on the 27th the little body was interred on the Manakes Hill, which the Lord had chosen for our Hutberg,<sup>3</sup> and which was consecrated in the name of the Holy Trinity.

*Petition to Gov. Dobbs.*

[From a copy in Salem Archives]

May it please Your Excellency

We His Majesty's most Loyal & most dutiful Subjects the Brethren, residing in Wachovia, humbly beg Leave to lay before your Excellency,

That tho' We conscientiously scruple to be engaged in Wars as Soldiers, to follow after our Enemies, to take away their Lives, etc, adhering to the very same Sentiments We have profess'd before the British Parliament, where We obtained an Act securing Us against being forc'd to bear Arms or to go to War etc.

Yet in this troublesome Time, when every Body thought himself in Danger of being fallen upon by the murdering Indians, We have kept strict Watch and have secured our Settlements with Stockadoes, which has been hitherto so successful for Us, as to prevent a Surprise & Blood-Shedding on both sides.

And now We think, it might be good not only for Ourselves, but also for the Inhabitants round about Us to continue the said Watch, & to prevent thereby many Evil designs of such unmerciful Creatures, tho' they should at present commit no Hostilities in our Province.

But being sensible, that this cannot be regularly done without the Governor's special Leave, or rather by his Orders; We hereby request your Excellency to authorize the said watch under your Hand and Seal, and to appoint Mr. Jacob Loesch to be chief Overseer of this above mentioned Watch.

<sup>3</sup> In Herrnhut the graveyard lay on the top of the Hutberg, or "watch hill." The Brethren in Bethabara copied the idea and the name.



And we further wish your Excellency would be pleas'd, to put One of our Brethren in the Commission of Peace; For We humbly conceive it would greatly contribute to the Tranquillity of our Settlement, and We beg Leave to recommend the above mention'd Mr. Jacob Loesch for that function, who if he should have your Excellency's Approbation, would be acknowledg'd by Us with particular Gratefulness towards your Excellency.

And your Petitioners will pray etc.

Bethlehem  
in the Forcks  
of Delaware  
March 12, 1757.

Signed in the Name & in Behalf  
of the Brethren residing in  
Dobbs Parish Wachovia  
North Carolina

CHRISTN. THOMAS BENZIEN

*Answer to above, copied from Colonial Records, Vol. V, page 810.*  
Council Journal, Newbern, May 17, 1757.

On the Petition of Moravians inhabiting Dobbs Parish in Rowan County that Jacob Loesch One of their Members be appointed Captain of an Independent Company to consist of the Inhabitants of the said Parish for their Defense from the French and their Indians, It was Ordered that a Captains Commission issue to the said Jacob Loesch accordingly.

Ordered that a new Commission of the Peace and *Dedimus* issue for Rowan County and that Jacob Loesch and Thomas Donnell Esqrs. be added to such Commission.

*Summary from Wachovia Church Book*

[Selected paragraphs translated]

In Europe the War continued fiercely, and on land and sea there were battles between England and France, Hanover and France, Prussia and Sweden, Austria and Prussia; many towns and villages were plundered and burned, the people badly mistreated. Herrnhut, and other towns belonging to the Brethren, were constantly over-run by soldiers, and lost much, but were graciously protected and brought through.

In America the English won several victories, and the Indians became much more peaceful, especially on the Ohio, whither Br. Friederich Post went twice, at the risk of his life, to seek to influence them. More than 300 Cherokees passed through here on their way to Ohio, and gave their Nation this description of Bethabara: "the Dutch<sup>1</sup> fort, where there are good People and much bread."

Br. Christian Seidel and several other Brethren from here went to Pennsylvania to be married; and meanwhile Br. Ettwein took Br. Seidel's place here. Jacob Rogers arrived as the first English Minister of Dobbs Parish, and in that capacity visited the Governor, and preached before the General Court in Salisbury. Jacob Loesch became the first Justice of the Peace in Wachovia.

The Vorsteher's house was built, of framework and brick.

[The North Carolina Assembly erected the County of Dobbs, with Tower Hill, the Capital of the Province, as its center, but otherwise its relations with Governor Dobb<sup>s</sup> became much strained.]

*Bethabara Diary, 1758*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 1. Sunday.* As the old year passed into the new, we prostrated ourselves in humble prayer before the Triune God, and then united in a liturgy and hymns before going to rest for a few hours. At 7 o'clock the musicians wakened us and at nine we had another liturgy, after which Br. Gross began his fourteen-day vacation, the first in this year. Br. Bachhoff held the Fremden Stunde, preaching on I Cor. I:30, and

<sup>1</sup> "Deutsch"—German—was commonly corrupted into "Dutch" by the English-speaking neighbors of the Brethren in Wachovia.

many of the visitors present were greatly moved. As we had recently received from Bethlehem the first Woche for 1757, Br. Lawatsch read from it in the afternoon to the Communicants a sermon of Zinzendorf's on Rev. II, 29. Then Br. Lawatsch held a service, first for the Brethren and then for the Sisters, in which special prayer was offered for the care and guidance of the Holy Spirit during this year. After this the Single Brethren held a Class meeting. In the first Gemein Stunde for the year, there was an earnest address, several prayers were read from the Litany, and the day closed with the benediction "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with us throughout this year," which was answered by the congregation with a fervent "Amen."

*Jan. 6.* In the morning prayer our chief thought was for the heathen. The new cow shed was finished this week, also the oven in the new bakery, and the first bread from the oven was eaten today by the members of the Helfer Conferenz, who also listened to an address on the conversion of the heathen. At the evening service there was reading from the Diary of the Greenland Mission, prayers were offered for our missionaries, and we closed with the usual evening blessing.

*Jan. 14.* Saturday. Morning prayer was held by Br. Bishoff. At noon there was a liturgy as usual, but Lovefeast was postponed until tomorrow, and after dinner the Congregation Council met. The Council was informed that Br. Jacob Loesch had received from the Governor a commission as Overseer or Captain of the Watch, Br. Christian Seidel having surrendered the commission to that office which the Governor had sent him. Also that Br. Joseph had sent instructions for the building of two houses. And third, that as our God's Acre must be put in better order before Easter, we shall push the grubbing of stumps on the Manakes hill, which will give Br. Lung the chance to plant fruit trees there this spring. In the evening Gemein Stunde there was an address on the Text for the day.

*Jan. 21.* Until noon all the Brethren were busy with their Sabbath work on God's Acre.

*Feb. 12.* Sunday. Gemein Tag. Morning prayer as usual. At nine o'clock there was a liturgy and sermon, and before the sermon the hymn, "Holy Trinity" was sung for the first time, most of it as a solo. Then in a general meeting, Br. Christian spoke on the New Testament Text for the day, and read a sermon from the XXII Woche. Church history was read in the third morning session; and several birthday odes in the Lovefeast. In the afternoon sessions there were readings from the Diaries of Gnadenberg, Neusalz, Niesky, Barby, Ebersdorf,

Marienborn and Zeist, for the months of April and May, 1756. After supper the Diaries of Klein Welke, etc., were read. In the Gemein Stunde there was an address on the Old Testament Text for the day; and the service concluded with the Church Litany.

*March 4.* Saturday. The day was given to work on the Manakes hill, burning stumps, etc., but in the afternoon we were interrupted by the arrival of 30 Cherokee Indians on their way to Virginia. They camped by the fence of our first field and we made immediate arrangements to supply them with food and drink, with which they were well content. They visited us that evening, and next morning moved on.

*March 7.* At the noonday meeting announcement was made that the Brn. Christian Seidel and Kalberlahn would go to Bethlehem on a visit after Easter, and that Br. Kalberlahn would teach two of the Brethren how to let blood and give them a little medical instruction, in case anything should happen during his absence.

*March 11.* The stockade around the little God's Acre has been finished, and the surrounding fields fenced and cleared ready for plowing.

*March 13.* Monday. A very busy day, everyone possible helping clear the new corn field, consequently there was morning prayer, but no liturgy at noon and only a brief singing meeting at night.

*March 14.* Instead of the usual noon liturgy, there was the baptism of Samuel Zacheus Schaub, the first boy born in Bethabara.

*March 18.* Saturday. We thought to have a quiet, restful Sabbath and Br. Gottlob Hofman began it by holding the usual morning prayer. Br. Lawatsch led the liturgy. At noon was Lovefeast, with the reading of a sermon and the approaching Communion was announced. Scarcely had this service ended when a party of 40 Cherokee Indians appeared and we had to furnish them food. Then a larger company, about 100, arrived and the Brethren were so busy looking after them that it was impossible to hold any further services.

*March 19.* Sunday. At an early hour the first party of Indians went on their way toward Virginia; the larger company, however, remained all day. Therefore, we could hold no services except a Gemein Stunde in the evening.

*March 20.* Morning prayers as usual. The Cherokees took their departure and the Brethren gladly returned to work. At noon, instead of the usual liturgy, there was a hymn especially appropriate for this week, and the singing was followed by earnest prayer, all kneeling. In the evening there was Singstunde.



*March 21.* The Daily Texts led our thoughts to the Mount of Olives and Golgotha. Br. Gottlob Hofman led the noon liturgy and Br. Lawatsch the evening Singstunde.

*March 23.* When we arose we were surprised to find the ground covered with snow. At morning prayer Br. Lawatsch spoke of the Saviour's agony on the Mount of Olives. An appropriate liturgy was sung at noon. In the evening there was a solemn Lovefeast, at which Br. Lawatsch read Count Zinzendorf's sermon on the Washing of the Disciples' Feet. Then the Brethren had the Pedalavium in the Gemein Saal and the Sisters in one of their rooms. At 11 o'clock the congregation gathered again in the Gemein Saal, where first the congregation and then the congregation officials partook of the Holy Communion.

*March 24.* The morning prayer on Good Friday continued the services of yesterday, then hour by hour we followed the steps of the suffering Saviour with love and prayer and appropriate hymns. Afternoon a Good Friday sermon was read, and at 3 o'clock the Good Friday liturgy was sung. In the evening singstunde we in thought followed the body of the Saviour to the grave for its Sabbath rest.

*March 25.* At noon there was a solemn liturgy, Lovefeast and address, and in the evening Gemein Stunde, with many visitors present.

*March 26.* Easter Sunday. The congregation was awakened early with music and gathered in the Gemein Saal, where they were greeted by Br. Christian Seidel with the words, "The Lord is risen indeed." After singing several hymns, they went to the Hutberg, accompanied by many friends, and singing as they went. And as they sang the sun broke through a bank of clouds, throwing its clear beams upon the scene. Then with a keen sense of the nearness of the Head of the Church, the new Easter Liturgy was prayed, and thoughts turned to those who had passed away during the last year, and especially to little Anna Maria Opiz, [about whose grave they were gathered]. The service closed with the singing of another hymn. At nine o'clock the "Te Logos" was sung, and soon after, in a general gathering, the Acts of the Lord on the first Easter Day were read from a Harmony of the Gospels, and Br. Seidel preached. In the afternoon the Single Brethren had their Class Meetings and Br. Seidel took affectionate leave of them. In the Gemein Stunde there was a discourse on the Texts for the day.

*March 27.* The Old Testament Text gave opportunity for a talk on the 40 days after Easter, at morning prayer. The Liturgy at noon had reference to the Doctrinal Text, and the evening Singstunde led by Br. Seidel brought out the same thoughts.

*March 28.* Br. Seidel held morning prayer, then after breakfast he, with Br. Lisher, bade farewell to the Brethren and set out for Bethlehem, many Brethren going a little way with them.

*March 29.* In the afternoon the Brn. Fockel and Nic. Garrison, who had accompanied the Brn. Seidel and Lischer as far as their first night's camp, returned, bringing hearty greetings from the travelers.

*March 31.* Friday. Today we finished threshing. One of the families who refugeeed here has gone to a new home. The week has been very cold, with a strong north-west wind. We closed the day and the month with the liturgy "O Head so full of bruises."

*April 1.* There was a heavy fall of snow.

*April 6.* Two families, coming to us for protection, brought confirmation of the rumor that the Shawnee Indians have murdered several people about 40 miles from here, in Halifax County, between the Mayo and Irvine Rivers, on the North Carolina line. Billy Hall said he helped bury one of the men who had been shot.

*April 7.* Gemein Rath was held to consider defense against the Indians. A large flour bin was finished on the third, near the bakery, so that in case of need there would be an ample supply of flour on hand inside the fort. It was decided to stockade the mill and to strengthen our palisade here.

*April 14.* This week nearly all the cabins in the fort have been filled with refugees. The Brethren have been busy raising eight small log houses at the mill. These form the front of the stockade, which on the other sides will be built of boards. As soon as these are finished, some of the refugees will move thither. The four Swiss families are already there again and Michael Houser has asked and received permission to bring his family again.

*April 25.* At daybreak Br. and Sr. Lawatsch and five Single Brethren set out for Bethlehem, the necessary re-arrangement of work having been announced on the 20th, Br. Strauss taking Adam Kramer's place as Vorsteher of the Single Brethren's Choir, while Merckly succeeded Strauss as baker, and Erhard Heckedorn went into the kitchen.

*April 28.* After four weeks of warm, clear weather there came a much needed rain.

*May 6.* Br. Petersen returned from a week's trip through the country in search of linen. He was able to buy 80 yards, which he brought with him. On the 23rd the weaving of linen was begun in one of the cabins here.

*May 12.* In the afternoon Col. Bird and several other white officers arrived with a company of 56 Cherokee Indians, and camped between the mill and Bethabara, and we supplied them with food. They behaved so well that we were able to hold our usual services that evening and on Saturday, and when they left Sunday morning Col. Bird paid in full for all that had been furnished them. Later in the month two other small companies passed and were fed.

*May 15.* Michael Hauser and Schouss and their families moved from the fort into the little cabins by the mill. On the 17th the elderly Faber and his wife, who on account of the Indian troubles have been with us ever since last year, moved to their son-in-law, John Müller, taking leave with many expressions of thanks. On the 26th the elder Hauser and wife moved from the fort to the mill cabins.

*May 31.* Br. Erich returned from Salisbury, where Mr. Hasel, ad interim Chief Justice, told him that the county taxes this year would be 14s. 4d. per person.

*June 3.* There arrived Chief Justice Hasel, a fine man and a true friend of the Brethren, the sheriff, Mr. Jonas, the Crier and a lawyer. They attended the Gemein Stunde that evening and most of the services next day. The Chief Justice was particularly interested and Br. Jacob Loesch and Br. Bishoff showed him through the Brothers House, the shops, and the Gemein Haus. On Monday the Chief Justice visited the mill, then dined with the Single Brethren, showing a good appetite for their dumplings with a sour broth. He asked Br. Jacob Loesch for an account of all that had been furnished the Indians this year and last, and promised that we should be paid for it. On Tuesday our guests took their departure. As the Sheriff, the Crier and the lawyer were returning to Salisbury, while the Chief Justice was going home, Br. Petersen was sent with the latter as far as Billy Pius.

*June 7.* The day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer appointed by the Governor was observed.

*June 12.* Six Indians passed on their way home from Virginia. On the 21st, ten more came on their way back from Winchester; and on the 27th a company of 100 Indians, with many horses and ten scalps, arrived, camped back of the mill, and had to be supplied with food and drink. The next day they made many visits to the fort, and partly on that account, partly because of a heavy rain, no services were held except morning prayer. They left the next morning, Thursday, having behaved very well.

*July 2.* Sunday. About nine o'clock a company of perhaps 50 Cherokees arrived, ate hastily and soon went their way.



*July 21.* Our mill is running full time, for on account of the drought water is scarce and people for 50 miles around are bringing their grain here. About five o'clock in the evening Br. Lischer arrived bringing Br. Rogers, who comes as English minister; he has had fever for eight days and is very weak and ill. They reported that the rest of the company with the wagon would camp for the night about eight miles from here, and we at once sent the Brn. Petersen and George Holder to them with some provisions. Early next morning, Sister Rogers came on horseback and about eight o'clock the wagon arrived, and with it Br. Ettwein, Br. and Sr. Nielson and five Single Brethren. At the mid-day service letters were read and Br. Ettwein was presented to the congregation as pastor.

*July 25.* The newly arrived surveyor, Br. Reuter, began work, assisted by three Brethren.

*August 5.* There being an opportunity to send letters to the Cape Fear, the Vestry wrote to the Governor announcing the arrival of the English minister for Dobbs Parish, and promising that he would wait on him as soon as he had recovered from his illness and circumstances permitted. Jacob Loesch sent a report of our affairs, and both letters were enclosed in one to Chief Justice Hasel.

*August 7.* Several of our refugee families returned to their farms.

*August 13.* When the Festal Day had been ushered in with the sound of trumpets, Br. Hofman held morning prayer. At 9 o'clock the Church litany was prayed, and at the proper place we thought of Br. and Sr. George Schmid's little daughter Anna Rosina [born and baptised Aug. 1st.]. At the words, "Care for the sick as Thy beloved," we bore in mind our dear Br. Rogers; and the words, "Pour out Thy Holy Spirit upon them that serve Thee" became a special prayer for the first souls won through this congregation. Br. Ettwein preached on Acts II: 17-21. In the afternoon a sermon was read, then we had Gemein Tag, when in three sessions there were readings from various European Diaries. At the Lovefeast the story of the 13th of August was read once more, and we prayed that the Lord might be with us even as He was with the two at Emmaus. Br. Bishoff held the evening Gemein Stunde, speaking on the Texts for the day, then we sang a Litany and closed with the evening blessing. After this the Church Officers had Communion.

*August 18.* Br. Ettwein and Gottlob Hofman visited several of our neighbors in their homes, and at one house baptised a child, at the repeated request of the parents.



*August 21.* A company of 60 Cherokee Indians arrived on their way home from Virginia. Partly on their account, partly because of heavy rain, the evening Singstunde was omitted. We were very glad for this rain, however, for there had been a long drought in which nothing could grow; the corn is burned worse than we have ever seen it and the pumpkins are a complete failure.

*August 22.* Shortly before noon our Indian guests departed, having behaved well. Br. Ettwein inquired whether they would like two of our young men to come to them to learn their language and they answered that "they should be proud of it and it would be a very good thing." Bethabara stands in good credit with them and is widely known as "The Dutch fort, where there are good people and much bread."

*August 23.* Our saw mill, which has been stopped for several months by the lack of water, started again today. A couple of Indians who had been left behind their companions on account of small pox, passed today and were fed.

*August 29.* Tuesday. Our Single Brethren were wakened by the singing of several hymns, and their Festal Day was announced to the congregation by the sound of the trumpets. The exposition of the Text at morning prayer was given with special reference to them. At ten o'clock they had a special meeting, in which they renewed their covenant with the Lord and with each other. After the mid-day Liturgy they dined in the Gemein Saal, while the musicians rendered a special program for them. After dinner Br. Hofman read one of Zinzendorf's sermons to them and then they had Class Meetings. At 6 P. M. was their Lovefeast, during which a cantata was sung and three hymns read; this was followed by their Liturgy. After the evening Gemein Stunde the Single Brethren partook of the Cup of Covenant together, so closing a blessed day.

*Sept. 7.* Thursday. This was the Festal Day of the Married People, and the services followed the order observed on the Festal Day of the Single Brethren. The five children of the congregation partook of the Lovefeast with their parents, while the Single Brethren rendered a musical program. After the evening singstunde the Married People had the Cup of Covenant. [A poem composed by Ettwein for the occasion and read at the Lovefeast is preserved with the Diary.]

*Sept. 23.* In the afternoon Mr. Churton and a lawyer, Mr. Cammins, arrived. They spent Sunday at Bethabara, and on the 26th accompanied Ettwein and Jacob Loesch to some land the Brethren wished to take up. On the way Churton told Ettwein that the "mob," about 700

strong, had formulated its demands into certain Articles. One Article demanded that the Vestries should be abolished and that each denomination should pay its own ministers. Churton also introduced the question of theology, which gave Ettwein the opportunity to explain the Moravian position, "That our Creator is our Saviour, and that no man can call Jesus the Lord but by the Holy Ghost," which made Churton very thoughtful. The next day the two visitors returned to Salisbury.

*Oct. 14.* Br. and Sr. Rogers and Br. and Sr. Jacob Loesch moved into their new houses. At the reading meeting at 4 P. M. Br. Rogers was installed by the Vestry as Minister of Dobbs Parish. Next day he preached his first sermon from I Timothy II: 4. On the 17th he and two other Brethren went to Salisbury, Rogers to see the country, Fockel to pay the Moravian taxes, and Jacob Loesch to qualify as Justice of the Peace, being at once given a seat on the Bench. Early in December, Rogers again visited Salisbury, where the Chief Justice treated him with much distinction and had him preach on Sunday before the Court.

*Oct. 27.* Mr. Churton and two other gentlemen came, and were met here by many people whom he had summoned to pay their Quit Rents, and others who wished to enter land. Six Indians passed through the village.

*Oct. 28. Saturday.* At the evening communion, Br. Ettwein presided and administered the Sacraments, assisted by Br. Hofman on the Brothers' side of the hall, and by Sr. Bischoff on the Sisters'. Communion was administered to several sick Brethren in their rooms, and next morning the congregation officers partook together.

*Nov. 11.* Br. Jacob Bonn arrived from Bethlehem, bringing many letters and Gemein Nachrichten. [He served as town physician during Dr. Kalberlahn's absence.]

*Nov. 13. Monday.* The congregation was wakened with music, and at 8 o'clock gathered with one accord before their Chief Elder. At 10 A. M. there was a reading meeting, at noon a liturgy, afternoon another reading meeting; meetings of the Choirs separately, and Love-feast. In the evening Gemein Stunde and a litany. It was a blessed day, and in all the services the Chief Elder gave us to feel His nearness.

*Nov. 20.* Today we began our winter arrangements, i. e. breakfast will come immediately after morning prayer and the Singstunde will be at 9 P. M.

*Dec. 3.* The First Sunday in Advent. After morning prayer and the litany, Br. Ettwein read an English sermon; then Br. Bachhoff

preached in German on John I:11, 12. In the afternoon there was a reading meeting, followed by Choir liturgies. Gemein Stunde in the evening.

*Dec. 19.* The services of the day had special reference to the work of the Holy Spirit.

*Dec. 24.* The usual Sunday services were held during the day. Many of our neighbors joined with us in our Watch Service; during the Love-feast a cantata was sung, also many Christmas hymns from the large Hymn Book and some hymns in English. At midnight we joined in earnest prayer, adoring the Lord laid in a manger and beseeching Him to make our hearts His resting place.

*Dec. 25.* At the Christmas Day service, Br. Ettwein sang a hymn, "Rejoice, O Christian Congregation," read the Gospel and the Epistle for the day, and preached on the love and grace of God made manifest in that our Creator became man to save us from evil and to bless us. Then Br. Roger led the English liturgy for the first time, and baptised little Susanna Schouss and Michael Hauser's little son, Michael, both children of our neighbors. English preaching followed, and in both these services our guests were much affected. In the afternoon we worshipped the Christ-child as the spotless Lamb of God; and our Christmas joy was increased when Sr. Anna Loesch gave birth to a little son, who before supper, in a meeting of communicants, who all acted as sponsors, was baptised into the death of Jesus by Br. Ettwein and received the name of Johann Christian. The evening blessing closed the day, during which the precious presence of the Christ-child was felt in our hearts and also by our friends, of whom about 20 worshipped with us.

*Dec. 30.* Saturday. After morning prayer, work went on as usual until noon. At 3 o'clock the Gemein Tag sessions began, there being a liturgy and the reading meetings. After supper a resumé was given of more important parts in our Diary and that from Bethlehem. Br. Ettwein said that there had been little of marked interest here compared with other congregations this year; but that the gracious presence of the Saviour, the protection and help of the Father, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit had been given to us no less than to others; therefore, with humble and thankful hearts we adored the Triune God, acknowledging all the good that the congregation and each individual heart had experienced. In the evening a liturgy was sung, and the day closed with the evening blessing.

*Dec. 31.* The usual Sunday services were held during the day. After Gemein Stunde in the evening, the Brethren and Sisters had



separate meetings. In the Lovefeast which followed a hymn of Thanksgiving and Praise, composed of Br. Ettwein, [filed with the Diary,] was sung as a solo, and reference was made to the birthdays today of Sr. Benigna [von Watteville] and Br. Peter [Boehler]. At 11 o'clock the communicants sanctified the passing of the old and the coming of the new year. In the first hour of 1759 we knelt and commended ourselves, body, soul and spirit, to the Triune God, committed ourselves to His loving care, and then went for some hours to rest.

### *Conference Minutes*

[The following is translated from a loose sheet found in the Archives, evidently part of the records of the Conference charged with the oversight of the food for Bethabara.]

*January, 1758.* This week we will cook as follows:

- 10th, Tuesday, meat—60 lbs,—and carrots;
- 11th, Wednesday, sausage and dried pumpkins;
- 12th, Thursday, dumplings;
- 13th, Friday, pigs' feet and heads, and turnips;
- 14th, Sabbath, or
- 15th, Sunday, beans and butter.

The morning and evening meals as hitherto.

*Jan. 16, 1758.* We decided that 60 lbs. meat is not enough to cook.

Today we had meat and dried pumpkins;

Tuesday, dumplings and radish;

Wednesday, meat and turnips;

Thursday, dumplings and radish;

Friday, meat and carrots;

Saturday, if the weather is good and we work on the Graveyard,  
we will have meat and sauerkraut;

Sunday, beans and butter.

Breakfast, vesper, and supper as hitherto.

*Jan. 17, 1758.* We have on hand

meat in smoke-----	1600 lbs.
meat in salt-----	400 "
meat to be killed-----	1000 "
hog meat-----	800 "

---

total -----	3800 lbs.
-------------	-----------

Of butter we have 200 lbs. We can have meat three times a week, 70 lbs. each time, for three months. We can boil dumplings twice a week; and beans once a week. The seventh day is not provided for.



Ordinary porridge needs  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. butter, dumplings 6 lbs., with beans  $3\frac{1}{4}$  lbs., at table 6 lbs. There are enough beans for seven meals. Outside of ordinary meal-times the following Brethren need butter: the night-watchman, the herdsman, the Bush-Ranger sometimes, the threshers, and sometimes the carpenters. When the Brethren have unusually hard work they will get butter at vesper. The Sisters with children need half a pound of butter a week; the herdsman a quarter pound each per week; the grubbers half a pound.

*Jan. 19, 1758.* Our meals shall now be as follows:

in the morning porridge, according to the weather;

during the morning, brandy;

at noon as already planned, or as may be decided;

for vesper barley-coffee, or sometimes brandy, or if the work is very hard a little beer;

evening, usually porridge for some, and bread and milk for others.

At present we are milking twelve cows.

*A true Account of the Cherokee Indians who passed and repassed Bethabara in Wachovia and the Meals they had in the year 1758.*

[Written in English.]

March 4th about noon came 30 Cherokee Indians pretty hungry, had dinner 8d. a person in the Tavern rates-----	1; 0; 0
supper 6d. a person-----	15; 0
March 5th, 30 breakfasts 6d. a person-----	15; 0
March 18th at noon came 42 Indians, had dinner-----	1; 8; 0
had supper-----	1; 1; 0
They set off the 19th after breakfast-----	1; 1; 0
March 18th towards evening followed another company of 100 persons, had supper-----	2; 10; 0
Rested here the 19th, 100 for breakfast-----	2; 10; 0
100 for dinner-----	3; 6; 8
100 for supper-----	2; 10; 0
March 20th for their breakfast and provision on the road----	2; 10; 0
April 4th came again 60 Indians, had dinner-----	2; 0; 0
had supper-----	1; 10; 0
April 5th they had breakfast-----	1; 10; 0
May 12th came Col. Bird with several officers and 56 Indians rested here till the 14th and Col. Bird paid with Gold £14 Virginia currency.	

May 22nd 10 Indians on their return from Winchester	
had dinner-----	6; 8
May 29th had several Indians, dinner-----	3; 0
June 13th, in the afternoon came 6 Indians on their return	
had dinner-----	4; 0
and June 14th breakfast-----	3; 0
June 21st at noon returned 10 Indians, had dinner-----	6; 8
and supper-----	5; 0
June 26th came a company of 100 Indians, had dinner and	
supper in one-----	2;10; 0
June 27th 100 had breakfast-----	2;10; 0
had dinner-----	3; 6; 8
had supper-----	2;10; 0
June 28th, they had breakfast and took provision along-----	2;10; 0
July 2nd, 50 Indians had dinner-----	1;13; 4
Aug. 21st 60 Indians had dinner and supper together-----	2; 0; 0
Aug. 22nd they had breakfast and provision upon the road--	1;10; 0
Aug. 23rd 3 sick Indians had provisions-----	2; 0
Oct. 26th 6 Indians had supper-----	3; 0
Oct. 27th they had a rest day, breakfast-----	3; 0
dinner-----	4; 0
supper-----	3; 0
Total-----	45; 0; 0

*Instructions for Jacob Rogers, Minister of Dobbs Parish.*

[Translated in full.]

Bethlehem, June 19, 1758

This day the Brethren Joseph, Petrus, Seidel, Gottlieb, Lawatsch, Ettwein, and Rogers, consulted together concerning the Parish in Wachovia.

The Minutes of their Conference are as follows:—

(1) Br. Rogers will receive a Certificate of Ordination signed by Br. Petrus [Boehler] and sealed with the Church Seal. He will not show this unless the Governor asks to see it.

(2) The Vestry of Dobbs Parish shall write a short letter to the Governor to this effect: "We the Vestry men of Dobbs Parish do present the Revd. Jac. Rogers to your Excellency Arthur Dobbs for Rector of the said Parish & hope he will meet with your Excellencies Approbation."

(3) Br. Joseph [Spangenberg] shall write a note to the Governor, recommending the said Jacob Rogers; and the Brethren's Settlement of Wachovia as a whole shall do the same.

(4) Br. Petrus shall write to the late Chief Justice Hasel, and introduce Br. Rogers to him and other Gentlemen of the Province.

(5) The Vestry in Wachovia shall have Br. Rogers use the English Church Service at least four times during the year; but for the sake of outsiders coming to preaching this may be done as often as the Vestry thinks wise.

(6) The Vestry shall keep a Day-book, and record all that is taken in and paid out on account of the Parish, e.g. Br. Rogers' journey expenses, cost of building his house, what is spent for his support, etc.

(7) Br. Rogers shall give a yearly receipt to the Vestry, stating that he has received £80 for his support, be it more or less, and these receipts shall be kept.

(8) The Parish Church shall not be built until the best place for it is determined, and then the Minister's Glebe shall be as near the Church as possible.

(9) At present a temporary dwelling will be built for him, containing at least two rooms and a kitchen.

(10) If he serves another Parish by request he shall accept the usual pay; otherwise he shall preach as a guest on a journey.

(11) He is not forbidden to marry any persons who have a License, if he desires to do it, but he must make the charge according to law, otherwise people will flock to him, to the injury of other Ministers.

(12) He must keep a proper Church Book, entering therein whom he marries, baptises, buries, etc, with all necessary details.

(13) It would be well for him to keep a separate Book for the baptisms, marriages, etc. of those in other places who have no connection with our people.

N. B. The Church Book of our Congregations must be kept as though there were no Parish Book.

(14) Our Brethren's Congregation shall go on its independent way; it is a Theocracy, and he shall not interfere with it. In his own person he is a Brother, even a child in the Congregation, with no authority therein because he is the English Minister; with his Choir Pfleger he shall speak freely and from the heart like any other Brother.

(15) It must not be forgotten that the Parish is for the eyes of all men, and care should be taken that no evil doer comes in to distress and annoy the people of the Lord.

(16) For the same reason Br. Rogers must carry himself with the decorum of a Minister; and our Brethren and sisters in Wachovia must be careful in their intercourse with him, especially in the presence of strangers, — for instance, they should not use the familiar *thou* in addressing him.

(17) If Br. Rogers desires a separate housekeeping the Brethren shall supply him with what he needs, keeping a record of what is furnished to him and what it is worth.

(18) It is not the intention that Br. Rogers shall remain there permanently, but he can leave a Brother as his Curate if he is recalled.

(19) If there is a difficulty about installing him, that is if the Governor should refuse to accept him, the Vestry will have to secure a neighboring English Minister to come and hold the English Service every three months, and if this is done they will not need another English Minister. If they fail to do this for twelve months the Governor has a right to send them any Minister he chooses and they must accept him.

(20) In order that the Brethren in Wachovia can elect Vestrymen according to law each one who is to vote must have at least a Life Lease for fifty acres of land three months before the election.

(21) If Br. Rogers has an invitation to preach in English Churches or Places of Worship in Carolina or Virginia he shall accept, *ceteris paribus*.

(22) The Vestrymen shall qualify in the following form: "We do conform to the Liturgy of England & to the Liturgy of the Unitas Fratrum".—At least they shall try this, and if it goes, well and good.

(23) Outsiders shall not be married in our Gemein Saal. It will be best for Br. Rogers to go to their homes, as Public Houses are also not suitable places.

(24) When Br. Rogers holds a Singstunde or such service in our Gemein Saal it is not suitable to use the English Church Service.

(25) In short our Communion, Burials, Baptisms, and all regular Church Services, with the exception of public Marriages, shall be conducted as though no Parish Minister existed. Br. Rogers is not the Pastor of the Congregation, though he may at times substitute for the Pastor, as his Curate, so to speak.

(26) His visit to the Governor shall not be long postponed, but when he goes someone must accompany him; and it will be best to make the trip when the Council and Assembly are not in session.

(27) The Call to him should be signed by the Vestry and placed in his hands.



# LAWS OF NORTH CAROLINA REGARDING COURTS AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

[Editorial summary from Colonial Records of N. C.]

Justices of the Peace were appointed by the Governor of the Province, as guardians of the Peace and to try minor civil and criminal cases, their duties closely copying those of the Justices of the Peace in England. The Laws of 1741 provided that any two Justices might try a case where the amount involved did not exceed 40 shillings, Proclamation money. (Some thirty years later this was changed to allow one Justice to act alone under these circumstances.) A Marriage Act of 1741 provided that the wedding ceremony should be performed either by a Minister of the Church of England, or by a Justice of the Peace; the Banns to have been thrice published according to the Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer, or the couple to have a License from the Clerk of the County in which the woman resided, with whom the man had filed a Marriage Bond. In 1750 it was noted that to be eligible for appointment as a Justice of the Peace a man must have lived in the country for three years.

The Laws of 1746 provided that each County in the Province should "have four Courts in the year . . . according to ancient custom and usage", — for Rowan County they were held in Salisbury in January, April, July, and October. It was further provided that "the Justices of the County Courts or any three of them shall have power to hear all causes . . . where the damage is above 40 shillings, Proc. and does not exceed £20 like money, and all petty larcenies and . . . of an inferior nature." "And that the said Justices of the Peace and every one of them . . . as well out of Court as within, shall have full Power and Authority as amply and fully, to all Intents and Purposes, as the Justices of the Peace in the Counties of England, as well out of their Court of Quarter Sessions as within, to preserve maintain and keep the peace within their respective Counties, and in the hearing trying and determining of all Causes . . ."

In addition to the County Court there was a Superior Court held at Salisbury for the District which included Rowan, Mecklenburg and Anson Counties. (The Moravian Diaries usually refer to this as the General Court.) It was held by "the Chief Justice of the Province and two Associate Justices, or any one of them." An Act of 1766 fixes the date of the Superior Court for March 5th and Sept. 5th; prior to that time the Superior Courts at Salisbury were held March 23rd and Sept. 23rd, and afterwards the date varied from the 5th to the 20th of the month.

## MORAVIAN DOCTRINE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

[An editorial summary.]

The poems of Rev. Johannes Ettwein referred to in the Diary are so typical of the religious thought of the Moravians in Wachovia during this period that the Editor planned to insert them in German, with an English translation, but further study of the subject led to the decision to associate with them the many sermon extracts given in the Diary of these years, and endeavor to set before the reader a simple outline of the Faith of the Brethren as so recorded.

It was preëminently a Christ-centered Faith. The earthly life of Christ was followed from Annunciation to Ascension, the daily services taking their tone from the special days and seasons so made sacred. Of these seasons the events of His last week were oftenest in their minds. Not only were the Passion Week and Easter full of special services, but there was often a week in the fall given again to the consideration of the Passion story, and throughout the year a Passion Liturgy was used nearly every Friday evening, and whenever possible Saturday, or at least Saturday afternoon and evening, were "Sabbaths" with rest from daily toil, and with appropriate services, usually a Lovefeast, and Communion once a month.

References to the body of Christ resting in the tomb show the underlying idea of the custom of observing Saturday as a day of rest, but they did not hesitate to postpone the Saturday services to Sunday when circumstances made this advisable.

Their devotion to the Person of Christ appears on every page of the Diary. His love for them and their love for Him; His sufferings and death for them, His mercy, His grace, His nearness, His kindness to them, were the theme of their daily meditation, and the Gospel which they preached to others, for while they had a vivid realization of Jesus Christ as the "Chief Elder of the Unity of Brethren" there was nothing selfish in their religion, and they gladly told the story of the love of Jesus to all who would hear.

The Holy Spirit was regarded as that Person of the Trinity Who cares for the souls of believers as a mother cares for her children, guiding, instructing, warning, reproving, comforting, and most particularly pointing them to Jesus, the suffering Saviour, their Redeemer. Whit Sunday and the 19th of December were especially dedicated to Him, though there are many other references to His gracious work among them.

God the Father was worshipped as the Heavenly Father, taking every care of His earthly children, protecting and directing them, and crowning with success the work of their hands. The Brethren also believed that the Father often used His angels in their service, and that through their agency many otherwise fatal accidents were averted or minimised, and many attempts of the Evil One to harm them were brought to naught.

The services of the Brethren were numerous and varied. Some were the services common to all congregations; the special characteristics of others have been given in the foot-notes to the Diary translation. The Lord's Supper was usually celebrated once a month, on Saturday evening, and was preceded by due announcement, and the "sprechen", or personal interview between the pastor and each communicant. The spirit in which a soul was expected to approach the Lord's table is set forth in Count Zinzendorf's hymn;—

I am a poor sinner,  
This I surely know;  
And if my dear Saviour  
Did not love me so  
As ne'er to forsake me,  
Sinful though I be,  
He ere now His mercy  
Had withdrawn from me.

If the "sprechen" showed that a Brother was not in this frame of mind he was advised to absent himself from the service. The first meeting on the Sunday morning following a Communion was usually devoted to thanks for the grace of the preceding evening; and there was a Post-Communion for the ministers who had officiated, and for any members who were ill and confined to their beds, but who desired to partake of the Sacrament.

Communion was usually preceded by Lovefeast, but Lovefeasts were held on many other occasions, — to welcome friends or to speed them on their homeward way, in honor of a birthday, at a gathering of spinners or harvesters, at any time, indeed, when the Lord's blessing was desired on a semi-social gathering, as well as in a regular church service. It was always marked by a simple meal, usually bread and tea or coffee, by hymns, and prayer, with such additional features as the occasion demanded.

The reading-meetings were a product of the times. When the coming of one copy of a newspaper was worthy of note in the Diary, when letters arrived at long and irregular intervals, when there were few books



and no magazines, a package of the MS. church paper of the day,—*Wochen, Nachrichten*, or whatever name it bore at the time,—brought news from friends scattered all over the world, sermons from revered leaders of the Unity in other places, reports of the progress of the Lord's cause in the home lands and in the far corners of the earth, and an hour now and then was gladly given while the minister read aloud from the one copy at hand.

Of the *Singstunden*,—the song services,—it need only be said that the Brethren were a music-loving people. Various editions of their Hymnbooks were printed during the days of the Ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, and the Renewed Unity continued the custom. More than a thousand hymns were in the books used by the Moravians in Wachovia; they were fond of congregational singing, but varied it with solo and choir anthem; and by the close of the period now under consideration they had trumpets and French horns, trombones, flutes, and violins, in Bethabara, and used them from time to time in accompanying the voices.

The "Daily Texts" from the Old and New Testaments were a constant inspiration to them, and many a sermon or brief address was based on "the Text for the day." In addition the ministers chose their own texts for sermons when they so desired; and a sermon preached by a leader of the Unity for some special day in one year was often read to the congregation in Bethabara on the same day in the following year, or even several years later.

Of theological discussion, as such, there is little record in the Diary. Occasionally a visitor would ask concerning the doctrines of the Brethren, and they would answer his questions, and perhaps give him a copy of the Berlin Sermons of Count Zinzendorf to read, but apparently they did not permit themselves to be drawn into argument. The sermon outlines indicate a simple, clear, exposition of Bible passages, intended to strengthen the faith of the Brethren, increase their trust in God, their love for the Saviour, and to impress upon them that religion was a necessary part of practical, every-day life,—that a man could think of God while he cut wood, that any work, indeed, however menial, was worthy work if done for Him. Their interpretation of the Gospel was meant to sweeten life, to make it earnest and happy; it was not a matter of definition to debate about.

Church discipline was strict but logical. If disputes arose between members every effort was made to settle them and bring peace. If spirits were disturbed when a Communion season came around they were bidden to remain away from the Lord's Table; when right relationships had been re-established between men, and forgiveness had



been asked of God, church privileges were restored. Much patience was shown toward a troubled or discontented soul, but if it became evident that a man could or would no longer be at one with them, if he no longer fitted into the religious and community life, if he was a source of anxiety and sorrow and showed no sign of wishing to be changed, he was quietly asked to move away and live elsewhere. Their ideal was a community in which every man worked for the good of all, asking God's blessing upon his work, and they had no room for the selfish, the restless, the fretful man.

As over against their neighbors they had two aims,—to serve them in material ways, and to give them the Gospel as far as they desired it. It is hard for the modern student to understand why Bethabara had so few accessions from among the neighbors, but it should be remembered that Count Zinzendorf,—whose vision of Church Unity was two hundred years ahead of his day, and is indeed still far from being realized,—Count Zinzendorf had impressed upon the Brethren that they were to be heralds of the Cross of Christ, not men seeking the growth of their own Church, and the policy was to teach all who could be reached, but to take into their number only those few who agreed with them not only in doctrine but in their ideal of community Christian life and service. It is said that Zinzendorf did not approve of the settlement of Bethania, with its mixture of Brethren and friends, and his idea that the Unity of Brethren was ordained of God to be a company of workers rather than a denomination caused the Brethren to hold back in the days when with their good organization, their competent ministry, and their pure Gospel, they might have swept whole sections of America into their Church.

Toward children the attitude of the Moravians is worthy of note, for they took literally the words of the Saviour "Suffer the children to come unto me." An infant was given to the Lord in baptism a few hours after birth. Brief services were held weekly for the infants in arms and their mothers. There were regular instruction meetings for somewhat older children, and special prayer-day and Christmas services for them; and when old enough they were expected to attend the usual services of the congregation. As they passed into the Choirs of Older Boys, or Older Girls, and again into the Choirs of Single Brethren or Single Sisters, instruction suited to their age was given, and in due time they were admitted into the organization of the congregation, and when spiritually ready were confirmed for the Lord's Supper. Along with the instruction in spiritual things went what is usually called education,—schools being established in Bethania and Bethabara so soon as they were needed. (The first married couples coming to Bethabara

left their children in Pennsylvania at school or in church Nurseries, so the neighbors settling at Bethania with their children caused the first school to be opened there.) Children were also taught to work with their hands; at the proper age boys were apprenticed to master-workmen, so that each learned a trade, while girls learned the housewifely arts, and were not afraid to help with the farm work when need arose. Many neighbors sought the service of Moravian ministers for the baptism of their children; and during the Indian War the child refugees at the mill were given religious care that was new to their parents and to them.

To sum up the situation.—The Diary shows that in simple, practical, ways religion was made a part of the life of the Brethren from earliest infancy to the grave, as they tried to realize their ideal of what a Christian community should be.

This year the Jüngerhaus was in Zeist and Neuwied; at the former place Count Zinzendorf preached an impressive doctrinal sermon on the text "We have the mind of Christ."

Br. Johannes [von Watteville] made a Visitation in England, Wales and Ireland, and organized the congregation of Leominster in Wales, and two congregations in the north of Ireland.

Our dear Brothers and Sisters imprisoned at St. Petersburg in Russia, were brought to Cosen on the Caspian Sea.

On Sept. 24th the Brethren's colony at Neusalz, on the Oder, in the Kingdom of Prussia, was plundered by the Russians, and the next day was laid in ashes. The 294 of our members living there were led uninjured through the fire, and escaped safely, though with the loss of all their goods.

The Unity press printed this year the 2nd edition of "The Days of the Son of Man"; a Hymn Book in Esthonian and another in the Esquimaux language; also Liturgy Books in English, Lettish, and Esquimaux.

In Portugal the Order of the Jesuits was entirely destroyed, it having been discovered that the Jesuits had joined in a conspiracy against the King; and this looks like the beginning of a general movement against the Order.

The War continued with full power in Europe and in America. In spring the English seized the French Island of Guadaloupe, Fort Niagara on Lake Ontario, and Crown Point of Lake George; and on Sept. 17th Quebec, the capital city of Canada, fell into British hands.

Our congregations in Silesia, and all over Germany, suffered as greatly as they did last year from the armies of both sides, and we cannot sufficiently thank our Heavenly Father for His protection.

[In North Carolina there were a number of riots in the territory belonging to Lord Granville. His chief agent, Francis Corbin, was arrested by the rioters and held until he gave bond; Robert Jones, Attorney General, was much terrified by their threats against him; and the Assembly accused the Governor of siding with the rioters, and making no attempt to bring them to justice. For a period of eight months (extending into 1760) no Superior Courts were held in the Province.]

*Memorabilia of Bethabara, 1759.*

[Translated in full.]

For the settlement of the Brethren in Wachovia this was an unusually important and blessed year, which the little congregation of Bethabara will never forget.

We passed from the old year into the new while partaking of the Holy Sacraments; and the deeply felt presence of our blessed Lord at the Liturgy on New Year's Day promised us a year of great grace.

In the early months of the year there arose a great lack of food in the country for 100 miles around us, and our gracious Father in Heaven had so ordered it that we not only had enough for ourselves but were able to help many hundreds of people who came to us from sixty miles away, and we were able to supply something to each one, and many a man thanked God that we were here.

Added to this in April was the unrest on account of the Indians, who began to murder in our neighborhood. On the day of the greatest terror among our neighbors, when many were hastening to us as though the enemy were at their heels, we had for our Text "Safe is thy dwelling." By the 12th of May we had 120 refugees, whom we tried to comfort in body and soul, and to whom the Gospel was often preached.

May 30th, to our great joy, and the never-to-be-forgotten blessing of our congregation, the following Brethren and Sisters arrived: Br. and Sr. Seidel, Br. and Sr. Kalberlahn, Br. and Sr. Herman Loesch, Br. and Sr. Adam Kramer, Br. and Sr. Michael Ranck, and Br. and Sr. Johann Beroth. On June 5th Br. and Sr. Spangenberg and Br. Jacob Bonn also arrived from Bethlehem.

In June the new Choir Litanies were introduced here, and proved a blessing to the hearts of the members and a strengthening to the Choir spirit.

The place for Bethania was selected, and laid out by Br. Reuter; and early in July eight married couples of our members were selected for that village, and to them were added eight families of refugees, to whose hearts the Holy Spirit had set forth the sufferings of Jesus, and who had united themselves into a Society,<sup>1</sup> and had asked permission also to settle there on trial. On July 18th, as soon as our rich harvest

<sup>1</sup> "Society" members were men and women definitely associated with the Unitas Fratrum, but not communicant members thereof. Joining the Society was frequently, though not always, a step toward becoming a member of the congregation. In Bethania the Brethren from Bethabara remained members of the parent congregation until the Bethania Congregation was organized, most of the Society members joining as communicants and becoming full members.



was gathered, Br. and Sr. Grabs, and the other selected Brethren, moved from Bethabara to Bethania, as the Saviour wished no time to be lost<sup>2</sup>.

Just at this time sickness broke out among the Sisters<sup>3</sup> which led to the departure of Sister Rogers on July 19th; she being followed in the same month by Br. and Sr. Seidel, Kalberlahn, and Erich Ingebretsen, by Lenzner in August, directly after his Choir Festival, and by Nagel, Wütke, Sr. Loesch [Herman's bride] and Heinrich Biefel in September. Fourteen others were so seriously ill, and suffered such great pain, that they and others thought their end had come, but the Lord of Life ruled otherwise, and they recovered. Twenty more were prostrated by the fever, but were not so critically ill; still others were less violently attacked. Not more than 19 passed through the summer unscathed. That does not sound so sweet as it really was. The time of sickness in July, August and September, was also a time of special grace when the sincere love and friendship of the Brethren for each other, joy in and longing for the Saviour, flourished, and were plainly seen. And from this point of view this year will remain a happy memory.

Two children also passed away this year, A. Rosina Schmid on May 28th, and Samuel Zachaeus Schaub on Aug. 26th. Through the home-going of these twelve our God's Acre has become a sacred place.

A God's Acre was also laid out near the mill for the use of the strangers gathered there, and three were buried therein, a boy, an unmarried man, and a married man.

In our Choir, Congregation, and Church Festivals the Triune God has graciously revealed Himself to us, also in our Gemein Tagen, and especially in our monthly Communion, and has made our home-sickness endurable. The days dedicated to our Lord and to the Holy Spirit were greatly blessed; and with humble, trustful hearts we render to Him our praise.

Only two children were born among us this year,—Anna Maria Opiz and Johann Martin Lück. They and an Older Girl,<sup>4</sup> Maria Elisabeth Spönhauer, received the sacrament of Baptism.

In this section there has been more of war than hitherto, especially during the latter months, when an expedition has been undertaken

<sup>2</sup> The Brethren of this period believed most firmly that the Lord was willing openly to direct them even in temporal affairs. When their own best judgment had been exercised the final decision was submitted to Him through the "lot," and results showed that their faith was not put to shame.

<sup>3</sup> References to this epidemic were collected from the Diary and from the Memoirs of those who died, and Dr. H. T. Bahnson, of Winston-Salem, having studied the symptoms there recorded, unhesitatingly pronounced it typhus fever.

<sup>4</sup> Older Girls and Older Boys were the Classes or Choirs of the Congregation embracing the youth from fourteen to eighteen years of age.

against the Wild Men. But our Father has protected our quiet haven not only from harm, but also from terror.

The service of His angels has also protected our travelers. Jacob Bonn, Ettwein, Martin Hirt, Rogers, and David Zeisberger went from here to Pennsylvania. Jacob Loesch went to South Carolina in January, and to Wilmington in December; Br. Rogers, Petersen, and others were also in Wilmington this year. In addition to those already mentioned, who came in May and June, Br. Schout came in June by way of Cape Fear, Br. David Zeisberger came in August as Messenger from Bethlehem, and Br. and Sr. Ettwein came in October.

In addition to the ordinary work of each day on the farm and in the trades we have cleared 60 acres of land this year; have built a house for those who look after the cows, also a large shed, a new smithy, a new house at the tanyard, a laboratory for the doctor, and a new wash-house for the Single Brethren.

In Bethania land has been cleared, two houses built, and material prepared for six others.

In Bethabara there are at the close of this year

38 Single Brethren  
 10 married Brethren  
 15 married Sisters  
 2 widows  
 1 widower  
 2 little boys  
 5 little girls

—

73 persons.

In Bethania there are of us

6 married Brethren  
 1 married Sister  
 1 little boy

Belonging to the Society    4 married men  
                                       4 married women  
                                       14 children

—

30 souls.

*Bethabara Diary, 1759*

[Extracts translated. Some items grouped.]

*Jan. 8.* Br. Jacob Loesch set out for South Carolina; we had heard that a new store there would be a good market for us. He returned on the 20th, and reported that the store did not at all come up to the description, and would not be at all profitable for us.

*Jan. 30.* Br. Rogers, accompanied by Br. Petersen, left for Newbern to pay his respects to the Governor. They returned from Brunswick Feb. 22nd, and could not say enough about the friendly manner in which they had been treated by the Governor, the President, and Chief Justice Hasel. During the journey Br. Rogers had three opportunities to preach.

*March 22.* Today the threshing was finished, and in the evening the threshers had a Lovefeast. Counting all the kinds of grain we have had something over 1400 bushels, so that we have been able to help many poor people in their great need, for the only grain crop of most of the settlers here,—corn,—was a failure last year, and there has been a wide-spread lack of bread.

*April 20.* An elderly man, James Cunningham, was here in the afternoon. He is minded to leave his farm, 150 miles from here, and settle in this neighborhood, so that he, his wife and children, may hear the Gospel. Recently another elderly man and his two sons were here looking for land, wishing to be able to sometimes hear the Word of God proclaimed in the German language. Many are wishing to settle on the Yadkin, not far from us.

*April 21.* Br. Jacob Loesch returned from Court in Salisbury. The teamsters with our wagon also returned from the fort on the Mehö in Virginia, whither they had gone for 85 ox hides for our tanyard.

*April 24.* In the evening we heard that yesterday and the day before yesterday four persons were killed on the Yadkin, 30 miles from here, by Indians, believed to be Cherokees.

*April 29.* Br. Rogers baptised the two little sons of George Hartmann.<sup>5</sup>

*May 1.* At noon in the Gemein Saal there was the election of Vestrymen. After the votes had been counted the sheriff, Mr. Hughes, announced that there were three changes, the Brn. Sauter, Holter, and Angel taking the places of Pfeiffer, Nagel, and Kapp. They, and

<sup>5</sup> Their names are entered in the Wachovia Church Book under the caption "Children of Friends baptised."

those re-elected, were then qualified for office, and the new Vestry and the Sheriff dined together. June 14th a Vestry meeting was held for the election of the two Church-wardens; Br. Fockel was re-elected, and Erich Ingebretsen took the place of Jacob Loesch.

*May 6. Sunday.* In the evening singstunde Br. Rogers spoke on the Text for the day: "Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock," Num. XXIV, 21. It was very comforting, for shortly before the service a man had arrived in great consternation, bringing with him a little child that he had found alone in a house. He said that the people on the Yadkin were much excited about the Cherokees, who were killing every one they met; and that several families would arrive here during the night for protection,—which also came to pass.

*May 7.* The text for the day was again comforting and encouraging: "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces," Ps. CXXII, 7. The alarming news of yesterday was much modified today, when it appeared that some distance beyond the Hollow<sup>a</sup> traces of Indians had been seen, though it was not known that they had done any mischief. Nevertheless eight more families came to us and were lodged in the small cabins at the mill.

*May 8.* The wives and children of some of our neighbors came to us in great excitement, having heard the sound of shooting. We learned soon after that hunters were testing their guns by firing at a mark. There is great fear all through the land.

*May 9.* In the afternoon Br. Jacob Loesch received a note from our sheriff, Mr. Hughes, saying that his house was surrounded by Indians, and asking that some of the refugees with us would come to the rescue of himself, his family, and the six men who were with him. Br. Loesch read the letter to the men in the evening, and a party at once rode to the home of the sheriff; the Indians fled at their approach, and the family was saved.

*May 10.* The three Hauser families, and many others, came to us today, so that the cabins at the mill shelter three or four families apiece, and altogether there are about 120 souls there.

*May 17.* At bed-time the house at the tan-yard caught fire from a spark in the ashes and burned to the ground. The loss was slight, as there were no hides or leather in it at the time.

*May 22.* Many of the refugees are going home. It is reported that the Cherokees have made peace; and the unrest in the land has been

<sup>a</sup> The Hollow was the section about the modern town of Mt. Airy, N. C., and extended across the Virginia line. These two names seem contradictory, but the statement is confirmed by various old maps.



largely the result of the blind alarm of the settlers, who believed every rumor.

*May 26.* Several of our German neighbors, who returned to their farms the beginning of the week, have fled to us again in great excitement, for the Indians have killed a hunter on the Terraret, twenty miles from here, and another was badly wounded.

*June 12.* After breakfast Br. Joseph, his wife, and several of the Brethren rode to the Black Walnut Bottom to select the site for a village. The lots, streets and lanes were laid off on the 30th.

*June 18.* At eight o'clock in the morning Br. Bachhoff held a service for the children of the refugees at the mill, and this Kinder Stunde will be continued as long as they are with us.

*June 19.* Some Provincial Rangers passed through on their way to the Yadkin.

*July 2.* After morning prayers the reapers started for the fields, to begin the harvest, the trumpets speeding them on their way. Breakfast was followed by a Lovefeast, at which an earnest address was made, and a poem written by Br. Joseph was read. A letter was also communicated, which had come from the German families at the mill, in which they unitedly asked that their spiritual as well as their material well-being might be considered.

*July 8.* Sunday. At the service at 5 P. M. the following matters were laid before the congregation:

1. That seven married couples would move from our midst to Bethania. [To these Br. and Sr. Beroth were added on the 15th.]

2. Br. Joseph distinctly and earnestly explained the idea lying back of the building of this and other villages,—that they should be villages of the Lord, established according to His desire and principles, where nothing of worldly spirit and action should find place.

3. A paper prepared by Br. Reuter was read, giving the contract which we will make with the families at the mill who wish to move to Bethania for some years.

4. Certain ideas about our credit and commerce were mentioned, and it was stated that improvements in their conduct were contemplated.

*July 9.* The Brethren who have had charge of our commerce had a Lovefeast; Br. Schaub was solemnly charged with matters of purchase and sale, and the store was placed in his hands.

*July 10.* The Brethren today began to open a road to Bethania, and to fell trees for two small houses there.

*July 18.* Br. and Sr. Grabs moved today to Bethania, into the newly erected house. With them went the seven other members from here who plan to live there. [Their wives remained in Bethabara until more houses could be built.] The Text for the day was "I will fear no evil, for thou art with me," Ps. XXIII, 4.

*July 19.* At noon, during dinner, the trumpets announced<sup>i</sup> the going-home of our dear Sister Rogers, who has been ill for eight days.

*July 23.* After an address from Br. Joseph,—in which he reminded us that our Saviour, through His death, had taken away the power of death, and that the departure of a child of God was no longer a dreadful thing but only a sweet falling asleep,—the remains of our dear Sister Catharina Seidel were accompanied to our Hutberg by the congregation and many friends, and laid into their last resting place, Br. Joseph reading the liturgy.

*July 26.* Our Saviour has waited long to pluck for Himself flowers from this our garden, and now He comes the more frequently. Last night at twelve o'clock it pleased Him to come for our dear Br. Christian Seidel, and to transplant him into the heavenly congregation.

*July 28.* Saturday. At noon today the soul of our dear Br. Hans Martin Kalberlahn passed gently to his Saviour. He had been ill since last Tuesday.

[The other deaths recorded in the Memorabilia will not be repeated, though all are noted in the Diary].

*Aug. 9.* Heinrich Schor and Philip Schauss and their families moved from the mill to Bethania.

*Aug. 18.* In Gemein Rath the following was announced: We plan to send a wagon to Cape Fear every four weeks to trade. Br. Reuter has been appointed forester and superintendent of hunters for Wachovia; Br. Holter will be ranger; and Br. Bonn doctor of Bethabara. Each House is to select one Brother or Sister as fire-inspector for that building. Daily services will for the present follow this order:—at morning prayer the New Testament Text will be considered; at noon the Old Testament Text; and before the Singstunde there will be reading.

*Aug. 19.* Sunday. In the sixth session of the Gemein Tag the Memoirs of the five recently departed members were read to the congregation.

*Aug. 24.* We had a pleasant visit from our County Clerk, Mr. Berker.

---

<sup>i</sup> The announcement of the death of a member by the trombones or other wind instruments still persists in some Moravian congregations.

*Sept. 14.* There was a Vestry meeting, and Br. Sauter was elected Church Warden in place of Br. Erich Ingebretsen, who recently passed away.

*Oct. 4.* At noon we were glad to welcome Br. and Sr. Ettwein, from Bethlehem. On the 7th Br. Ettwein was installed as Ordinarius of Bethabara.

*Oct. 5.* Br. Rogers held the funeral of a little child, whose parents came to us as refugees and have been living at the mill. A God's Acre for strangers<sup>8</sup> has been laid off on the little hill near the mill.

*Oct. 7.* Two letters were read to the congregation. In one the wife of Christian Frey, a Jewess by birth, asked to be received into our congregation. In the other certain friends in the Diaspora, living beyond the Ens or South Fork, asked that a Brother might hold services for them and instruct their children; they wish to build a school-house, and asked for place on our land for that purpose.

*Oct. 12.* We had a visit from our surveyor, Mr. Churton, who brought us a sworn statement that "the Cherokees and Creeks have declared war on all white people in the whole country"; and it is said that seven persons have been killed near Fort Loudon.

*Oct. 29.* Our dear Brethren Rogers<sup>9</sup> and David Zeisberger took their departure for Bethlehem. At two in the afternoon it was made known that George Lewis had died. [The story of his life is given in some detail.] He was buried in the graveyard near the mill.

*Nov. 1.* Br. Shout set out for Bethlehem. He will go with our wagon as far as Springhill, on Cape Fear River. From Wilmington he will take sole leather to Bethlehem.

*Nov. 2.* Today we hear that the North Carolina Fort is to be well prepared for defense against the Cherokees, and that our neighbors have been notified by their Captains to hold themselves in readiness, for in case of need every third man must march.

*Nov. 4.* It was decided some days ago that Br. Jacob Loesch needed help in his office as Vorsteher; so today a "Committee for Outward Affairs" was organized in Bethabara.

<sup>8</sup>It was later known as the Dobbs Parish Graveyard, and was used until 1825, eighty-four interments being recorded.

<sup>9</sup>March 15, 1862, Jacob Rogers wrote from Bethlehem, Pa., to the Vestry of Dobbs Parish, tendering his resignation as Parish Minister and saying that he intended soon to return to England. A personal letter to the Vestrymen explained that though he had accepted their call yet he had "never been heartily of the opinion that it was a just and legal one," that he thought it "contrary to the laws of North Carolina, and to the order and constitution of the Church of England," which, with other things, often made him uneasy, and desirous of his release. He also said he did not think his resignation would make any trouble with the government, as "the Governor never assumed to supply a vacant Parish with a Minister till some complaint was made to him by the Parish itself of the Vestry's neglect to provide a Minister for it, which is not likely to be the case in Dobbs Parish. This, if I don't misremember, I have heard from the late Chief Justice's, now President's, own mouth."



*Nov. 5.* An elderly man named Racher was buried in the graveyard near the mill.

*Nov. 7.* Michael Hauser and his family moved to Bethania.

*Nov. 8.* Several of our sick members are now free of fever, and are improving. There is much of the fever which we have had throughout North Carolina and Virginia, and many have died.

*Nov. 12.* It was decided to push the building in Bethania, which has been delayed by the sickness of so many; and Br. and Sr. Bishoff were appointed to move there to look after the work, and care for the residents. [They moved soon after New Year.]

*Nov. 16.* The Militia have been ordered to Salisbury, where lots will be drawn to see who is to form the army against the Cherokees. Georg Hauser, who has built a house in Bethania but has not yet moved into it, came to us in great concern to ask advice. We think that those who live in Wachovia are not affected by this order, since Br. Jacob Loesch, as Captain of our fort, holds his commission directly from the Governor.

*Nov. 19.* We hear that none of our Society Brethren or friends have been drawn for service against the Cherokees, for which we thank the Saviour.

*Nov. 23.* Br. Petersen returned from the Catawba River, where he had been to take a letter to Col. Waddell. He said the Captains had sent a petition to the Governor and Assembly, asking them to leave the people in Rowan and Anson Counties, for it was not wise to weaken them for they bordered on the Cherokee country. He also said that the Militia had gone home, there being no law by which they could be marched out of the Province.

*Nov. 28.* Br. Jacob Loesch started to Wilmington, where the Assembly is now in session. He went to look after our trade, and to promote our good relations with the Government. He returned Dec. 17th, reported the good will of the Governor and others unchanged. They rejoiced in the building of Bethania; and the Governor approved his plans for export. The residents of Bethania, who have hitherto been under other militia Colonels and Captains, have been transferred to Br. Loesch's "independent company," and a lieutenant for Bethania has been commissioned. Our account for the feeding of the Indians who passed through here last year has been accepted by the Assembly, and will be paid. The purchase of a piece of land for a storehouse at Springhill on Cape Fear River has been undertaken for us by Mr. Hasel, who is very anxious to have one of us there.

*Dec. 2.* Br. Bachhoff preached today for the first time below the Ens, as the neighbors had requested.



*Dec. 8.* We had a conference about forest fires, and agreed to make every effort to preserve several pieces of fine young woodland for Bethabara and Bethania.

*Dec. 11.* Our neighbors are much relieved to learn that the two back counties of Rowan and Anson have been exempted from forced draft, and only volunteers will be taken from them for the expedition against the Cherokees.

*Dec. 12.* Br. Joseph and Br. Ettwein rode out to see a place near the Lech which Br. Reuter had noted as a possible site for a town.

*Dec. 16.* There was a Lovefeast for the Society members of Bethania,—seven married men, one widow, and four single men. It was resolved to have a weekly meeting of the Society.

*Contract between Jacob Rogers and the Churchwardens of Dobbs Parish.*

[Written in English.]

Nord-Carolina

Rowan County

Bethabara Octobr 25th 1759.

This Day the following Contract and Articles of Agreement was made between Jacob Rogers Clerk of one Part and Gottlieb Fockel and Michael Sauter Church-Wardens of Dobbs-Parish of the other Part.

1st. Jacob Rogers Clerk gives a Discharge in full for all Demands and Pretensions on the said Church-wardens of Dobbs Parish untill this Day. In consideration that the Parish has provided for and maintained him and his Family during their Abode here in Wachovia.

2ndly. As he the said Jacob Rogers is now about returning to Pensilvania the said Gottlieb Fockel and Michael Sauter Church-Wardens in the Name of the Parish, have agreed to pay him during his Absence, as long as he shall remain Minister or Rector of said Parish. yearly the Sum of £5, say five Pound sterling money, in full for all Demands and Claims upon the Parish.

And have further agreed to provide for the nursing and educating of his Daughter Johanna Salome, in a proper manner, untill she can be brought conveniently into the Nurseries of the Brethren in Pensilvania. As also to provide for a Curate, if the Parish shall stand in Need of one.

In Witness whereof both Parties have set their Hand and Seal.

(Seal) Jacob Rogers

(Seal) Joh. Michael Sautter

(Seal) Gottlieb Fockel

Signed and Sealed in the Presence of us.

Jacob Lash

Joh. Ettwein

## THE DOCTOR

[In closing the record of the period when Bethabara stood as the only village in Wachovia it seems appropriate to introduce a sketch showing a side of the daily life which does not appear in the Diary, concerned as that is with the religious life of the Brethren and the material progress of their settlement.

If the Moravians worked harder and more successfully than their neighbors, if they prayed more whole-heartedly and persistently than was common, it is also true that they were very human men and women, who lived and loved and sorrowed, even as did others. This intimate, personal side of their lives appears most often in the Memoirs, to which passing reference has already been made. A Memoir was frequently an autobiography, to which the minister added a few paragraphs descriptive of the last days of the writer, but whether biography or autobiography the reader ever and anon finds glimpses of that romance which is needed to soften and vivify the story the Diary tells.

The following sketch is not fiction, every detail, even, is taken from the records, largely from the Memoir of Dr. Kalberlahn, whose services meant so much to western North Carolina from 1753 to 1759, and from the Autobiography of the woman he married, who, during her nearly ninety years, saw four wars sweep her world, saw the Colonies grow into the United States of America, and tasted of all joy and sorrow except motherhood.]

"I have long meant to write the story of my life, and now I write so badly that I fear nobody can read it," so Anna Catherina's autobiography begins, and the translator bears witness that truth, not modesty, prompted the assertion. But strong daylight, magnifying glasses, a lively imagination in identifying words, two reference books, and four Memoirs lent their aid, and the initial fact was established that she was born in Frederick Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, Nov. 19, 1726.

She was the eldest child of Henry Antes, the Henry Antes whose friendship was one of the signal blessings vouchsafed the early Moravians in Pennsylvania, and at his home Bishop Spangenberg was ever a welcome guest. But to little Anna Catharina, Spangenberg meant not the able leader of pioneer settlers, not the accomplished theologian, but the gentle man at whose knee she had her first glimpse of a religion in which children had a part, for time and again he gathered about him the children of his host and told them stories of the Saviour in

whom he recognized the loving Friend of Children as well as the Master to whom his own life was so completely devoted. Her religious nature was of slow development, but the impression made by Spangenberg upon her heart remained through the restless years of growing girlhood, when she felt the attraction of worldly things. Would that she had recorded the temptations that she met; it would be interesting to see in how far they differed from those of the present day, but she only sets down the fact that in spite of the strict discipline at home and the pricking of a guilty conscience she enjoyed not a few surreptitious pleasures, "but without lasting harm, thanks to the dear Saviour's care."

The more Antes saw of the Moravians the more he was attracted to them. When they decided to buy land for the settlement that became Bethlehem he took title for them, as none of them were yet naturalized citizens of the Colony; and in 1745, at Spangenberg's invitation, he moved with his family to the new village.

Anna Catharina was not at all pleased with the removal to Bethlehem. Spangenberg had often spoken with her concerning her soul's welfare, and had expressed his conviction that she was called of God to unite with the Moravians, and there to serve Him, but at nineteen the attractions of the world were strong, and she was not ready to renounce them for the simple, uneventful life of a Moravian settlement. That is, she fancied it would be uneventful, though the step taken so reluctantly and only "on trial" proved to be her entrance into a life of constant change and varied experience such as she had never dreamed of. To give in detail her story for the next thirteen years would be almost to transcribe the history of Bethlehem for that period, so vitally was she affected by all the changing circumstances, so it must suffice to say that by 1758 she had become Assistant Pflegerin in the Bethlehem Sisters House, now and then making a journey to some smaller country congregation, or to adjoining farms, to counsel and encourage the unmarried women living there.

---

Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn was eating breakfast,—a prosaic statement of a prosaic fact. It is quite generally believed that there was no such thing as Romance among the Moravians of the eighteenth century, but that depends on the definition of the word. There was little or no sentimental love-making, for social customs kept the young people strictly apart, but there was hardly a man among them whose life might not have served as basis for a novel in its changing circumstance, its self-sacrifice, its devotion to an ideal. The quiet young doctor, quietly eating his breakfast in the Brothers House at Bethlehem, was fresh from a five-year residence in North Carolina, where he was hailed as



an angel of mercy for eighty miles around the Moravian village, riding hither and yon to do deeds of help and healing, and working marvels with the few instruments he could carry, supplemented by tar, which he burned from the native pines, and the medicinal herbs he raised in the remarkable little garden of which the plan exists to the present day.

Breakfast over, Dr. Kalberlahn went to the door, there to be met by a message that the Pflegerin of the Single Sisters wished to see him at once. Being human he probably wondered what was the matter as he quickly traversed the short distance to their House. The Pflegerin was plainly worried. Sister Antes had met with an accident, she said, her horse had thrown her, or fallen with her, as she was returning from a three-months visitation to the Sisters in various congregations, and while she had been able to remount and ride to an Inn, the coming of darkness and a storm had persuaded her to yield to the advice of her guide and spend the night there, while he came on to report and send help. Dr. Otto was away, and would not be back before night,—could and would Dr. Kalberlahn go to her assistance? Verily the doctor both could and would, for after five years spent in answering calls over the forest tracks of Carolina twenty miles in a one-horse shay seemed but a trifle, and as soon as the shay was ready he set out.

Could anything be more delicious than Sister Antes' own account of what happened next? "He took care of me, we liked each other very much, and as soon as I was sufficiently recovered we were married."

The wedding took place on July 29, 1758, and they remained in Bethlehem nine months, Dr. Kalberlahn aiding Dr. Otto, whose opportune absence from home had led to this romantic episode.

In the latter part of April, 1759, the Kalberlahns set out for Carolina, accompanying Christian Seidel and his bride, and four other couples. And as they journeyed spring came up from the South to meet them. Pleasant it was for Sister Kalberlahn to ride beside her husband in the strong six-horse wagon, or behind him on a pillion; better yet to wander with him in the woods, picking the early flowers and trying to identify the budding shrubs, many of which were new to her; best of all the mid-day rests, the evening camp-fires, where acquaintance and affection grew as she beguiled him into stories of his early life, stories for which the busy, methodical days in Bethlehem had afforded little opportunity. There were tales of his childhood's home in Drontheim, Norway, of the Lutheran school in which his education was begun, of his studies in medicine and surgery. Then came the "Wander-Jahre," when with his profession for letter-of-credit he traveled from city to city, gaining the knowledge of the world, the wider experience, which put the finishing



touch to the education of a youth of his day. Chancing to meet the Moravians he was much attracted, and decided to settle among them, going first to Copenhagen, then to Herrnhag, (where he became a full member of the Church,) and ultimately by way of Zeist, London, and New York, he arrived in Bethlehem, joining the first colony setting out for North Carolina.

How different in every respect that first journey was! Then there were the chill, biting winds of early winter; now the balmy breath of early spring. Then they took the "upper road" among the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge, with all that involved of toil and struggle, as their heavily loaded, *over-loaded*, wagon was pushed and pulled up steep hills, rough with stones, slippery with mud, slick with ice; or as it plunged to apparently certain destruction down some precipitous descent where locked wheels and a drag seemed scarcely to check the speed; now they were taking the lower road, bad in many places it is true, but far easier to travel. Then they were dependent on such advance information as they could gain from passing travelers, were at the mercy of any who for love of mischief, or pure meanness, might lead them into difficulties,—as had happened on one never-to-be-forgotten night of storm; now every spring, every stream, every possible camping place, was known, every fork in the road, every ford and ferry. Then eleven unmarried men were going to an unknown home in an unknown land, among unknown neighbors; now friends and houses and warm welcome awaited the six married pairs who were looking forward to busy, useful lives in Wachovia.

And Kalberlahn would tell of the work and worship of those first years in Wachovia, how they planned and built, dug and sowed and reaped, and sowed again, no labor too hard if it needed to be done, no meal too scant to be shared with the passing stranger, no weariness too great to be ignored if in the always over-crowded cabin a night's lodging was requested, and some Brother was obliged "to keep a night-watch" in order to make room. And if his modesty forbade the telling of his own exploits Christian Seidel could supply the details that were lacking, for having himself held the service in Bethlehem the morning the first company started he had followed after three years, and well knew the esteem in which the doctor was held throughout Wachovia and the adjoining country. And Anna Catharina, drinking in every word with eager ears, learned ever more to respect and love the young physician who had won her heart that day in the one-horse shay.

What mattered it if rumors began to reach them of Indian outbreaks,—life in Pennsylvania these last years had accustomed them to

that, and their party was too large to be lightly molested. What though the sun began to shine with summer heat,—the leaves were full-grown now and the shade was pleasant, and at night the deep-blue heavens gleamed with myriads of stars. What though bodies were feeling the strain of weeks of travel,—would the rest that awaited them be as sweet when the day's work could not be done side by side?

But days pass, and journeys end, and partings come. At the Haw River ford Dr. Kalberlahn left them, and rode ahead to give notice of the arrival of the party.

---

Four days later the company was reunited in Bethabara, where a hearty welcome awaited them. The little village, however, bore an unwonted aspect, for a strong stockade surrounded the principal houses, and another protected the mill some distance away. Within the enclosures were numerous refugees, driven in from isolated farms by fear of the Indians, who had been robbing and murdering in the neighborhood. Some of the refugees had been wounded in making their escape; others were ill from exposure and fright, and Dr. Kalberlahn's services were badly needed, although Dr. Bonn had been doing his best. Noting how worn her husband looked from his long journey Sister Kalberlahn regretted the lack of at least a few days' rest before he must take up his kindly ministry, but it was useless to protest when the need for his aid was so apparent, so she said nothing, only watched her every chance to aid him by nursing wherever she might among the women.

Soon Bishop Spangenberg arrived on an official visitation, and taking advantage of a temporary lull in hostilities it was decided to relieve the over-crowded condition of Bethabara by beginning a new village three miles away, several Moravian families moving thither accompanied by several refugee families who had been so touched by the kindness shown them that they decided to remain among this people. Trees were felled, log houses built, the transfer was made, and then the Indians again became active, fresh atrocities were reported, and the daily passing to and fro between the two villages was fraught with danger. The Brethren, fearing to show their fear, rode with their hearts in their mouths, until Spangenberg, remembering tactics learned from the forest rangers in Georgia more than twenty years before, said smilingly, "You do not know how to ride, let me lead," and set off at a gallop, while right gladly they pounded after him. Their pride salved by his example they went at full speed day by day, ultimately learning from a man who escaped from the Indian camp that the precaution had been well taken, for the Red Men were much chagrined at their failure to take prisoners







BETHABARA GRAVEYARD, SHOWING GRAVES OF HANS MARTIN KALBERLAHN, FIRST  
DOCTOR IN WACHOVIA, AND REV. CHRISTIAN SEIDEL. (BOTH DIED  
IN THE TYPHUS EPIDEMIC OF 1759.)



between the two towns, "but the Dutchers had great fat horses and rode like the devil!"

In time peace was restored, and Indians ceased to threaten, but before that day a great wave of affliction had passed over Bethabara. Typhus fever became epidemic in parts of North Carolina and Virginia, persisting for five or six months, and Bethabara, crowded with refugees, constantly exposed to infection from the strangers who came and went, suffered severely. Nothing that the doctors could do checked the disease, scarcely alleviated the suffering, as one after another sickened, and only nineteen of the inhabitants escaped a more or less serious attack.

Mary Rogers, wife of the English-speaking minister of the Parish, was the first to die. She had been in feeble health ever since the birth of her little daughter Salome, and fell an easy victim to the fever, passing away after a brief illness, and leaving her six-months-old baby to Sister Kalberlahn, who promised to care for it as though it were her own. Then Christian Seidel's bride was borne up the steep path, and laid to rest upon the hilltop, facing the east. Her husband, broken-hearted but brave, went on with his work, but within a week returned from a visit to the new village with the fever on him, and laid himself down to die. It did not seem a serious case and hope was entertained for his recovery, but he calmly said "It is the end, life was lonely without my Catherine, and on the way to Bethania I prayed my God to take me to himself."

And Dr. Kalberlahn, worn from his long journey, spent with watching, grieving for his friends, was tortured with an agony of helplessness such as he had never known before. Scorching tears burst from his eyes as he fell on his knees before the Lord, praying, praying, praying for knowledge how to aid these dearly beloved Brethren who never yet had looked to him in vain.

Then he too was stricken, and with the summons there came a strange, sweet peace. The burden of responsibility was lifted; calmly he arranged his earthly affairs; with childlike faith he committed himself and all he loved to his Saviour's care; then for two almost happy days he lay with his wife's hand in his, cheering her with loving, tender words. Ah, it was not the end, that parting at the Haw River ford,—not quite the end. If Anna Catharina's lover had been lost in the village doctor during these weeks of busy, anxious, agonizing life, Death had given him back to her again. Hand in hand they rode once more in the one-horse shay, hand in hand they re-traveled the sun-lit south-bound track; over and over, with tear-filled eyes, they thanked their God that He had given them this year together. Only twelve short months,

and now he was facing the eternal sun-rise, and she the darkness of desolation, but into these few hours they crowded the expressions of affection that in many a life are scattered over a long series of years. With her hand in his, with his voice murmuring hopes of a heavenly reunion, it was not so hard to go bravely with him to the brink, but when he was laid to rest in the little "God's Acre" on the summit of the hill, life seemed to stop for her who was left behind. Mechanically she attended to the needs of little Salome Rogers, the sympathy of neighbors fell on unheeding ears, even Spangenberg failed to comfort, and wisely said no further word, but enfolded her in his prayers.

And Sister Kalberlahn was not alone in her half-stunned sorrow. There were many anxious, aching, hearts in Bethabara, asking why the Lord should have sent this plague upon them, why have taken from them their pastor, their doctor, and all these others, whose graves were being made in the consecrated plots here and by the mill. Gottlieb Reuter, a boyhood friend of Seidel, found comfort in the thought expressed in a few stanzas, faulty in metre, somewhat crude in phrase, but with true poesy in the picture of the "hundred-thousand acre field" now sanctified by tears, where the reapers were passing to and fro, seeking souls ripe for a heavenly garner, and bearing them up to present before the Throne as the first-fruits of Wachovia.

I dreamed:—Two angels by me stood,  
As on a bed of pain I lay,  
"He is not ripe," one softly said.  
But that night CHRISTIAN passed away.  
Two Sisters had already gone  
Unto eternal mansions blest;  
And two days later KALBERLAHN  
Entered into his heavenly rest.  
Bethabara was sore distressed.  
Again I dreamed:—I heard a voice;  
"My little flock, be not dismayed,  
But, even in your woe, rejoice.  
This hundred-thousand-acre field  
Now truly consecrate shall be;  
Therefore the angel-reapers come  
To bear the first-fruits home for me."  
Lord Jesus Christ, Thou art so true,  
Thou art so merciful to all,  
We pray for grace Thy will to do,  
To trust Thy love whate'er befall.

And prayers were answered. "The Saviour himself comforted me," wrote Anna Catharina, remembering the Divine touch that eased the aching heart, and calmed the rebellious spirit into sweet submission. But oh, she was lonely, and the way seemed long. "Take me home with you," she begged of Spangenberg and his wife, "take me back to Bethlehem." Very gently he said her nay, "The Lord has brought you here, my child, and He has work still for you to do; wait patiently for the revelation of His will." And Faith triumphed over feeling, faith in the wisdom of the friend who had ever been her guide, and faith in the almighty and all-wise Friend whom he had taught her to love, and to whom she now in full confidence committed all her future.





**PART III**  
**BETHABARA AND BETHANIA**



## PART III

### BETHABARA AND BETHANIA

---

1760.

*Summary from Wachovia Church Book*

[Selected paragraphs translated.]

In April Br. and Sr. Spangenberg returned to Bethlehem, after a visit here of nearly ten months. Before leaving Br. Spangenberg organized the congregation at Bethania, where ten houses had been erected, eight families from Bethabara moving thither April 10th. namely, Gottfried Grabs, Balthasar Hege, Carl Opiz, Christoph Schmid, Johann Beroth, Adam Cramer, Michael Ranck, and Heinrich Biefel, with their wives and children. On Easter Day more than 400 souls heard the Gospel here. Among the rest there came a company of Rangers, 60 in number, who asked for a sermon, laid their arms outside the Gemein Haus, and listened while Br. Spangenberg preached earnestly concerning the way of salvation.

This was a year of fierce Indian war, and on the 10th of February the first whites were killed by the Cherokees in North Carolina; on the 26th of February they attacked Fort Dobbs; and March 8th they killed William Fish and his son a few miles from here. Under these circumstances, we doubled the Watch. The Texts of Feb. 28th and March 9th became true of us before we came to them in our reading: "Neither Nehemiah nor his brethren put off their clothes, (Neh. IV: 23) but prayed as they watched." "They appointed watches of the inhabitants," (Neh. VII:3). On the 12th of March many Indians were in our neighborhood; eight miles away, on the Yadkin, houses were burned; two men were killed at the bridge over the Wach; two persons were killed on the Town Fork. They had one large camp six miles from Bethania, and a smaller one less than three miles. Here, at the mill, and at Bethania, there were Indians spies every night. March 16th, a beautiful snow fell, lying for several days, and then we could see the smoke from their camps. Among our neighbors more than fifteen people were slain. The Indians said later that they had tried to make prisoners here, but had failed; that several times they had been stopped by the sound of the watchman's horn and the ringing of the bell for morning and evening services. In their own country they starved out Fort Loudon and took the entire garrison captive.

In the fall there were most unusual numbers of wild pigeons here. In many places the woods where they rested for the night were ruined, and the droppings were here and there shoe-top deep, especially near the Petersbach.

During this year the following new settlers arrived:—July 23rd, William and Christina Dixon and Christina von der Merk; Sept. 26th, August Schubert and William Edwards.

Sept. 26th, Sarah, wife of Christian Frey, a Jewess by birth, was received into the congregation.

The Holy Communion was celebrated 13 times this year, being administered partly by Br. Joseph and partly by the Brn. Ettwein and Gottlob Hoffman. Br. Jacob Blum partook of the Communion for the first time Aug. 2nd. There were this year 52 communicants in Bethabara.

From March 15th on the Communions were also celebrated in Bethania.

The war in Europe and America continued fiercely. Sept 7th Montreal, and with it the whole of Canada, fell into the hands of the English. Nov. 3rd the Prussians gained a great victory in Saxony; on the other hand the Russians and Austrians captured Berlin and plundered Rixdorff, the latter a settlement of our Bohemian Brethren, who lost heavily thereby.

In Jamaica and Santa Cruz there were great negro rebellions.

The winter in Europe was colder than 1740.

In May Count Zinzendorf and his wife<sup>1</sup> finished the work God had planned for them, and were called home by Him. It was a noteworthy year in that so many of the ministers of the Brethren's Church went home.

On Oct. 25th our gracious King, George II, left his crown and throne to his grandson, George III, born June 4, 1738, who on Oct. 26th was proclaimed King of England, Scotland and Ireland.

The inscription on the royal casket is:—"Here lies deposited the Remains of the most Serene most mighty and most excellent Monarch George the Second by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King. Defender of the Faith, Duc of Brunshwig and Lüneburg, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. He died the 25th Day of October, in the Year of our Lord 1760, in the 77th year of his age and 34th of his reign."

<sup>1</sup> His second wife, Anna Nitschmann. The Count's first wife, Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess Reuss, died June 19, 1756. On June 27, 1757 he married Anna Nitschmann, the leader of the Single Sisters of the Unity. She was ill when he died, and followed him twelve days later, May 21st, 1760.



[In North Carolina the controversy between the Assembly and Governor became acute; there were disorders and riots in several Counties. Colonel Waddell successfully held Fort Dobbs against the attack of hostile Indians.]

*Bethabara Diary. 1760.*

[Extracts translated. Items grouped.]

January and the first two weeks of February were quiet so far as Indians were concerned, the news being that the Cherokees had made peace with South Carolina and had given hostages for good behaviour. Jan. 19th and 20th there was a very heavy rain, resulting in the worst flood the Brethren had yet seen in Wachovia. The milldam was badly injured and the mill itself in danger, bridges were washed away and roads spoiled. It took more than a week to repair the stockade around the mill and a month passed before all was restored to its usual condition.

Feb. 1st, George Schmidt started for Tar River, 140 miles away, returning on the 8th with two hives of bees. On the 14th the wagon came back from Springhill, on the Cape Fear River, loaded with salt and hardware. It also brought wine, rosebushes, rosemary, Chickesaw plums and a kind of pine with very long leaves.

On the same day Indian alarms began again, and as they seemed well founded, Bethania was at once notified. On the 19th refugees came telling of great alarm on the Yadkin, and two days later letters from Major Dunn and others to Jacob Loesch reported the country about Salisbury much disturbed, and that a large party of Indians was believed to be making its way along the hills to the Yadkin. The stockade at the mill was repaired, a watch set there and in Bethabara, and preparations made for the defense of Bethania, should the foe attack there. Powder was sent from Fort Dobbs for the Bethabara Fort. Actual traces of Indians were seen for the first time, on the 25th, some miles from Bethabara.

March was a very trying month. On the 4th news came that in the preceding week the Indians had tried to lure the soldiers outside Fort Dobbs and there had been a fight. And having recorded this distressing news, the Diary adds, without comment, "Some hours later a beautiful rainbow formed over Bethabara." During these days other refugees came, being lodged at the mill or at Bethania, where the men went armed to evening service. On the 9th a man came, pierced through and through with an arrow. He related that 24 hours before

William Fish and his son had asked him to go with them to their farm to get provisions for the families gathered at a certain place on the Yadkin. Some miles up the river they happened upon a party of Indians, who fired at them and then shot many arrows. Fish and his son fell, but this man, longing to reach Bethabara, for his soul's sake rode into the river to escape them. On the further side he found more Indians, but they paid no attention to him and he re-crossed the river, plunged into the woods, where in the darkness and rain he soon lost his way, and wounded by two arrows wandered for many hours, but finally reached the Moravian town where Dr. Bonn took out the arrow and saved his life. The next day 50 persons, who had gathered on the Yadkin, came to the Bethabara Fort for protection. On the 11th a company of militia passed through, going to the Yadkin to bury William Fish and his son. However, they found the Indians out in force, so let the burial go and contented themselves with visiting the families who had thought to hold their ground, and bringing them to the fort. Next day a messenger came from the Town Fork, where another group of settlers was surrounded, and the militia went to bring them in also, but returned on the 13th with the news that two men had been killed and the rest had escaped. The next night Indians were seen in Bethania; the watchman shot at them and drove them off, then there arose a strong wind and on it came the sound as of the howling of a hundred wolves. On the night of the 15th a snow fell, which stopped the activities of the Indians for a few days; otherwise the danger continued. One of the refugees narrowly escaped death on the path between Bethabara and Bethania; two others going out against the advice of Br. Anspach, who was in command at the mill, were attacked and one of them killed. Larger parties of the refugees went out at times to secure food and see how matters were going. Frequently spies were seen about the fort and mill. On the 20th, word came that John Thomas, a Baptist minister, had been killed between the Wach and the Ens, on the road to Ebits Creek; another of the party was missing, while the third escaped.

April 2nd letters from Fort Dobbs acknowledged the receipt of letters from Bethabara and stated that Mr. Long had been killed on his way back from the Fort. On the same day announcement was made of various candidates for the office of Burgess from this County. Col. Hunt and ten men came about this and told us a good deal about the condition of things outside of Wachovia. It has seemed as though we were the only ones left in this neighborhood, and Col. Hunt said that at least half the inhabitants had fled from the County.



NORTH-CAROLINA.

By his Excellency ARTHUR DOBBS, Esquire, Captain-General, Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over the said Province.

IT being Certified unto me, That *George Leidge*  
late of *Rowan County* - County, in this Province,  
is dead, and hath made *his will and that Jacob Loesch*  
*has obtained Administration of the Goods and Chattels*  
*Rightly and lawfully of the said George Leidge*

*[Handwritten signature]*

THESE are therefore to empower the said *Jacob Loesch*  
to enter into, and upon all and singular the Goods and Chattels, Rights and  
Credits, of the said Deceased, and the same into *his* Possession take,  
wheresoever in this Province to be found, and an Inventory thereof, on Oath,  
to return into the Secretary's Office, within Ninety Days from the Date  
hereof; and all the just Debts, of the Deceased to pay, so far as the said  
Estate will extend or amount to.

GIVEN at Newbern, under my Hand, and the Seal of the Colony, the  
*Tenth* Day of *July* Anno Domini 1780

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*Arthur Dobbs* *[Seal]* *Loesch*





Despite all this uneasiness the Easter services were held as usual. At sunrise the company, its numbers swelled by the people from the mill, gathered in the Saal, then went to the Hutberg, where twelve graves had been made since the last Easter Day. During the English preaching a party of 60 Militia arrived, and at their request Br. Spangenberg preached for them in the afternoon, one of the Brethren standing guard over the arms they left outside the Saal. On the 9th Herman Loesch and George Holder went to Salisbury to the election, taking proxies for some thirty votes for H.[ugh] Waddell and John Frohock, who proved to be the successful candidates. That evening a storm threw down the bell and broke it into many pieces. Sunday the 13th was the first Reception of Members in Wachovia, Br. Spangenberg receiving into the Bethania congregation Martin Hauser, Sr., a married man; George Hauser and his wife Margareth; Heinrich Schor and his wife Barbara. The 22nd, the first death occurred in Bethania, the little daughter of George Hauser, who was born and baptised at the mill last year. With her burial the next day, the Bethania graveyard was consecrated. On the 27th Br. Spangenberg held final services for Bethabara, detailed his wishes for their further work, received Sarah Frey into the congregation, then with his wife took his departure for Bethlehem, members and refugees mingling their tears at bidding them farewell.

May was a reasonably quiet month. The Bethabara wagon made two trips to buy corn, protected by a party from the mill; and under the same care refugees were able to go to the Yadkin and plant their fields. A few Indian spies were seen, but no attacks were reported.

As was to be expected, it was not always easy to keep the large number of refugees crowded into the mill stockade contented and in good order. The cause is not given, but early in June Anspach was removed from command there and it was suggested to him that he had better leave Wachovia. The refugees rebelled at this, but later in the month, they good-humoredly helped with the harvesting, and were in turn furnished with a guard while they gathered their crops on the Yadkin. On the 13th two men from the mill went to the Hollow, where early the next morning, one of them, Woodman, was either killed or captured and the other, Makefy, was shot through the leg, but was found and brought to Bethabara. On the 20th, word came that in South Carolina a number of Cherokees had been killed or captured. June 21st, the first baby was born in Bethania and was baptised the next day with the name Johannes Schor.

July 22nd the Bethabara wagon returned from Bethlehem in charge of Jacob Steiner and George Loesch. With them came Jacobus von der

Merk and his wife Christina, and William Dixon and his wife, Christina, all in good health despite a five weeks' journey and being in damp clothes about two weeks out of the five. Various refugee families returned to their farms.

August brought renewed Indian alarms. On the 16th soldiers came from Captain Bagley's Company, which had just been posted on the Yadkin, and it was reported that another company was to be stationed on the Town Fork. On the 31st, an Express passed, and brought word that Fort Loudon had fallen and that four parties of Indians were headed for this Province.

In September the Indians were again near Wachovia. One of the soldiers on the Yadkin was wounded and brought to Bethabara. The chief interest of this month, however, lies in the receipt of news of the death of Count Zinzendorf. On the 19th the Brethren saw in a newspaper that he had passed away in Herrnhut on May 9th, and this was confirmed on the 26th, when August Schubert and William Edwards arrived from Bethlehem, bringing the letter of announcement from Br. Johannes [von Watteville]. The letter was read to the congregation that evening, amid much sorrow and many tears.

Early in October there was a good deal of sickness in Bethabara, Jacob Loesch, Br. and Sr. von der Merk and Br. Bishoff being mentioned as seriously ill, and on the 9th Martin Lück died. A second company of soldiers arrived for the protection of the section, and offered to leave part of their company in Bethania. This was declined with thanks, and the men were stationed part on the Yadkin and part on the Dan River. Indians were seen near our villages in the earlier part of the month. On the 13th Bonn went to Bethlehem, his place as doctor being taken by Schubert. The 23rd we heard from Salisbury of the conquest of Canada. William Priest, who had been with the South Carolina Express, Aaron Price, to the Camp in Virginia, told us that the Little Carpenter had brought an interpreter with Capt. Stewart to the Camp. The interpreter had told him that last spring a strong party of the overhills Cherokees had been in North Carolina, where they had lost one of their chiefs. When they came home they said they had been to a great town, where there were a great many people, where a great bell rang often, and during the night time after time a horn was blown, so that they feared to attack the town, and had taken no prisoners. In the Virginia Camp no one knew what this town was, but thought it must be somewhere in lower Virginia, but Priest told them that the Indians had been on the

Yadkin and that it must be Bethabara, the Moravian town, of which they spoke, for there a bell rang often and there was no other bell within 200 miles.

Nov. 2nd it is recorded that there were many bears and wolves about. The Moravians killed several of the former, one weighing 300 pounds. The 16th news came that the County Clerk, Mr. Parker, had been gathered to his fathers. On the 20th Aaron Price of Charles-town, passed through on his way north and letters were sent by him. He confirmed the story told by William Priest, and added that the Indians called this neighborhood "Dutchi," and that they said the Dutchi were a dreadful people, very large and very smart, they had seen into their forts. We also heard of the success of the Hanoverians and Prussians. Also on the 20th neighbors from the South Fork came for their share of the corn they had helped to plant. On their way home they found the roosting place of wild pigeons of which there are remarkably many, and they killed 1200, of which they sent us a number. Next week some of the Brethren went to the same place and brought in 1800. In the morning the pigeons go off in clouds, at sunset return to their camp, crowding so closely together that branches are broken off, and trees that have withstood many a heavy storm fall to the ground. Every night many pigeons come to the ground with the falling branches and trees. People who have often seen wild pigeons before say they have never seen anything like this.

Dec. 1st, William Dixon took Br. Schaub's place as keeper of the Bethabara Store. On the 5th it was reported that the Indians were killing again on the Catawba. Br. Ettwein had a talk with a Tuscarora. On Christmas Day the English children from the mill came to see our Christmas decoration, they were so poorly clad that it would have moved a stone to pity. We told them why we rejoiced like children and gave to each a piece of cake. In Bethania Br. Ettwein held a Lovefeast for the 24 children there, at the close of the service each received a pretty Christmas verse and a ginger cake, the first they had ever seen.



*From the Wachovia Church Book.*

[Selected paragraphs translated.]

The chief characteristic in the religious life of our congregations this year was the work of the Holy Spirit, very really and truly felt in our hearts. Close communion with the Saviour and a contrite spirit were the doctrines most stressed.

We have had no accessions from Pennsylvania this year, though the Brn. Frederick Post and Johann Bonn came as messengers.

Four children were born; and two souls, a man in Bethania and a married woman, were called home.

Communion was held 13 times this year by Br. Ettwein; there were 52 communicants. On the 21st of November our Diaspora Sister, Sarah Frey, communed for the first time.

The Doctrinal Texts this year were the last blessing of the Jünger; the Daily Words were arranged by other Brethren. Several books were printed.

In January we had a visit from Mr. Henry Laurens, a Colonel and Merchant from South Carolina, and this led to the beginning of trade with Charlestown, our wagon going there for the first time in the fall. In the spring an attempt was made to establish trade with Petersburg in Virginia.

In March Br. Bachhoff moved to Bethania as school-master.

War with the Cherokees continued. The South Carolinians marched into their country and destroyed about 800 houses in 15 of their towns, also more than 1500 acres of corn. The Virginians attacked the Overhills Indians, and 400 men from North Carolina and some 50 Tuscaroras accompanied them. There was much passing to and fro through our settlement, and the troops finally disbanded here. We furnished much meal to the troops on New River; 500 men on horseback took it from our mill across the Blue Mountains. Toward the end of the year peace was made with the Cherokees.

This year work was begun in the lead and silver mine on New River, about 80 miles from here.

It was so cold in January that the refugees at the mill could fell trees and haul them across the ice on the mill-pond without breaking in.



In New England a new ship was built for the Brethren, and named the *Hope*. In it Br. Nathanael [Seidel] and his wife Anna Johanna, the Brn. Frederick Marshall, Paul Münster, Gammern, and their wives, and other ministers, came from Europe to Pennsylvania.

The war in Europe continued. The Russians and Austrians joined forces in Silesia, and ruined the land; our Brethren there suffered much, but experienced many times the almighty protection and care of our Heavenly Father. Three hundred Sisters and their children fled from Gnadenberg in Silesia to Niesky in Upper Lusatia to escape the Cossacks.

The negroes attacked Sharon, a mission of the Unity on the Saranama in South America, and burned it. One of the Brethren's houses in Liefland was also reduced to ashes.

On Oct. 8th our gracious King, George III, was married to the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, and on Sept. 22nd they were crowned.

The English were again victorious over the French, but toward the end of the year Spain declared war on England.

*Bethabara Diary. 1761.*

[Extracts translated.]

In the first week in January there was a two-foot snow, which at last drove the wild pigeons away, after two months on the Petersbach. Later in the month we had a visit from Mr. Frohock, our County Clerk, and Mr. Henry Laurens, a colonel and wine merchant from Charlestown. They and their company left on the 19th and Br. Ettwein accompanied them as far as Spachs'. The Colonel said that he had not come out of mere curiosity, but that he had heard much about us and wished to know us. He modestly asked many questions about our doctrine and mode of life, and seemed well pleased with all. It appeared that he and others had been awakened by Whitfield, and had formed a religious association or club. He offered us his services in Charlestown and said that all we might order should be sent of best quality and at lowest prices. He offered us credit up to £200, payment to be made in one or two years. Br. Ettwein wished him good success against the Cherokees and said that when a lasting peace had been made, it might be that a couple of Brethren would wait on the Governor and ask for permission to go among the Cherokees to preach the Gospel. The Colonel said he was sure not only that permission would be gladly given, but that assistance also could be secured, and when he was told that it was not our custom to seek outside help, he said he was sure

many would gladly contribute their mite. After leaving, he sent back £12 as a contribution to our fund here. Toward the end of the month Indian alarms began again and various refugees returned to the mill, permission being given them to build additional cabins so that they could have a little more room.

Feb. 18th letters from Salisbury announced that the Creeks had joined the Cherokees, and that a large party was moving towards this Province. The next week H. Benner's house was pillaged, probably by Indians. The road between Bethabara and Bethania was widened, and the farm work pushed. Letters from Salisbury and South Carolina say that the Creeks have been supplied with ammunition by the French.

March 12th Brethren returning from election brought news that Frohock and Ashburn are to be our Representatives. On the 22nd, Easter Sunday, the usual services were held in Bethabara. In Bethania the Easter Litany was read for the first time, there having been three deaths and burials there the past year. Br. Reuter made the interesting observation that among the Brethren, the Easter Litany is read earliest in the East Indies and latest here, both in heathen lands. Of all the Brethren we are furthest west, and Tranquebar farthest east from London. Six o'clock in the morning here is eight at night there. Counting east, we differ 14 hours from Tranquebar; counting west, only 10 hours. So the sun never sets upon His people, the day has no night. The month was quiet and the weather good for sowing the summer grain. As a matter of precaution, Br. Shubert bled most of his Brethren and Sisters here and in Bethania. Fields are green and the peaches bloomed beautifully.

April 8th the Sheriff was here to collect the Provincial taxes which this year are 8sh. 3d. per capita. Henry Benner who has fled from his house fourteen times during this war, and has now been here fourteen months, returned to his farm about the 23rd.

The first week in May a panther and a number of wolves were troublesome. Br. Reuter<sup>1</sup> took advantage of the quiet to proceed with his survey of Wachovia, which he would like to finish this year. A man came all the way from Savannah River to get medicine; others came from Virginia to see the doctor. During the month careful survey was made of the native herbs, with an eye to their medicinal value, and several useful ones were found, for instance, "Squasweed"

<sup>1</sup> Christian Gottlieb Reuter, born Sept. 5, 1717, in Erpach. A surveyor by profession. Became associated with the Moravians in 1744; came to Pennsylvania in 1756, and to Wachovia in 1758. Made many maps of the Wachovia land, towns, etc., also filled important offices in Bethabara and Salem. Married in 1762 the widow of Dr. Kalberlahn. Died in Salem, Dec. 30, 1777.

for rheumatism, "Milk-weed" for pleurisy, "Indian Physic" for preventing fevers, "Robert Plantin" a valuable antidote, as is also "Snake Root", and much "Holly."

June 15th people gathered from 50 and 60 miles away to buy pottery, but many came in vain, as the supply was exhausted by noon. We greatly regretted not being able to supply their needs. On their account, the evening Singstunde was held in English. On the 24th about thirty horses, loaded with flour, started from our mill for the soldiers on New River. Other shipments were made from time to time, both of flour and corn. The price offered was 25sh., Virginia currency, per 100 pounds of flour, and 10 sh. per bushel of corn, but we think this is too high.

In July we were busy with the harvest, which amounted to 50 wagon loads of wheat (before threshing), 11 of rye, 9 of barley, 8 of oats and 7 of flax.

August was a trying month, for a number of the members were ill with fever, work did not go well, and for more than seven months no word had come from Bethlehem, while for 18 months nothing had been received from Europe, except the notice of the death of Count Zinzendorf.

The September festivals were postponed until some word should come from Bethlehem. On the 15th Sr. Christina Barbara Krause died, leaving two little children, a boy and a girl, and this led to the immediate establishment of a Nursery. Sr. Ettwein and the widow Lück took charge of the little boys of the village and the widows Kalberlahn and Biefel of the little girls. On the 24th a troop of 400 soldiers arrived, on their way to New River and the Cherokees. They camped for several days by the mill, some of the officers lodging in our tavern. The officers kept good order, and the soldiers enjoyed our good, cheap bread. Gentlemen from Virginia brought newspapers, from which we once more had news of the progress of the war last spring in Saxony and Silesia. The soldiers left Sunday afternoon, but between here and Bethania some of the men mutinied, having resolved not to march out of North Carolina. The officers made them camp that night on the Dorothea and meted out punishment, happily none were put to death. Next day the march was resumed. The officers left their best clothes, their papers and money in our care until they should return.

At last on October 4th, a letter came from Br. Peter [Boehler] in Bethlehem. It was dated July 7th. This comforts us in waiting for some one to come from there. On the 8th a wagon was sent to Charles-



town for goods for the store. The 16th brought news that the Cherokees had made peace with the government of South Carolina, and two days later it was reported from Virginia that peace had been proclaimed between England and France. On the 24th the Texts for this year at last arrived, together with a short letter dated July 20th. Apparently they had been delayed in Childsburg—Orange—and a lawyer brought them from there to Court. Several of the members were quite ill this month.

Nov. 2nd. a gentleman from South Carolina came to the doctor. As he was the Justice who had handled the demented people on the Congarees, he could tell us all about it. Jacob Weber was a very pious man, of whom his neighbors made so much that he asserted that he was God; some believed him and did his bidding and he had two men put to death, one he declared to be the great dragon and the other would do him no reverence. After he and his companions were arrested they recovered their minds, and at the gallows Weber made such a good talk on the dangers of pride, and offered so beautiful a prayer, that the Charlestown ministers believed he died a saved man. There was much sickness during this month.

The first week of December was much disturbed by the soldiers returning from Holston's River. On the 5th the Single Brethren's Festival was held and on the 12th that of the Married People, it seeming useless to wait longer for the messenger from Bethlehem. At last on the 20th, Johann Bonn arrived, bringing letters from Pennsylvania and Europe and forty-three copies of the "Wochen" and "Beilagen," so the year ended happily with a renewed sense of communion with the congregations of the Unity scattered throughout the world.



1762

*From the Wachovia Church Book*

[Selected paragraphs translated]

The honored Br. Joseph [Spangenberg], hitherto at the head of the American affairs of the Unity, returned to Europe with his wife, and his place was taken by Br. Nathanael [Seidel].

In Europe a great change in the war was made by the death of the Russian Queen Elisabeth, who had succeeded Peter III. On May 5th peace was made between Russia and Prussia, and on the 22nd between Prussia and Sweden, which was a great relief to our Brethren in Silesia and Pomerania. The war, however, continued between Austria and Prussia, France, Spain and England, and our German congregations suffered much. On Aug 16th there was a battle near Gnadenfrey,—the Generals on both sides said that God had warned them to spare our town, which they carefully did, so that not the slightest damage was done to it. In Silesia everything was so high that a bushel of wheat or rye sold for 20 Reichsthaler.

England again had good success against France and Spain, and protected Portugal. Nov. 3rd peace preliminaries were signed between England and France, and on the 26th the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in London.

*Memorabilia of Wachovia. 1762.*

[Translated in full.]

At the close of this year, 1762, we in both villages remembered with humble and thankful hearts all the goodness and grace which we have received from our dear Saviour, His and our Father, and the Holy Spirit both in large and in small things.

He has blessed us with His precious presence and has permitted us thirteen times to partake of His Holy Sacraments.

He has drawn us closer to His heart, to His salvation, and has granted us to share in the merits of His death for us.

He has strengthened us through the reading of the *Wochen* and the *Beilagen*, and of the printed sermons of our departed Jünger, whose remembrance shall be blessed to us and whose ideals shall continue to guide us; also by the correspondence with our dear ones in America and

Europe, in sweet communion with His people, and by the bond which we have with them through His atoning death. Our thirteen Gemein Tage have been blessed to this end.

Our Choir Festivals, Advent, Christmas, Easter, the 13th of November, the Cup of Covenant, of which we partook three times, and other special services, were occasions in which He graciously made Himself known to us, and by these, and by the special doctrinal sermons, He has caused us to grow in His knowledge, in the ways of righteousness and in the sanctifying of body and soul. He has kept us in love and union with Him and among ourselves.

In short, He has done all for us that faithfulness could do for its own.

The Heavenly Father has blessed our labors in the field, in the professions,<sup>1</sup> and in trade, and crowned the year with good returns.

He has given us peace and quiet and let us suffer little from failure of crops. In the spring when there was great lack of grain in Virginia and nearer places, we not only had enough for ourselves, but were able to help others in their need.

Through the angels, God protected us from injury and misfortune at home and on the road, especially watching over Br. and Sr. Graff, Br. and Sr. Gammern and their company, on their very dangerous journey from Pennsylvania hither, and we render Him thanks for giving them strength and bringing them safely to us.

He has defended us against the evil people of the neighborhood, who sought to give us trouble and do us harm, especially in Bethabara, and in all circumstances has been truly our Father.

Of the faithful care and working of the Holy Spirit among us, each heart is a witness; for each has experienced His love, patience, and guidance, and gives thanks therefor. He has kept us close to the Saviour's wounds, reminded us of His words, has made His sufferings and death more clear to us, has warned and comforted us, and left nothing undone which might draw us nearer to our Lord, and according to His will has made of our little congregation a light in a dark place. We have also seen blessed proofs of His work among our Diaspora.

The public preaching in German and English has continued with blessing.

O, Holy Trinity, we bless Thee, for much praise is due Thee in this time of grace in Wachovia.

<sup>1</sup> By "professions" the Diarist meant what are now commonly known as trades and handicrafts—the work of the potter, tanner, cooper, joiner, shoemaker, gunsmith, etc. By "trade" he meant commerce, that is the purchase and sale of commodities, including export and barter.

In the year just passed, we also thankfully note the following: Here and in Bethania a "Committee of Arbitrators" has been formed, which we think promises much good.

In Br. and Sr. Graff we have acquired Pfleger and Pflegerin for the Married Choir, and in Br. and Sr. Gammern a Vorsteher and Vorsteherin for the congregation and the Oeconomie,<sup>2</sup> and in all four new and beloved church officers.

Br. Petersen has begun a day school for our boys and his wife assists Sr. Kalberlahn with the girls. Br. and Sr. Bachhoff have taken charge of the children in Bethania.

Our Lord has helped us through the time of rather severe illness in September and October and has given back to us several Brethren and Sisters, especially Br. Gottlob Hoffman.

Br. Herbst is the new Master of the tannery.

Our wagons have been to Charlestown twice for the store, once in the spring and once in the fall.

In both villages sundry new houses have been erected, without accident, and material is ready for others.

Roads have been widened and some new ones made.

About 80 acres have been sown in winter grain at Bethabara.

A little organ has been set up in Bethabara and a bell at Bethania.

Br. Gammern, as attorney for the Proprietor of Wachovia, has arranged leases and rents with the residents in Bethania.

Br. Transou has built a house in Bethania and moved thither with his wife and children.

Br. Loesch and Br. Gammern visited Gov. Dobbs.

We have had many visits from people of Virginia and South Carolina.

In the latter part of the year Br. Ettwein made a journey through South Carolina and sowed the good seed here and there.

July 18th was the first wedding in Wachovia and the Married Choir was increased by the following couples:

Erhard Heckedorn and Felicitas Grösch,

William Angel and Elizabeth Holder,

Gottlieb Fockel and Mary Leibert,

<sup>2</sup>The word "Oeconomie" covered the whole system of community living then in vogue in Bethabara. No member was expected to renounce any private property he might have had before coming to Wachovia, but during these early pioneer years the farm was tilled for the common good, income from farm products and the industries went into the general purse, housing, food, and clothing was supplied to each member, etc. Later the Oeconomie was gradually dissolved, the families establishing independent homes, individuals taking over the various business enterprises, etc. Certain investments remained in the hands of Church Boards for the maintenance of Church activities, income from them being supplemented by dues from the Church members.

Georg Holder and Barbara Lück, m. n. Steiner,

Christian Gottlieb Reuter and Anna Catharina Kalberlahn, m. n.  
Antes.

Gottlieb Ludolph Bachhoff and Rosina Biefel, m. n. Kaske,

Matthaeus Krause and Anna Elizabeth Witke, m. n. unknown.

These were all married in Bethabara, the first four by Br. Graff and the last three by Br. Ettwein. On the same day, in Bethania, Peter Hauser was married to Margaret Elizabeth Spönhauer by Br. Ettwein. On the 7th of September, Hans Petersen was married to Elizabeth Palmer, during one of the meetings of the Married Peoples' Festival.

New settlers arriving this year from Pennsylvania were: Br. and Sr. Graff, Br. and Sr. Gammern, Br. and Sr. Transou and three children, Schout, Herbst, and the Sisters Witke, Mary Leibert, Felicitas Grosch, Elizabeth Holder and Elizabeth Palmer. In November Adam Koffler came as Vorsteher of the Single Brethren's Choir, and Peter Stoz for our pottery.

Traveling from here to Bethlehem were: In February, Br. Johann Bonn; in September, the Brn. Schout and Holder, the latter returning in November.

One we have been obliged to dismiss from our midst.

We have received into the church: In Bethabara one married couple, Gerhard and Margaret Zyns; in Bethania one married man, Peter Hauser, one married woman, Elizabeth Spönhauer and two single women, Margreth Schor and Maria Fiscus.

Confirmed for the Holy Communion: In Bethabara, Gerhard Zyns; in Bethania, Michael Hauser and Elizabeth Strub, who had already been permitted to partake of the Sacrament there.

Born: In Bethabara, Johannes Dixon; in Bethania, Heinrich Shore, Christian Beroth, and Gottlieb Kramer, who were baptised, as were also eight children of friends.

Died during this year: In Bethabara, one married man, Matthaeus Krause, three Single Brethren, Abraham Straus, Melchoir Münster, Stephen Meyer; in Bethania, one little girl, A. Maria Opiz, and one little boy, Heinrich Schor.

At the close of the year our members are: In Bethabara, 75; in Bethania, 72.



*Diary of Bethabara and Bethania, 1762*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 10.* Br. Ettwein held the Gemein Tag in Bethania, reading from the XIXth and XXth Wochen to touched hearts. The reading of the first sermon preached by Br. Johannes [von Watteville] after the burial of the Jünger, and the New Testament Text for today, led Br. Ettwein, at the close of the Gemein Tag services to speak earnestly and tenderly on the object of our community life,—to live for Him and to serve Him according to His will, to be quietly happy, and that he who did not have this ideal, who sought another object, had no place in our congregation. This had already been discussed in a conference of the house-holders.

*Jan. 21.* Br. Loesch surveyed some land for Nesbit, on the branches of Mill Creek, at our line.

*Jan. 23.* There was a rain and snow storm.

*Jan. 26.* Reuter and his assistants surveyed land on the Laer, and to the east of the Dorothea; and Br. Loesch surveyed some on the Brushy Fork of Abbotts Creek.

*Jan. 29.* We had a very heavy N. W. storm.

*Feb. 3.* A band of evil men has been plaguing this neighborhood for some time. Several of them were here today and tried to pass counterfeit paper money in our Tavern, and when they failed in their plan they became very angry. The Justice not being at home they became unruly, and threatened to return with sixty men, and tear things up. This is the second time they have threatened us.

*Feb. 4.* We wrote today to the County Clerk about the attempt to circulate counterfeit money, and sent Advertisements here and there to warn others.

*Feb. 9.* The Brn. Petersen and Holder left today for Petersburg, Va., in order to pay a debt there, and to exchange some Virginia paper money for gold or silver.

*Feb. 10.* After some spring-like days we now have quite raw winter weather.

*Feb. 20.* This week a wagon road has been opened from the Hollow to Bethania.

*Feb. 25.* For some time our Brethren have been going to much trouble trying to find our finest young horses in the woods, so that we could use them, and we have sent Advertisements to Virginia and other places about them. Today we heard that four of them had been stolen and had been sold in Virginia.

This week we have had very cold weather and much wind. Forest fires have raged.

*March 1.* The Brn. Loesch and Jacob Steiner went to Virginia for our horses. Petersen and Holder returned from Virginia. In Petersburg they paid £53, Virginia currency, for a brandy keg; and at Thomas Walzer's, on the north branch of James River, they exchanged £170:10:0, Virginia paper money for dollars.

*March 2.* From Braunschweig on Cape Fear River we received a letter from the English Rector, John MacDowell, a widower. He asked that we would take into our care his only child, a boy of two years, for he had great confidence in us, and was planning to go to England, and the child was too young to make the trip. He stated that in his Will he had named the Governor and certain other gentlemen as Executors, and had expressly stated that his son, John Baptist, was his sole heir. He had recommended the boy to The Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and if they did not wish to undertake his education then he desired that the Brethren would bring him up. He wished us to know of this, and sent the following extract from his Will: "Then it is my particular Will and Desire that he with all his Fortune be put under ye Care and Tuition of ye Society of Christians at Wachovia, called ye Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, or as ye are more commonly called Moravians. The Reason I choose to have him brought up under this Care is, that I look upon them to be a sober, pious and exemplary prudent Society of Christians, who will bring him up in a laudable and virtuous Education and to some Profession (that he may prove a worthy Member of Society)."

*March 6.* In Bethania Br. Ettwein held the monthly Conference with the House-holders over the circumstances of the village and affairs of the congregation.

*March 9.* Threshing was finished. In this work we have used three outsiders and one Brother, and they have threshed 1009 bushels of wheat, 163 bushels rye, 229 bu. summer barley, 99 bu. winter barley, 300 bu. oats, 40 bu. buckwheat, 72 bu. flaxseed, 114 bu. corn, a total of 2026 bushels. This is some hundreds of bushels more than last year, though we planted twenty acres less. We were very thankful to our Heavenly Father for His blessing, and that the work was so quickly and happily accomplished.

*March 11.* The Brn. Loesch and Steiner returned from Virginia with our four horses, which were stolen last September. The Brethren had to go 180 miles for them, but had no great difficulty in getting them.

*March 22.* Br. Loesch went to General Court at Salisbury. Br. Gottlob held morning prayers; the noon liturgy with the *Te Agnum*; and the Singstunde. Jacob Steiner and Joh. Rancke left for Charlestown with a wagon load of deer-skins.

*March 26.* Br. Loesch returned from Court, and brought word that the Governor will visit us in May.

*March 29.* Br. Fockel went to Salisbury to appear against the thief who stole our horses last fall, as the people who had the horses demanded that we prosecute him.

*April 1.* From South Carolina and Virginia we hear that the English have captured Martinique with little bloodshed; also that the Shawano [Shawnee] Indians have made war on the Cherokees.

*April 11. Sunday. [Easter].* We assembled early in the Gemein Saal. The minister began with the salutation "Der Herr ist auf erstanden!" and then in English "Christ is risen indeed!" The congregation sang: "Welcome among thy flock of grace," etc. Then an explanation was given in English, to the strangers present, telling them the ground and the reason for our procession to the graveyard and our liturgy there; for certain remarkable reports have been spread about it, for instance that we open the graves and wake the dead with our trumpets! A blessed sense of peace accompanied the reading of our Easter liturgy, as the red sun rose. Then we prayed "Glory be to Him Who has arisen, and praises to Him," etc. Returning, we sang before the Gemein Haus: "We bless the Prophet of the Lord," etc. The visitors were all pleased and satisfied except a Quaker, who declared the custom fanciful and heathenish, since no man knew the exact day on which Christ arose. At nine o'clock there was preaching in English, and Br. Ettwein told a large congregation of the suffering of body and soul which Christ endured ere He could say: "It is finished"; and what He had won for us thereby; and who He was that once was dead and now is risen from the dead. Instead of German preaching a sermon was read, and that was followed by the reading of a sermon in English on the text: "Because I live ye shall live also."

In the afternoon the Easter story was read, and it was recommended that during the coming forty days each soul should seek as a disciple to commune with the Man of Sorrows.

In the Gemeinstunde the Daily Text [Rev. I, 18,] was considered, with its reference to His nearness, and His presence in His congregation, and the influence which faith in this had upon our entire habit of life.



*April 12.* All went again contentedly and cheerfully to work. When we drew off the water in the mill-pond, (which needed some repairs,) we found that it contained a number of fine large fish.

*April 15, 16, 17.* Most of the Brethren worked at road making, and opened a fine road or avenue, two rods wide, from our tavern to the Spangenhach.

*April 18.* Bethania had its Congregation Festival, the anniversary of the first reception of members there.

*April 22.* Jacob Steiner and Johann Rancke returned from Charlestown with a wagon load of goods for the store and for the Oeconomie. They brought another pleasant letter from Henry Laurens to Br. Ettwein. Laurens sent him several books written by the late Rev. Law, and also sent our children a small keg of almonds and raisins.

*April 29.* Travelers from Pennsylvania tell us that war really has been declared between England and Spain.

*April 30.* We closed the month with the liturgy "Da Jesus an der Creutze stund." So far we have all been well, but there is much pleurisy in the neighborhood.

*May 1.* Toward evening G. Sprenkel brought us a package of letters and Nachrichten from Pennsylvania.

*May 9.* Today the evil one tried to disturb our minds, for our finest and best mare, which came in from the woods yesterday, went mad, bit at everything, and raged around until she died. Fourteen days ago there was a mad dog here, and we suppose it bit the mare. During the next days we had to kill several of our dogs also.

*May 17.* As a matter of precaution most of the Brethren and Sisters were bled. At present all are well here except the doctor, who has a mild fever.

*May 18.* Br. David Bishoff made an address to the Married People in Bethania. Some of our Brethren there who have been to Virginia to see about their land on New River have returned, and have much to say about the scarcity of food everywhere. Corn costs 5sh. a bushel, Virginia Currency, and people often can not find any within a hundred miles. Here it has so far been only 2sh. 6d. Proclamation money, and cornmeal 14sh. per bushel.

*May 21.* Yesterday and today many visitors attended our services. People near and far are beginning to watch us more closely than hitherto, some with approval, and some with bitterness.

*May 25.* Toward noon Br. Herbst arrived from Pennsylvania with the pleasant news that on the 13th of this month the Brn. Gammern and Graff and their company arrived in Wilmington.



*May 28.* Our two wagons started for Springhill to bring the Brethren and Sisters from there.

*June 1.* Most of the Brethren worked on the road from here to Deep River.

*June 2.* The runaway, G. Loesch, returned with his bride from New River, and was married here by his brother.

A company of evil-doers tried to make trouble in our tavern.

We hear these days of various murders committed by robbers in this Province and in Virginia.

*June 8.* Our Brethren and Sisters arrived in good health after a wearisome journey of seven weeks.

*June 17.* H. Feldhausen left today with many tears. He had put our brewery and distillery into the best of order, but yielded to carnal desires and fell into all kinds of sin and shame, so that we could no longer keep him here. The refugees have done us much harm.

*June 18.* A wagon came from Fort Dobbs to take away the Provincial arms left here last December. Word came that we might expect Gov. Dobbs any day.

*June 23.* Col. Dry from Brunschweig on Cape Fear River, and several gentlemen from Salisbury, came to see our settlement, and left, well pleased, on the 24th. They were followed

*June 25,* by the Brn. Gammern and Loesch, who went to see and speak with the Governor at Martin Pfeiffer's.

*June 27.* Sunday. In a Lovefeast seven couples were betrothed here, and one couple in Bethania. In the evening they were named before the congregation, and commended to their prayers.

*June 28.* Our hay harvest was finished today. From Virginia we received a newspaper, which told of the great changes in relation between Russia and Prussia.

*June 30.* The Brn. Gammern and Loesch returned from their visit to the Governor. They discussed many things with him and his secretary, and as he is very old, and finds travel in the great heat trying, he will not come to us here.

*July 8.* Reaping continued. Br. Graff set up in our Saal the organ he brought from Bethlehem; and during the Singstunde in the evening we heard an organ played for the first time in Carolina, and were very happy and thankful that it had reached us safely.

*July 9.* Reaping was finished. We have in all 2278 shocks of wheat, and 340 shocks of rye.

*July 12.* Today the Committee of Arbitrators, or community court, was organized. For the present it consists of the Brn. Gammern, Loesch, Sauter, Fockel, and Reuter.

In a meeting of the communicants various new arrangements were made known,—for example that Gammern will be Congregation Vorsteher, and Loesch farm Vorsteher; that the Transous will move to Bethania; that we plan to build several houses for the newly arrived families; that Kobus and Georg Schmid will build outside the village. The Daily Text was: “Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,” which shall be the object and the purpose of the Committee [of Arbitrators].

Br. Gammern was busy settling the matter of the leases in Bethania. Most of the residents take a lease for the lives of themselves and their wives; and will pay rent yearly for building lot and garden 3 shillings Sterling, for each acre of orchard land 2sh., each acre bottom 2sh., each acre farm land 1sh. Bethania has 2000 acres of land, and is now laid out into thirty lots; each lot has  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of orchard land near the village,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres farming land, and one or two acres bottom.

*July 13.* The Gerhard Zinns, an elderly pleasant couple who have belonged to the Seventh Day Adventists, desire closer connection with the Brethren. On account of the Indians they came here four years ago, have since kept in touch with the Brethren, and now desire to live here. The Committee spoke with them about their connection with the Adventists, and they said that they had left them entirely, and had nothing now to do with them; that they well understood the difference between their doctrine and ours, for they had long sought worth and righteousness by their own efforts, but had found peace only through the Saviour.

*July 17.* The Daily Text was “They shall dwell safely,” which was truly comforting, for there are rumors of another Cherokee war.

Joh. Strub and his family have decided to remain in Bethania; Spönhauer has decided to move away.

*July 18.* Br. Ettwein preached in Bethania on the Gospel for today: that the righteousness of Jesus Christ alone could stand before God, when the righteousness of man was confounded. In the children’s meeting he spoke on the love of Him Who first loved us. There followed a short address on the words “He which made them at the beginning made them male and female,” Matt. XIX, 4, pointing out the foundation, the advantage, and the safe-guarding of marriage, and then with touched hearts and many tears Peter Hauser was married to Margaret Elisabeth Spönhauer (who was baptised here three years ago).

After the litany Br. Graff preached here [Bethabara] on the gospel for the day. In the afternoon Br. Graff made an address on the Text for the Day: then he led the liturgy, and assisted by Br. Ettwein united the following seven couples in holy wedlock.

Matt Krause with Witke,  
Bachhoff with Ros. Biefel,  
Reuter with A. Cath. Kalberlahn,  
G. Holder with Barbara Lück,  
Gottlieb Fockel with Mary Liebert,  
Wm. Angel with Elisabeth Holder,  
Erh. Heckedorn with Felicitas Grosh.

The Married People from here and from Bethania, and certain guests from among the Single Brethren, had a Lovefeast with the newly wedded couples immediately after the ceremony.

*July 19.* A man from beyond Salisbury brought 90 gallons of wine to our tavern. Letters were sent by travelers to Pennsylvania. The Virginia Colonel, Chiswell, Inspector and Partner of the mine on New River, came from there with a small company to see our settlement, for they get their bread or meal from here.

*July 22.* To the music of the trumpets the last load of wheat from this year's bountiful harvest was brought in.

*July 26.* Br. and Sr. Transou and their three children moved today to Bethania.

*July 29.* At nine o'clock this morning, in Bethania, a son was born to Br. and Sr. Beroth; and at noon he was baptised by Br. Graff, receiving the name Christian.

*August 2.* Ettwein and Gammern visited several neighbors on the Yadkin.

Fockel went to Salisbury taking the Provincial taxes, and the Quit Rents for the Out-lots,<sup>3</sup> and also to see whether Mr. Frohock could pay some money for us in Pennsylvania. However he found neither Mr. Frohock nor the Sheriff at home, and returned on the 5th.

*Aug. 6.* Br. Gammern and Loesch went to see the land on the Town Fork. The elder Mr. Howard was here this week to rent a piece of land on Muddy Creek for three lifetimes. He was promised about 150 acres for 4 Spanish dollars per year.

*Aug. 17.* During these days we hear much about a band of robbers operating between here and Virginia.

<sup>3</sup> Lots belonging to the Moravians, but lying outside the Wachovia Survey of 1752. The term was also used locally to denote lots lying outside the limits of a community town, but rented or leased to members of the community.

*Aug. 23.* Today there was another sale of pottery.

*Aug. 25.* With five cows we began a herd of cattle on the Town Fork. There is good pasturage there summer and winter, and our tenant Messer, who is poor, is glad to take care of them on shares, half and half.

*Aug. 28.* A Committee of Arbitrators is organized for Bethania. They will take charge of village affairs, and from time to time make such rules and regulations as may be needed.

*Sept. 15.* Michel Marr, a journeyman potter, born in Coburg, came here to work.

*Sept. 17, and 18.* More than half the Brethren were in the woods gathering grapes; they made over 300 gallons of wine.

*Sept. 21.* The Brn. Ettwein and Gammern went to Salisbury to see the Chief Judge, Stephen Dewey, and other gentlemen who would attend Supreme Court there.

*Sept. 24.* Having long waited in vain for a good rain we today began the planting of winter grain, in the 10 acre field. Last night there was the first frost.

Ettwein and Gammern returned from Salisbury, where they had been treated with much distinction by the Chief Judge.

*Sept. 27.* Mr. Churton brought us the deeds for three Out-lots, on Town Fork, Mill Creek, and Steward's Branch. Mr. Reed, of Childs-burg came with him for a friendly visit.

*Oct. 2.* A botanist from Philadelphia stopped on his journey and inspected our medical garden, and certain other places. He said the slope below our God's Acre was a great treasure-house.

*Oct. 3.* Our neighbor, Henry Hermann, and his brother-in-law Ulrich Richard, brought their children to us for baptism, and we could not refuse their request, so at noon Br. Ettwein baptised little Daniel Hermann, and Br. Graff baptised little Anna Richards.

*Oct. 11.* Many of the Brethren and Sisters are ill, and others are busy taking care of them, so few can attend the services, and we are having only the liturgy and singstunde.

*Oct. 14.* Francis Lok brought his wagon from Salisbury, and will take a load of deer skins for us to Charlestown. Br. Steiner is also preparing our wagon for the trip. The few of us who are able to work gathered the corn; from eight acres we secured more than 150 bushels.

*Oct. 21.* A barn door fell on Sr. Grabs, injured her side so that she had to go to bed. That she was not killed was surely due to the protection of the angels.



*Oct. 23.* Gammern and Fockel returned from Court, where they paid our taxes, secured a license for the tavern, and gave in the taxables for Br. Loesch. It is always unpleasant for the Brethren to have business at Court, because conduct there is so ungodly.

*Oct. 27.* Several families passed through here on their way to the Yadkin, to join those who have already come from Pennsylvania.

*Nov. 3.* During these days two men from Pennsylvania have been here. They are looking for thirty to one hundred thousand acres of land for a company of Presbyterians, who wish to settle together and build a town, as the Brethren have done.

*Nov. 4.* A bell was hung in Bethania.

*Nov. 9.* Martin Pfeiffer visited us again; and on the 10th went to Bethania, where many of his acquaintances live.

*Nov. 12.* Several Virginia gentlemen came to see Bethabara, and expressed much satisfaction with it. One of them was the son of Col. Reed, from Lunenburg County. They went from here to the Hollow to survey some land.

John Moore, a store-keeper from the Catawba River, came to get a wagon-load of pottery.

*Nov. 18.* Steiner and Raneke returned with two wagon-loads of goods from Charlestown. They brought another friendly letter from Henry Laurens.

*Nov. 21.* Four more outside day-laborers have come to work for us, so that now we have fifteen of them.

*Nov. 23.* Some of the Brethren from Bethania came and bought eleven hogs, and also corn. We have shut up what we need to fatten, and what we will feed over winter, for this year there are no acorns in the woods. Several other herds, however, are still running wild.

Toward noon Br. Ettwein set out for Charlestown. He plans to visit the German settlements on the Congaries and the Catawba, as repeatedly recommended by Bethlehem, and see whether there are souls there who desire the Gospel.

*Nov. 27.* Saturday. This afternoon for the first time the Saal Diener and Dienerinen<sup>4</sup> had a Lovefeast. Br. and Sr. Reuter and Br. and Sr. Fockel have recently joined the number. Many things pertaining to this important service were discussed, and grace and unction were wished for them.

*Dec. 2.* Today a man came looking for another man who recently frightened a woman from her home with the report that Indians were

<sup>4</sup> See Glossary.

murdering people in the Hollow, and then went back and robbed her house.

*Dec. 11.* Our neighbor James Jones, who some days ago wantonly broke things in our tavern, and who had been warned, came in today and offered to pay for the damage done.

*Dec. 13.* Today the water jug was broken which the first company of Single Brethren brought with them nine years ago and which they have ever since used on their table.

*Dec. 16.* Two Quakers brought us the good news that peace has been declared between England and France. These Quakers are recently from Pennsylvania, and came here to trade.

*Dec. 19.* Sunday. At nine o'clock was the Communion for the Church officers, and the Communion liturgy; then we read the beautiful Advent sermon "At midnight there was a cry made:—The Bridegroom cometh!" taken from the Pennsylvania Collection. \* \* \*

At eight o'clock in the evening was a Gemeinstunde, with a number of visitors present. Directed by the Text [Ez. I, 26] for today, concerning the coming of our Lord in glory, which we love and for which we wait with joy, we wish that our trustful communion with Him, our Redeemer, might draw many thousand men to know Him, and to receive Him as their Saviour, before He appears as Judge.

*Dec. 21.* Br. Ettwein returned in good health from his trip to Charlestown and in the neighborhood of the Congarees and Broad River.

*Dec. 24.* Br. and Sr. Graff went to Bethania. In the evening he held the Christmas Eve services, first a Lovefeast for the children, who at its close received lighted wax tapers, and then a Lovefeast for the Congregation. \* \* \* Here in Bethabara the children had a Lovefeast at six o'clock, and rejoiced over the birth of the little Jesus, and at its close they received as in Bethania for the first time lighted wax tapers. At eight o'clock there was Lovefeast for the congregation, and several old German and English Christmas hymns were read and sung. In another meeting the story of the Birth of Christ was read in German and in English from a Harmony of the Gospels, closing with the hymn *Te Logos*.

*Dec. 25.* In the morning Br. Ettwein led the litany of the Life and Sufferings of Jesus. \* \* \* The address in the Gemeinstunde was on the text "If David in spirit called the Messiah Lord how is He his Son?" with the thought that the Incarnation, Sufferings and Death of Jesus would lead men to know Him as Lord and God over all only

through the Holy Ghost. Here and in Bethania the congregation was wakened by music.

*Dec. 31. Friday.* Several of our friends came from the South Fork to attend the Watch Services, which began at nine o'clock with a Lovefeast. \* \* \* At eleven o'clock we re-assembled, listened to several poems which had been written by the Brn. Ettwein, Graff and Schubert on the grace received from the Holy Trinity during the past year, and also to the Memorabilia of our two towns. As the minister referred to the closing Texts for this year the musicians proclaimed its ending with the hymn "Now thank we all our God" played on the trumpets; the congregation joined in, then fell on their knees and Br. Graff led in an earnest prayer. In closing the minister read the Texts, wished all a New Year full of grace, and thrice intoned "The Lord bless thee—and give thee peace," which was sealed with a united "Amen!"

At the close of 1762 the congregations in Wachovia consist of 148 souls, that is<sup>5</sup>

# I, In Bethabara

## 17 Married Couples:

Johann Ettwein and Johannetta	Abraham v. Gammern—Juliana
Joh. Mich. Graff—Gertraud	Christoph Kühnast—Rosina
Jacob Loesch—Anna	William Dixon—Christina
Jacob v. der Merk—Christina	Jonas Nilson—Rosina
Johannes Schaub—Maria	George Schmid—Magdalena
Christian Gottlieb Reuter—Anna	George Holder—Barbara
William Angel—Elisabeth	Gottlieb Fockel—Maria
Erhard Heckedorn—Felicitas	Hans Petersen—Elisabeth
Gerhard Zynn—Margreth	

(The last named [Zynns] are communicants since Dec. 19th of this year.)

Total 34 persons.

## 1 Widow:

Anna Elisabeth Krause

## 28 Single Brethren:

Gottlob Hoffman	Michael Sauter
Adam Koffler	Jeremias Schaf

<sup>5</sup> The list shows in an interesting manner the divisions of the congregation at this time, and the progressive steps by which a person became a full communicant member. First a man was "Received," and pledged himself to abide by the rules and regulations of the congregation. Then, at his further request, he became a "Candidate" for the Lord's Supper, and having been fully instructed in the doctrine of the Brethren's Church he was confirmed, or received Adult Baptism, as the case might be, and was permitted to partake of the Holy Communion. In Bethania some persons who had not been Received were members of the "Society," in sympathy with the views of the Brethren, subscribing to their rules, and permitted to live among them, but not counted as members of the Congregation.

Johann Heinrich Herbst

Jacob Lung

Christian Pfeiffer

August Schubart

Jacob Kapp

Jacob Friedrich Pfeil

Melchoir Rasp

Joh. Richter

Johannes Würtele

Peter Stotz

Andres Gross

Christian Merkly

Gottfried Aust

George Goepfert

Joh. Christ. Krischner

Johannes Rancke

Joh. Geo. Renner

Christ. Triebel

Jacob Steiner

The four following have for some time stayed away from Communion.

Joh. Georg Baumgarten

Andreas Betz

Jacob Blum

Thomas Hoffman

Baptised, but not yet received into the congregation,  
Joseph Müller

*8 Little Boys:*

Christian Loesch

Jacob Loesch

Johann Martin Lick

Jacob Ettwein

Gottlob Krause

Joseph Dixon

Johannes Dixon

Christian Schmid

*3 Little Girls:*

A. Johanna Krause

Mar. Magd. Lick

Johanna Salome Rogers

A total of 74 souls.

## II, In Bethania

*17 Married Couples:*

David Bischoff and Anna

Ludolf Gotti. Bachhoff—Rosina

Gottfried Grabs—A. Maria

Balthaser Hege—Juliana

Adam Kremer—Mar. Barbara

Carl Opitz—A. Maria

Philipp Trentsou—Magdalena

Michel Ranke—Elisabeth

Joh. Christoph Schmid—Helena

Johannes Beroth—Cath. Elisabeth

George Hauser—Margaretha

Michel Houser—Anna

Henrich Schor—Barbara

Heinrich Spoenhauer—Elisabeth

(Received) (Communicant) (Not Received) (Received)

Johann Strub—Barbara

Philipp Schauss—Elisabeth

(Candidate) (Communicant) (Both not Received)

Peter Houser—Elisabeth

(Received) (Candidate)



*1 Widow:*

Margaret Houser,  
(Communicant)

*1 Widower:*

Friedrich Schor  
(Not Received)

*4 Single women:*

Barbara Fiscuss

Margaret Schor

Elisabeth Fiscuss (an Older Girl)  
(Neither Received)

Maria Fiscuss  
(Both Received)

*3 Single men, (none Received)*

Johannes Schor

Daniel Houser

Johannes Spoenhauer

*1 Older Boy:*

Henrich Spoenhauer

(Not yet baptised; at present in Bethabara.)

*15 Younger Boys and Little Boys:*

Wilhelm Grabs

*Little Boys:*

Heinrich } sons of George Hauser  
Georg }

Gottlob Ranke

Jacob Hauser, son of Michel H.

Johannes } sons of Mich. Hauser  
Michel }

Daniel Schauss

Philipp Trentsou

Johannes Strub

Johannes Schor

Samuel Strub

Gottlieb Kremer

Abraham Trentsou

Christian Beroth

*14 Little Girls:*

Elisabeth Schauss

Margaretha } daugh. of M. Hauser  
Elisabeth }

Susanna Schauss

Margreth Strub

Maria Schor

Elisabeth Strub

Magdalena Schor

Maria Strub

A. Marg. } daughters of G. Hauser  
Sara }

Maria Magd. Trentsou

Juliana Hege

A. Maria Hege

Total 73.

*Diary of the Colony which on April 20, 1762, set out from Bethlehem, by way of Philadelphia and Wilmington, to Bethabara in the*

*Wachau.* The company consisted of three married couples, the Graffs, Gammerns and Transows, and the three children of the last named, being six, four, and one year of age; also four Single Sisters, Mary Liepert, Felicitas Grosch, Betty Holder, and Elisabeth Palmer; one widow, Wittke; the Single Brother Herbst; and Br. Schout as guide.

[The following travel diary, filed with the Wachovia Diary of 1762, is interesting chiefly from the vivid picture it gives of the delays, discomforts, and dangers incident to ocean and river travel at that time. It fills sixteen closely written pages,—6½ by 8½ inches, the usual Diary size, — but only enough is translated to give an outline of the experiences. The spelling of proper names is that used in the Diary.]

On April 20th the above mentioned company set out in a wagon from Bethlehem, the Brn. Herbst and Transow remaining with the baggage, which will be brought by way of Eastown and the Delaware River to Philadelphia. The beautiful Text for the Day was: "He is the finisher of our faith,"

He leads poor sinners on  
Until they reach their home.

*April 21.* We arrived safely in Philadelphia. Br. Schout had come eight days ahead, and had chartered the sloop *Elisabeth*, Capt. Fisher, for our transportation.

*April 23.* Our baggage arrived safely by boat on the Delaware, and was put on board the *Elisabeth*. This evening the Brethren here gave us a Lovefeast in the Gemein Haus.

*April 25.* At break of day we went on board the sloop, which lay quite at the end of the town. The Captain insisted that we should take breakfast at his house, which was near by, and he and his wife were most friendly. At four in the afternoon we sailed with the tide. Our sloop is about twenty-three tons burden, has a tiny cabin in which at a pinch six Sisters can sleep, but the rest, including the Captain and two sailors, must do the best they can in the hold, on top of the barrels and boxes.

*April 26.* Contrary wind and tide detained us at Wilmington, on the Delaware, thirty miles from Philadelphia, until three in the afternoon, when we sailed for Rhode [Reedy] Island. The angels today protected our Sister Transow, for a large iron pin, which the Captain had laid on the main-sail and forgotten, fell point down on her head, but only scratched the skin, doing no real harm. Toward evening it rained, but soon cleared again.

*April 27.* We lost the small boat, which was fastened behind the sloop by a rope. We saw it go but could not get it as we were sailing rapidly with a favorable wind and current. We made one hundred miles today, and would have reached the open sea, had it not been for a circumstance which we only learned of today. Our sloop comes from Louistown, and our Captain chartered it in Philadelphia for this trip, but has to stop in Louistown for a permit. The town must be reached through a small but navigable stream which flows into the Delaware, and we had to enter it across a dangerous sandbank, where vessels often run aground unless they have a good pilot and a favorable wind. We had a sailor who came from Louistown, but his knowledge proved poor, for he ran us on the bank, and we were fast until the 29th; fortunately the weather was good, or we might easily have been wrecked.

*April 29.* At high tide one of the owners of the sloop took us skillfully across the shoals into Broad Kill River. Here we were detained until the 2nd of May, partly by contrary winds, and when they were right the tide was too low to cross the banks. We made our stay as pleasant as we could,—Br. Gammern went to the nearest plantation and bought several chickens, at nine pence each, and eggs at four pence a dozen, and the Sisters cooked them. We also had all the oysters we cared for, and lived much as on land. Friendly English and Irish people from the neighborhood visited us; one woman brought us milk, and would not let us pay for it.

*May 2.* Our Captain had gone up the river for another cask of fresh water, but at day-break he returned, and just in time, for with the turn of the tide, a good wind and high water, we were able to sail safely across the shoals. The wind was from the north-east, and brought a cold rain, which made it unpleasant on deck; most of the Sisters became sea-sick again.

*May 4.* There was a heavy wind from east by north, and as we were not far from the Cape Hatteras sandbanks we were in danger of being driven ashore. Our Captain, an able seaman, did not tell us this until a strong current had carried us out to sea, but then he said that only God had rescued us. It was indeed a trying day, for it rained, it was as cold as February, and the waves beat on us from every side, and our resting place in the hold was wet, for the deck leaked. Nothing worried us as much as the poor children, who had to stay in the dark, wet hold all day, with nothing warm to eat, and those who took care of them could hardly hold up their own heads on account of seasickness and the tossing of the sloop.

*May 5.* It cleared, and wind changed to the north-west, and moderated so that the sails could again be spread, wet things could be brought to the deck, and dried, a fire made and a warm breakfast prepared, which did us all good.

*May 6.* The wind changed so often that the waves became restless and high, and our sloop was tossed now here now there, and what effect this has on seasickness is well known! By the Captain's reckoning we have been driven back to Cape Hatteras, though well out at sea. Toward evening a good wind rose, which continued until midday of the 7th, when we had several hours of calm, which was almost more distressing than the storm, for it seemed as though our vessel could hardly endure the terrible beating of the waves.

*May 8.* At dawn we sighted land. Our Captain had been in bed all night with a pain in his side, probably the result of the dampness, but when he heard "Land" he hurried on deck. He soon saw that the wind had brought us to shore too soon, but he decided to run closer and anchor in the hopes that the wind would change. But it only blew harder, and fearing he would lose his anchor he decided to sail back sixty miles to the harbor of Cape Lookout. As we ran in a cannon ball was fired across our bow-sprit, frightening us. It had been fired by order of the commander of a three-masted ship, (with a cargo of smuggled goods), who had seen a number of people on the deck of our sloop and feared we might be a Spanish Privateer, especially as we had not run up a flag when he did, — he did not know we had no flag. When we came closer he saluted us pleasantly, came to visit us, and our Captain went on board his boat for the night, and also gave him the most recent newspaper we had, which he was delighted to get, having been in this harbor five months, unable to sail for lack of men. We therefore rode in a safe harbor, but not where we wished to be.

*May 9.* Sunday. During the morning we prayed the Church Litany. We lay so close to land that we might have gone ashore, but it was only a stretch of sand, surrounded by water. We saw on it the bones of whales, which had been caught in the neighborhood, and cut up here. Our Captain said this harbor was well known to the Spaniards, and that during the last war their Privateers often ran in here, and for fear of them the people on the nearby land had driven off their cattle and abandoned their houses.

*May 11.* During the night the sloop dragged her anchor in the strong wind, and the watchman being asleep we found ourselves at dawn on the sandbank. However the rising tide floated us, and we set sail, but were driven against the opposite bank and stuck there for an hour before we were able to sail again and clear the harbor.



*May 12.* The Text for this noteworthy day was "The sparrow hath found a house," which made us hope that our trying voyage was about to end. Early in the morning a light but lasting south-east wind arose, and at two o'clock in the afternoon we reached the sandbank called the Frying Pan,<sup>6</sup> which reaches 28 miles into the sea. There were only five feet of water on the bank and our sloop drew four feet eight inches, but the light wind served us at need, and with help from on high we crossed it safely in an hour, and ran into the long desired Cape Fear River. When we were safely over the dangerous place two pilots came, and according to law we had to take one. They excused themselves for not coming to us sooner, — we had seen them cruising about, — saying they had feared we might be Spanish, but this is what they usually do. We had to lower sail before the strong fort<sup>7</sup> here, which has a number of cannon so placed as to sweep the river. Having notified the commander of the fort we sailed up the river, and anchored near Braunschweig, where we slept softly all night. We also saw the New Inlet, that is the new channel which a storm two years ago opened from the sea into the Cape Fear River, some miles above the fort. Our pilot, a negro, said it was not navigable, but a merchant in Braunschweig<sup>8</sup> told us the opposite, and that loaded sloops, drawing six feet, could pass through it. It is evident the people fear that enemy privateers might slip in there, unhindered by the fort, and attack Braunschweig.

*May 13.* Our Captain, with the Brn. Gammern and Schout, went ashore in a small boat. The Brethren called on Governor Dobbs, an old gentleman of seventy-six years, and gave him greeting from Mr. Spangenberg, etc. He received them most courteously and expressed the wish that many of the Brethren would come to this land. We then sailed sixteen miles up the river and anchored at Willmington. Immediately nearly all the gentlefolk of the town gathered round us on shore, full of curiosity to see us, and especially the Sisters. They were orderly and respectful, and when most of them had left two gentlemen, Col. Waddel and Mr. Rogers, spoke to us apart, telling us that last year, indeed in December, they had visited our Brethren in Bethabara, and had received many courtesies from them. Col. Waddel offered to serve us in any way, but we rejoiced more to know that the Lord had given our Brethren such good credit in the land. Br. Schout had secured for us, through Mr. Lion, a lodging in a store-

<sup>6</sup> Frying Pan Shoals extend south from Smith's Island, at the entrance to the Cape Fear River.

<sup>7</sup> Fort Johnston, built by order of the Assembly in 1745. The town around it was formerly called Smithville, now Southport.

<sup>8</sup> Brunswick was founded in 1725 by Maurice Moore just south of the Orton Plantation on the west bank of the Cape Fear River. Later, Wilmington was begun fifteen miles up the river, on the east bank, and Brunswick gradually fell into decay.

house near the wharf, which suited us as we could in that way keep an eye on the sloop, in which our baggage still lay; one of the Brethren stayed on board as guard at night.

*May 14.* In honor of Col. Waddel's marriage last evening seven cannon were fired. The Brn. Gammern and Schout called on him, and thanked him for his kindly offers of yesterday; he told them more good things about the industry of the Brethren in Bethabara, and that they had supplied his troops with meal; he also repeated his offer of assistance. Here we had the first green vegetables, sugar peas, radishes, etc. which tasted good. Roses and pinks are blossoming beautifully, and the wild grapes are beginning to bloom. Compared with Braunschweig, which seems about as large as Easttown, Willmington is a large city for this country, and is regularly laid out. Apart from trading and a few handicrafts there is nothing done here. The soil is mostly sand, there are large pine trees, with underbrush and grass. It could be cultivated, but the work must be done by negroes, and as they only get a measure of Indian corn, and a little salt each week, and very little clothing, they do very little work. We wrote letters to Bethlehem, which will be taken by a merchant, Mr. Roberts, who expects to go north by land soon.

*May 15.* Mr. Brown called on us. He is a Lieutenant-Colonel, who was with his troops last year in Bethabara. He told us many good things about the Moravian towns, Bethabara and Bethania, which he called the Old Town and the New Town. This afternoon Br. Herbst took a boat for Springhill; from there he will go to Bethabara to announce our arrival.

*May 16.* Br. and Sr. Graff, Br. and Sr. Gammern, Sr. Transow and her three children, and Sr. Wittke took dinner with Mr. Lion, for Mrs. Lion wanted to see the children who had come with us. Br. Graff was asked to take his flute along, and he played while the little Abraham Transow sang several verses, which pleased her.

*May 17.* Today at last, after many difficulties, we secured three boats to take us and our belongings to Springhill.

*May 18.* This afternoon we set out with three boats, rowed by eight negroes, whom we must feed on the journey. Not far from Willmington the Cape Fear River divides into the North-west and the North-east River,—we took the North-west branch.

*May 21.* We stopped early at Mr. Howe's shore. We have learned to our sorrow that a large, flat-bottomed boat, such as we took for the Sisters, is not serviceable on this river.

*May 22.* Failing to get another boat the Sisters were transferred into one of the open boats, and Br. Schout took charge of the large boat until he could find another. We started together, but he was soon left behind and out of sight. We slept at night under a tent made of blankets, the Brethren taking turns watching the boats, on account of the negroes, not indeed ours, for they were tired enough to sleep after the day's work, but those on all sides, who at night go about in small canoes, stealing where they can. Our watchfulness prevented them from annoying us.

*May 23.* At noon we stopped at Mr. Bertram's shore. He offered any assistance he could give, but could only supply us with a little sour milk. Many of the cattle about here have died recently, and people have driven what was left further into the country, keeping only one or two cows for milking.

*May 24.* We passed the first rapid without trouble,—it does not amount to much,—and camped for the night on Mr. Smith's shore. Here the mosquitoes made us most welcome, in spite of our fires and the smoke. They were the worst we have seen, and the faces and arms of the Sisters and children were covered with bites. From Mr. Smith we bought a sheep and some chickens for our further trip.

*May 25.* We passed the so-called "Sugar Loaf," a white bluff on the bank which has something that shape. We also enjoyed the fresh water which here flows freely from the bluffs,—hitherto we have had very bad water, sometimes only that from the river, which has a distinct taste. This afternoon we safely passed a second and worse rapid. Not long after one of our boats stuck fast on a sunken log, of which there are millions in the river. We could not get loose until with a small canoe which happened to be near we put all the persons from the boat on shore. We camped here opposite Platen [Bladen] Court House, where court was in session.

*May 26.* We put our tent on Mr. Robbin's shore. He had not returned from Court, but his wife sold us some quarts of good milk.

*May 27.* We passed the third and last rapids. As we stopped to eat breakfast and dinner at one time Br. Schout appeared with his boat. He had exchanged the large boat for a smaller and more suitable one, and securing an additional oarsman had been able to overtake us. After dinner he went ahead with his boat to prepare for us in Springhill. The rudder in one of our boats was broken on a sunken tree, which gave us much trouble, as we had to use a pole.

*May 28.* The last day of our journey on the river we had rain, and the water rose three feet. The people told us that just one year ago



a flood ruined all the crops on the banks here, but now they were in fine order. At two in the afternoon we reached Rock Fish, but the last five miles took us until evening, as the river here is full of shallow places, sandbanks, and sunken trees. But at last we finished this difficult river journey, and landed on Mr. Lion's shore at Springhill.<sup>9</sup> Br. Schout had arrived at noon, and had unloaded his boat into Mr. Lion's<sup>10</sup> storehouse, but ours had to wait until next day. He had secured room for us in an empty storehouse near by, which indeed looked more like a stable than a dwelling, but we made it serve. Mr. Lion offered a room in his house, which Br. and Sr. Gammern accepted.

*June 1.* In the afternoon the wished-for Brethren arrived from Bethabara, with two wagons for our goods. How glad we were may be easily imagined. They brought a good store of biscuits and other provisions for the journey. They came just at the right time, for Mr. and Mrs. Lion wanted to go to Willmington, and were delaying their start on our account.

*June 2.* The wagons were loaded with as much of our baggage as they could carry in addition to the people, and in the afternoon we started. Mr. and Mrs. Lion bade us a friendly adieu, and we were grateful to them for the many kindnesses they have shown us during these four days. Br. Schout remained with the rest of the baggage, waiting for the two wagons from Bethania which are to come this week. We slept this and the other nights in the woods in a tent, as we had been doing, and rested the more quietly as there were four more Brethren with us, and no negroes or other folks about,—for we met almost no one. The Bethabara Brethren also knew where we should stop for the night.

*June 5.* As we were camping for the night the two wagons from Bethania approached. The Brethren signaled them with the whip, and they stopped and spent the night with us.

*June 7.* Early in the morning the Brn. Gammern and Graff, who were riding a little ahead of the wagons, met the Brn. Ettwein and Jacob Loesch, who had left Bethabara yesterday, and camped last night three miles from us. At noon Br. Loesch returned to Bethabara to tell

---

<sup>9</sup> Probably the place where stood the "Storehouse on the Cape Fear" mentioned in earlier years. Springhill was five miles above the mouth of Rockfish Creek, and three miles below the present site of Fayetteville. There was a sandbank in the river at Springhill, which impeded navigation when the water was low.

<sup>10</sup> The Bethabara Ledger, 1762, shows payment of a bill for £60: dated May 17, due Mr. John Lyon, of Wilmington; and of a bill for £20: dated June 2, due his brother, Richard Lyon, of Springhill.



the Brethren there how near we were. Br. Ettwein remained with us. We put up the tent this night beside a stream, would gladly have been on the Wachau land but the horses were so worn out with the heat and the hilly road that we had to give that up.

*June 8.* Early in the morning, after a couple of miles travel, our feet trod upon the wished-for land of the Wachau. At ten o'clock, just seven weeks since we left Bethlehem, we reached Bethabara, safe and well in body and soul, and were heartily welcomed with trumpets, and by all the Brethren and Sisters. Our hearts were bowed with gratitude for all the mercy of our dear Lord, which has accompanied us hither, and especially that we will now have the pleasure daily of seeing our friends in His house. The Text for today, taken from the Last Blessing<sup>11</sup> of the Jünger, last year,—which they are using again here for lack of new ones,—was particularly suited to our arrival. "He bowed the hearts of all the men, even as the heart of one man," (II Sam. XIX, 14) to the love and to the patience of Christ.

*Extracts from the Bethabara Ledger.*

[Editorial Summary]

Items in the Bethabara Ledger for 1762 give the following bits of information about the rates of exchange, the various currencies in circulation, and the prices of commodities, in that year.

In money the Spanish milled dollar was the accepted standard.

In Virginia currency -: 5: 9 equaled one Spanish milled dollar;

In Pennsylvania " -: 7: 6 " " " " "

In North Carolina " -: 8: - " " " " "

In South Carolina " £1:11: - " " " " "

The Bethabara Ledger is kept in pounds, shillings and pence of the "N. C. Proc", that is, North Carolina Proclamation currency.

£1 Virginia currency equaled £1 : 6 : 8, N. C. Proc.

£1 Pennsylvania " " £1 : 1 : 4, N. C. Proc.

The only gold coin mentioned in 1762 is the Pistole, —

1 Pistole equaled £1 : 1 : 6, N. C. Proc.

The rate of interest on loans is given as 5%.

<sup>11</sup>Shortly before his death in 1760 Count Zinzendorf compiled the Daily Texts for 1761. The Brethren felt that this collection was the "last blessing" of their revered leader.

Retail prices of some commodities follow, as given in 1762.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1 bu. corn		2	: -	50 lb. tobacco		18	:10
wheat		3	: 6	1 lb. wool		1	: 8
seed wheat		4	: -	lead		-	:10
buckwheat		2	: -	iron		1	: -
barley		2	: 6	steel		1	: 6
rye		2	: 8	nails		1	: 8
bran		-	: 8	candles		-	:10
8 lbs. cornmeal		1	: 1	1 bu. lime		1	: 6
1 bu. dried beans		3	: -	flax seed		2	: 8
1 bu. salt		17	: -	1 gal. vinegar		-	: 4
1 lb. loaf sugar		4	: -	a scythe		5	: -
brown sugar		1	: -	a cow bell		6	: 8
coffee		1	: 4	a saw		12	: -
tea		8	: 8	bell for Bethania		4	: 1 : -
butter		-	: 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	a copper kettle		2	: 8 : 2
				a bee-hive		10	: -

A few items show the wages paid in 1762:—

1 day mowing,—for hay	2	: 4	1 day swingling flax	2	: 6
1 day killing hogs	2	: -	1 day carpenter work	2	: -
1 day threshing	2	: -	weaving linen, per 8 yds.	4	: 7

The Tavern license cost £1:10, for the year.

An account headed "Leidig" states that in 1759 a man of that name died at the Bethabara Mill, and his property was being held subject to the appearance of an heir. If none made claim within seven years from the date of his death the property was to escheat to Dobbs Parish.

The Dobbs Parish account shows an occasional gift to the poor; the cost of entertainment of a visiting "English Minister"; and the upkeep of the Parish Graveyard.

One entry shows that in 1762 the sheriff of Rowan was named Lengwill.

*From the Wachovia Church Book*

[Selected paragraphs translated]

This was a year full of peace and joy. On Feb. 10th a definite Peace Treaty was signed by England and Portugal on the one side, and France and Spain on the other. Spain ceded east and west Florida to England, and France gave up the whole of Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and all of Illinois on this side of the Mississippi, to the same nation.

In February, at Hubertsburg, in Silesia, peace was also made between Austria and Prussia, each receiving what it had at the beginning of the war. The struggle has lasted nearly seven years, has spread into all parts of the world, has cost the lives of a million men, and many cities and towns are ruined.

The very day, March 21st, when Peace was proclaimed in London, there was a general Peace-Thanksgiving Day in Saxony. How it was celebrated in Herrnhut, and a resumé of the many wonderful mercies shown by the Lord to the Brethren during the war, have been written down, and are preserved in the Herrnhut Archives.

Now the desire of men is to plant and build, instead of to destroy. The King of Prussia and the Queen of Russia have both made offers to our Brethren, encouraging their work.

On the other hand here in America Satan was busy in an effort to scatter those we had gathered from among the heathen. In Jamaica there was a negro rebellion; in South America the little congregations of Christian Indians were broken up, and their ministers driven away. In North America the Indians broke out into new war, and in Pennsylvania the Brethren and the Christian Indians they were sheltering were in grave danger from Red Men and from white neighbors.

The winter was very cold,—a harder winter than 1740.

Br. Frederick Marshall was put in charge of affairs in Wachovia by the Herrnhut Board, with Br. Ettwein as his local representative. The Board also instructed Br. Marshall to select a suitable site for a central town, and to decide whether work on it should be begun at once.

[Earl Granville having died in January his land office in North Carolina was closed.]

*1763. Memorabilia of the Little Congregations,  
Bethabara and Bethania in Wachovia*

[Translated in full]

At the close of the year, with humble and thankful hearts and voices, we acknowledge that day by day goodness and mercy have been given to the little company in Wachovia, that day by day goodness and mercy have followed and preserved them.

Our dear Heavenly Father has provided richly for our temporal needs and has given us peace and quiet, undisturbed by threatening danger.

The Holy Spirit has fed our souls with the sufferings and death of Jesus and drawn us and watched over us and has made plain to us the ways of righteousness and of His People, that He might make of us men after the Lord's own heart.

And when we think of the inexpressible nearness of our Saviour, wherewith He has often blessedly humbled and comforted us, our hearts are melted even unto tears. Truly the Lord hath done much for us!

Fourteen times has the congregation partaken of His Flesh and Blood in the Holy Communion, and in addition the Sacrament has been shared twice by the Choir of Single Brethren and once by the Married People.

The Cup of Covenant has been celebrated by the entire congregation on certain solemn festivals, by the Choirs in connection with their covenant days, and by the association for Hourly Intercession,—which has been re-established this year,—and has each time been blessed to us.

Our monthly *Gemein Tage*, our Church and Congregation Festivals, especially the 13th of November, were marked as days of blessing for us.

In April we received the Texts for 1763; and Dec. 8th, to our great joy, we received the Texts for the coming year of 1764.

Among the visitors to our settlement during the past year, the most important were the Chief Justice, Mr. Moore, the county clerk, Mr. Frohock, the English minister, John MacDowell, from Brunshweig on the Cape Fear River, Col. Ashburn of this County, and Mr. Schmid, a Baptist preacher.

The English minister held service and preached once in our Saal, and during his sojourn here he baptised 150 of the older and younger children of our neighbors, either in our Saal or in his room.

We have had three preaching places,<sup>1</sup> outside of our settlement, where the Gospel has been frequently presented in German and in English.

<sup>1</sup> Below the Ens, or South Fork; on the Yadkin; and on the Town Fork. The first led ultimately to Friedberg Congregation; the second to Hope and Clemmons. The Town Fork interest seems to have died out.



We gave earnest thanks to our Heavenly Father, the King of Kings, for the peace established in Europe, although we had no word of any general day of Thanksgiving in this Province.

We were also thankful for the confirmation of peace with the southern Indians, happily arranged at the Congress held at Augusta in October, and we hope that this will secure peace in this neighborhood also.

Our Heavenly Father has blessed our trade and the industry and faithfulness of our workmen, and we had the pleasure and honor of sharing our store with the needy. Bethabara has been so far the pantry for all the new settlers in this neighborhood.

Our teamsters made successful trips to Charlestown in spring and fall. The last time Br. Gammern accompanied them and made himself acquainted with the merchants<sup>2</sup> and with conditions there.

Three wells have been dug in Bethabara and one in Bethania, all furnishing a good supply of fresh, wholesome water.

Twice the angels protected us from threatening fire.

Only one house was built this year, that for the apothecary. Two families have begun house-keeping in the new houses already built for them.

In spite of lack of workmen and other difficulties, our Oeconomie has maintained itself and moved on in the accustomed way.

Br. and Sr. Graff spent a couple of months in Bethania, and Br. and Sr. Bishoff were meanwhile in Bethabara. The school for children in Bethania was continued by Br. Bachhoff. Since Br. David Bischoff entered into rest, his widow, our beloved Sister Anna, has lived in Bethabara, and Bethania has been served from here.

The two Single Sisters, Margreth Schor and Marie Fiscus, have moved from Bethania to Bethabara, where better arrangements can be made for them.

On account of sickness, the Festival of the Married People had to be postponed, and was held in Bethabara on Oct. 2nd, and in Bethania Nov. 27th.

The increase and decrease in our two villages this year was as follows: From Bethania, a widower and his grown son moved back to his farm; two married Brethren, one youth, and one boy have gone to the Saviour. In Bethabara two married Brethren and one child went home to Him. Total 7.

---

<sup>2</sup> The Bethabara ledger shows an account with Nickelson and Bamfield, Charlestown, during these years.

One Single Brother came to Bethabara from Pennsylvania. In this village two little girls were born and baptised; one baby boy did not live. In Bethania 5 boys and 4 girls were born and baptised. Total 11.

Eight children of neighbors were baptised.

In Bethania one woman died, trusting in the merits of Jesus, and a little boy died at the mill, both being buried in the graveyard near the mill, as neither belonged to the Brethren.

Partaking of the Communion for the first time were: In Bethabara, one married couple and one Single Sister; in Bethania, two married men and one married woman.

At the close of this year the congregation of Bethabara consists of 77 persons, Bethania of 73, total 150.

### *1763. Bethabara Diary*

#### [Extracts translated]

*Jan. 2.* Until yesterday the weather has been mild, almost like spring, but last night winter began with snow, which has continued nearly all day, and the ground has a beautiful white covering, which is very good for the seed in the ground. In the evening Br. Ettwein held a service for the members of the Hourly Intercession association, which has been reorganized, and now numbers forty, including those at Bethania.

*Jan. 4.* Our doctor, August [Shubert], today performed an operation on an English woman, removing a dangerous growth. We thanked the Saviour that He permitted the operation to go so well.

*Jan. 10.* Mr. Wilson came with a two-horse litter for his wife, who underwent the successful operation on the 4th. At leaving both he and his wife thanked us many times for the kindness shown her here.

*Jan. 12.* Heavy rain falling and freezing prevented the holding of the singstunde.

*Jan. 14.* Last night again one of the most unruly companies of hunters was in our Tavern. They have several times recently given much trouble, but this time kept fairly well within bounds, and left this morning.

*Jan. 17.* The Brn. Gammern and Ettwein visited our neighbors on the west line of Wachovia. They returned next day having seen Douthit, James Abraham Wilson, Evan Ellis, William Johnson, Christopher and Robert Ellroth, Adam Sells, Henry Hughes, Esq., Didwell, Jacob and Martin Hauser and Friedrich Fiscus.

*Jan. 19.* There was a heavy storm wind today, and during the storm the angels preserved the Brothers House from threatened fire.

*Jan. 22.* A very raw day, with fog and glaze ice, so that one could hardly leave the house.

*Jan. 28.* There was a beautiful snow.

*Feb. 6.* There was a company here from New River, where many are settling.

*Feb. 8.* The Brn. Ettwein and Gammern were in Bethania to see about the boy who yesterday ran away from the doctor. Since Schubert does not know how to manage a boy we will place him with Br. Lung in the garden, on trial. It is fine spring weather.

*Feb. 10.* On his way home from here yesterday Timothy Co was shot by his wife. Loesch therefore summoned a Jury, and on the 11th he and Br. Fockel went to the Yadkin, on this business.

*Feb. 14.* A wagon load of pottery was sent to Salisbury.

*Feb. 15.* A Quaker and a New Baptist came yesterday from Halifax, 200 miles away, to acquaint themselves with our doctrine and way of living. Today they saw everything with much satisfaction, and the Quaker spoke in real brotherly fashion about our arrangements. Both say they are going to move to this neighborhood in order to be near us. In the evening a traveler from Pennsylvania arrived. He confirmed the report that everything is very dear there. He and a man from the Catawba River bring news that England and France have made peace. On the 17th we heard the same as to peace, with the additional information that England gets all of North America.

*Feb. 25.* A beautiful snow has fallen tonight.

*March 3.* Our wagon, with the Brn. Jacob Steiner and Holder, and Mr. Hamilton's wagon, leave for Charlestown, taking 3000 lbs. deer skins, some butter, and beaver skins.

*March 7.* Today Esquire Hughes married three couples from the Hollow in our Tavern. They and their company attended the singstunde in the evening, and on their account there was an address in English, and some English hymns were sung. We had the first thunder storm for the year, with heavy rain, which continued on the 8th, raising the streams and keeping the strangers here.

*March 11.* Mr. Terry, from New River, and several other gentlemen, were here. The whole day there was a heavy storm from the west and north-west, and again we were saved from a fire, which started in the kitchen.

*March 14.* Late in the evening the Chief Justice, More, and Mr. Martin arrived. Next day the Chief Justice visited the shops and mill, with much satisfaction; and also attended the noon liturgy and the evening singstunde.



*March 16.* A Quaker, who was spending the night at our Tavern, attended the singstunde, having stipulated that he might keep on his hat. The Chief Justice visited Bethania. Next day he and his company left, *well pleased*,<sup>3</sup> on their way to Salisbury, being accompanied by Br. Ettwein to Christian Frey's, where they spent the night.

*March 18.* Two travelers, on their way to New River, told us that at Pinetree Store a company of sixty were gathered, going to the Mississippi to take up land.

*March 19.* Last night and most of today there has been snow. During the past week, however, the weather has been favorable, and we have done a good deal of work on our farm.

*March 20.* Mild weather marked the first day of spring.

*April 1.* Henderson and Williamson, two lawyers, and a young Scotch merchant, Mr. Coblon, came from Salisbury to see our Settlement, remaining until the 4th.

*April 3.* Easter Sunday. Gravestones have been placed on all the graves here, and on most of those in Bethania. [The usual services were held at dawn, and at nine o'clock.] Then Br. Ettwein held a meeting in English, reading the Easter Anthem, Epistle, and Gospel, from the Book of Common Prayer, and making a short address to the gathered English guests.

*April 4.* Br. Ettwein rode to John Douthit's, and for the first time held a meeting for the English neighbors living between the Wachau and the Yadkin. He read to them the story of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, and told them that Jesus of Nazareth, Who was slain by the Jews, was not only a Prophet, mighty in word and deed, but also was and is God over all, our Creator; that He bore all the pain and death *for us*, that He draws near to all seeking hearts, and gives them forgiveness of sin, gives them life, and salvation. There were only about forty present, as many did not arrive in time, but they were unusually attentive, many were touched, and a good spirit was evident among them.

*April 8.* A Baptist, Culps, from the Pedee River, 200 miles from here, came to consult the doctor, and to see what kind of Christians we were, since he had heard much about us, both good and bad. He lives among the "pure Baptists" or Mennonites, who have three churches or meeting houses in that neighborhood. [He made a second visit to the doctor June 10th.]

*April 9.* Mr Boyer, a prominent Indian Trader from Virginia, who was here recently on his way to Charlestown, came again, and

<sup>3</sup> These and other words in italics are written in English in the Diary for this year.



told us many things about the Cherokees, especially about Altakulla-Kulla, or Little Carpenter, who, he said, had as good an idea of a *future state* as any white man. The Chief wished better instruction for his people, and would ask the Government for a minister for them. The Cherokees adored the sun and moon, but really worshipped the God who made all.

*April 13.* Early this morning there was an eclipse of the sun.

*April 16.* The Brn. Gammern and Ettwein returned from Salisbury, where they presented a petition for a King's Road from here to Salisbury.

*April 21.* The Brn. Ettwein and Gammern returned toward evening. They had climbed the rock of the Pilot, which is a very wonderful creation, reckoned to be more than 200 ft. high, and more than 500 yards around, composed of the best whet-stone sand-stone. From the top one sees the Brushy Mountains and the Blue Mountains and a high range beyond New River, otherwise the land, far and wide, looks like a beautiful plain.

*April 25.* The Brn. Loesch, Gammern, Ettwein and Graff, planted the new piece of bottom land in corn and pumpkins.<sup>4</sup>

*April 26.* Hans Schor, of Bethania, who had been to Salisbury to seek Peter Schmid's daughter for his wife, returned today with her and her parents, and

*April 27,* they were married by Br. Loesch.

*May 3.* Today our threshers finished threshing the grain from last year's harvest. It amounted to 1198½ bu. wheat, 175½ bu. rye, 220½ bu. barley, 161½ bu. oats, 158 bu. corn, 48 bu. buckwheat, 29 bu. flaxseed, in all 1991 bushels, for which we thank our Heavenly Father.

*May 5.* There was much disturbance in our Tavern today. Justice Edward Hughes had John Hall arrested for passing him a counterfeit bill, which had been recognized and thrown away. As Hall made defiant threats against our Br. Loesch, Loesch had him securely bound, but the following day some of our neighbors went security for him and he was released.

*May 8.* There was again disturbance in our Tavern, for Justice Hughes had a couple of travelers arrested. The Brn. Loesch and Gammern examined them, and adjudged them innocent, and they were released. Then Hughes went home, having been in the Tavern five days.

<sup>4</sup> Attention is called to this entry as showing that the leading men of Bethabara,—the ministers and business managers,—shared fully in the daily toil of the community.

*May 9.* Today the bees swarmed for the first time this year.

*May 17.* Several Brethren from Bethania went to the Pilot for whet-stones.

*May 23.* Many people came to pay their Quit Rents to the Receiver, and their Taxes to the Sheriff, who had advertised that they would be here today.

*May 24.* Col. Ashburn, the senior Justice and chairman of the Court for this County, was here today for the first time, expressed much *satisfaction*, and attended the noon liturgy.

*June 6.* Our wagon has returned from Charlestown with goods for the store. We rejoice in the news of peace in Germany and England, but are worried over the report that the negroes have murdered all in Berbice.<sup>5</sup> Our dear Brethren and Sisters there, how is it with them?

*June 11.* It rained nearly all day.

*June 12.* By request Br. Ettwein preached for the first time at the home of James Hampton, a Baptist, on the Town Fork.

*June 22.* Today we finished making hay. It has been a very wet season but the hay has not been spoiled. We made 28 loads of hay.

*June 28.* Br. Loesch and Gerhard Zinns returned from Virginia. Loesch had business in Suffolk with Mr. Childs, My Lord Granville's agent, while Zinns went to Williamsburg to see about his land on New River, which John Schmid had secured by lies and deception. As Col. Bird knew the Brethren here, and is one of the Council, he interested himself in Zinns, the matter was brought before a Court of Chancery, consisting of the Governor and the Council, and by unanimous consent the land was returned to Zinns.

*June 30.* In these days we hear all manner of terrifying reports about the Indians. One was captured in the Hollow, but escaped as he was being brought hither. All the settlers on Holston's River have fled. On New River the settlers are building forts. Thank God, we are in peace and quiet.

*July 1.* We were again visited by gentlemen from Salisbury, including the Clerk of our County, Mr. Frohock, and his brother.

*July 2.* Forty reapers are at work on the wheat harvest.

*July 4.* The heat has suddenly become great and oppressive. During the night, however, a thunder storm cooled the air.

*July 9.* A good rain today, but the reapers were able to finish cutting the oats. Br. Jacob Loesch received a letter from the English Minister, MacDowell, with whom he has been in correspondence. Mr.

<sup>5</sup> A Mission Station in South America.





MAP OF BETHABARA, 1766

TRANSLATION OF EXPLANATION WRITTEN ON REVERSE SIDE OF MAP

No. 1, Gemein Haus. 2, Single Brothers' House. 3, Bakery. 4, Pottery. 5, Brewery. 6, Tavern. 7, Vorsteher's House. 8, Kitchen. 9, Formerly the tailor's shop, but now used for the dining hall of the Single Brethren, and a room for the Pfleger. 10, Shoe shop. 11, A family house. 12, Joiner's shop. 13, Cow shed. 14, Laundry for the Married People. 15, Spring-house. All of these buildings were standing in 1758.

Since 1758 (counting from the end of that year) the following buildings have been erected in Bethabara: No. 16, A four-room family house in the cow-yard, built 1759. 17, Barn, built 1759. Also 18, Store; 19, Laboratory; 20, Gunsmith shop; 21, Smithy; begun in 1759. Built in 1760 were 22, Gun-stock maker's shop, first used as a cabin for day-laborers; 23, Linen house. In 1761 nothing was built except additions to the store, tavern, cow-shed, etc. In 1762 No. 24, a stable for horses, was erected; and 25, dwelling house for the smith; 26, house for the mill-wright; 27, apothecary shop, were begun. In 1764 and 1765 were built No. 28, the Single Brethren's Laundry, and 29, a tailor's shop, affording rooms for two families. 30, a new barn for calves. 31, Poultry house. 32, Flax house. 33, Smoke house. 34, Cabin for the stablemen. 35, Garden houses. 36, Pig pens. 37, A summer-house in the Johanna. 38, Two similar pleasure-houses on the hill. 39, Barracks, used as shops for the carpenters, lodgings for day-laborers, etc.

[The dotted line, showing the palisade or "fort" of 1759, and the \* near the tavern showing the site of the first cabin or "Hans Wagner hut," are inserted from a map of 1760.—Editor.]



MacDowell writes that he will be here soon, and being in feeble health he wishes to stay for a while.

*July 19.* Mr. MacDowell has arrived, having been on his way from Braunsweig since the beginning of June. He is suffering from chronic diarrhoea, and wishes treatment here. He says that among the *Gentry* of this land it is the *fashion* to visit the *Moravian towns*.

*July 20.* Already today some of our English neighbors have come to the English Minister asking baptism for their children. In the evening there was a thunder storm, with rain, which was rather badly needed.

*July 23.* The English Minister baptised several children in the Tavern. Some of our neighbors complained to him that we would not baptise their children because they did not belong to our Church. Br. Ettwein, however, gave him a quite different reason,—that we did not do it because there was so little prospect that the people would bring up their children in a Christian fashion, etc., to which the Minister answered "*That is true.*"

*July 25.* During the last days several families from New River have fled hither, and today another man, Hamilton by name, came with his family. He brings the news that the Indians have declared war, and that everybody has left New River, and so on. While much of this is probably without foundation, it would appear that there is some truth in the reports about the Indians. On the 26th other families arrived from New River, including George Loesch. They brought more terrifying reports about the Northern Indians, who are said to have joined the Southern Indians.

*July 27.* Peter Herrman, from New River, passed our mill, and reported, with apparent truth, that the Northern Indians had killed many families on the Roanoke, (we later learned that it had happened on James River); also that a few days before he himself had been in a fight with Indians at Trappers Meadow, and had shot one, whose tomahawk, etc., he had with him. More families of refugees arrived next day, and arrangements were made with the Brn. Grabs and George Hauser for a guard at Bethania, and a Brother was added to the usual night-watch as guard here.

*July 29.* In the afternoon all the Brethren were called to the Saal to consider what should be done for our defense, in view of the unrest among the Wild Men. It was the unanimous decision not to rebuild the stockade around our houses, partly for lack of men to do it, but instead it was agreed to build a guard house near our barns. Also

that at the mill the stockade on this side should be finished, and that if more refugee families should come in and build cabins they should be placed so as to fill the gap on the other side.

*Aug. 2.* More refugees arrived. There is a lack of fresh spring water, and if the fort at the mill is rebuilt there is no water inside, so it was decided today to dig a well near the entrance to the mill stockade. The well-master thinks water can be found at about ten feet. This afternoon Mr. MacDowell wrote out a set of instructions, in case he should die here. He also baptised two of our neighbor Douthit's children, in his room at the Tavern. During these days, and especially today, it has been oppressively hot. This evening it rained for a while.

*Aug. 6.* Mr. Chune, Esq., who left Long Cane eight days ago, brought an apparently trustworthy report that the Creeks and Cherokees are quiet at present, and not likely to break out, as they have heard that the King of England has sent them presents to Charlestown, worth £5000. In the Charlestown newspaper of June 25th, there is a most favorable Declaration in behalf of the Indians, dated Dec. 19, 1761, in which all Governors in America are earnestly urged to see that no one settles on land to which the Indians have a claim, and if any have settled on such land they shall be removed.

*Aug. 7.* Sunday. Bad weather, and his bodily weakness, prevented the Rev. MacDowell from preaching in our Saal today, but in his room he baptised many children who were brought to him.

*Aug. 10.* The Baptist preacher, Schmidt, who came yesterday, was shown around our town. He is a young, lively, but sincere man, born on Long Island, and went to school with several of our Brethren.

*Aug. 11.* Skit Moore and a company of hunters made much disturbance in our Tavern this afternoon.

*Aug. 12.* Mr. Jourdan came from Corbin-Town<sup>6</sup> and brought to Br. Loesch the Deeds for the lots surveyed along our line for the gentlemen in England. They have been attested by Mr. Churton, and Br. Loesch will register them in Salisbury.

*Aug. 22.* From James Blackburn, on the Town Fork, Br. Gammern has hired a negro woman, to serve as maid in the Tavern for three years. A man from New River came to the doctor for treatment of a wound received from an Indian. He brought a letter from our friend, the elder Herrman, which said that since the last alarm they had seen no more of the Wild Men. They,—the Herrmans,—had built a fort, where they and several other families were living together. They were expecting a guard of 100 men from Virginia.

<sup>6</sup> Later Hillsboro, N. C.

*Aug. 25.* A wagon, which brought 1000 lbs. of lead from Fort Dobbs to our store, returned with pottery in exchange for the lead.

*Aug. 30.* From the Catawba River we again hear bad reports of the Indians,—apparently Northern Indians.

*Sept. 3.* Br. Graff visited the sick in Bethania; Br. Bischoff also has the fever. Here Br. Dixon, his wife and child are in bed with it, as is also Sr. Fockel, and Sr. Kuhnast has had a relapse; the other sick here are better.

*Sept. 4.* Casper Kühn, from Abbotts Creek, came early this morning bringing us 18 bushels of cleaned seed wheat, with fine large grains. Ours is very full of darnel.

*Sept. 6.* Today there was a fresh alarm that Indians had been seen on the Yadkin, and three families there came to our mill for refuge. A little later came the word that three white highwaymen, painted red, had caused the fright.

*Sept. 10.* This morning the Rev. MacDowell left at last for Braunsweig. He has been under the doctor's care here since July 19th, but is little or no better. He was too weak to ride, so was borne in a two-horse litter, led by his negro. During his stay he has preached in our Saal only once, but he has baptised some 150 of the children of our neighbors. He was well satisfied with the treatment accorded him here, which has been most affectionate. Br. Jacob Loesch sent by him a letter to our Governor, giving him report of our outward affairs, and the condition of things in the neighborhood, also making some suggestions as to the help that would be needed in this section in case war should break out with the Indians and this become the frontier.

*Sept. 12.* Br. Graff went to Bethania this afternoon to spend the night with Br. Bischoff, who has been unconscious most of the time for several days. During the night he had another hard convulsion, and between three and four o'clock the Saviour took him to Himself.

He was buried, Sept. 14th, in Bethania, many going over from Bethabara, the Sisters riding in a wagon.

*Sept. 17.* Our wagon brought Sr. Anna Bischoff hither from Bethania. Today she had a third attack of fever.

On the 18th she received the Widow's ribbon.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The Moravians had no special uniform; merely wore the costume customary at that time. The only distinctive feature of their dress was in the cap ribbons worn by the women. A young girl wore a net cap, tied under the chin with pink ribbon. The Older Girls, after they became communicants, wore white linen caps tied with red ribbons; the Single Sisters used pink ribbon with the white linen caps, the Married Sisters light blue, and the Widows white. A change of ribbons, therefore, was significant of the change that had come into a woman's life.



*Sept. 21.* Last night we had the first frost of the season. The cloudy, oppressive, weather we have had for nearly a month has been followed by raw, dry, air, with a cold wind.

*Oct. 8.* The families from the Yadkin, who have refuged at the mill for some weeks, are now returning home. On account of the continuous dry weather the creeks are lower than is usual at this season, and little grain can be ground.

*Oct. 10.* Heinrich Shore, who is a constable, and Schauss, went from Bethania to Salisbury to Court; this time no one went from Bethabara. Br. Jacob Loesch set out today for Pennsylvania.

*Oct. 11.* Pumps have been placed in our three new wells,—on the Square, near the Tavern, and at the mill.

*Oct. 27.* Today a whole wagon load of rock-fish or *Cableau* was brought to us from the Yadkin. We bought the fish for 8s., and they furnished several meals for everybody. It amounted to about one-half penny per pound.

*Oct. 29.* Saturday. Thank God, our sick have so far recovered as to be out again. Last night it was freezing cold, and half the mill-dam is covered with ice, although last Wednesday it was unusually warm.

*Oct. 31.* A man brought a young bear which he had shot, and we bought it for 15 shillings. It weighed 130 lbs., of which 24 lbs. were fat; not counting the fat the meat cost about one-half penny per pound.

*Nov. 1.* Rain began this morning, and continued the entire day, for which we thank our Heavenly Father. For more than two months it has not rained enough to dampen the ground two inches deep, and the people below the Ens and on Abbots Creek have all their winter wheat still to sow, for they have not been able to plough.

*Nov. 4.* Jacob van der Merk has gone bear hunting. There are many bears this year in the Hollow and about Pilot Mountain.

*Nov. 7.* Today people from the Hollow bought 1200 lbs. of meal at our mill, and started with it to Col. Chiswell, on New River. A still larger quantity has been ordered for him, and lies ready in the mill.

*Nov. 8.* Yesterday Christel Frey's son was bitten in the leg by a poisonous spider. He swelled quickly, to such an extent that he could not see out of his eyes, and suffered terribly, and would certainly have died, had not the snake-root, called *Roberts-Planting*, been used in time.

*Nov. 9.* Yesterday and today certain strangers brought more than eighty bushels of salt to our store. They brought it in wagons from Cape Fear, where at present they get salt for wheat, bushel for bushel.



*Nov. 10.* For several days it has been warm and sultry; this morning there was a small thunder storm, after which it cleared up.

*Nov. 17.* Br. Ettwein held morning prayers, and reminded us that the first decade of Bethabara has now ended. Of the first colony of eleven Brethren who began the settlement in 1753, only three are now here, Merkly, Lung, and Pfeil; Beroth is at present in Bethania; Erich, Kalberlahn and Petersen are with the Saviour; Graff, Jacob and Herman Loesch, and Feldhausen, are in Pennsylvania.

*Nov. 21.* Last night Br. Gammern returned from Charlestown. He had acquainted himself with the circumstances of our trade there, and had met the merchants. He brought the good news that our Brethren and Sisters had escaped from Berbice at the time of the negro rebellion; also that a Congress had been successfully held with the Southern Indians at Augusta. Eight or nine different Indian Nations had been represented, and all anew promised peace with the English.

*Nov. 29.* Br. Friedrich Post, [who had arrived Nov. 19th,] left this morning. He was taken on horseback ten miles to Douthit's where we hear he has arranged to preach tomorrow.

*Dec. 8.* We were made happy by the unexpected arrival of letters from Germany, together with the Text Book for 1764. The package was started by Br. Broderson on Sept. 9th of this year; was forwarded four weeks later from London on the *Hope* to Mr. Nicholson in Charlestown; he sent it to Mr. Kirshaw at Pinetree; he to Mr. Mitchell at Salisbury; and he sent it on by our neighbor, Mr. Phelps. We are delighted that this first package direct from Germany by way of Charlestown has come safely, and hope hereafter we may hear more quickly this way than through Bethlehem.

The letters were from Br. Johannes [von Watteville] and Br. Joseph [Spangenberg], and were dated Herrnhut, July 29th. We were interested to hear that on the 26th and 27th of that month a conference had been held about Wachovia affairs, of which Br. Joseph sent an outline to us, full details having been sent to Br. Frederick Marschall in Bethlehem. Br. Marschall has been made Oeconomus<sup>s</sup> for Wachovia; with Br. Ettwein as Vice-Oeconomus in his absence.

*Dec. 9.* Yesterday and today there was heavy rain.

*Dec. 15.* We are having colder weather than is usual even in Herrnhut at this season.

*Dec. 18.* We see from the Bethlehem Diary that last May the Brethren in Bethlehem followed the example of certain European congrega-

<sup>s</sup> Official head of the Oeconomie. Marshall also held full Power of Attorney from the Governing Board in Europe for the affairs of the Unity in Wachovia.

tions, and ceased to have Congregation and Choir Jünger, so we also drop the custom.

*Dec. 22.* After two weeks of very cold weather it has become milder, and this evening it began to rain, continuing all night.

*Dec. 23.* This afternoon we were rejoiced by the safe return of Br. Jacob Loesch from Pennsylvania.

*Dec. 28.* Gideon Wright, from the Yadkin, told Br. Gammern today that there was a (false) report current among the people around us,—even as about the Brethren in Pennsylvania,—namely, that we were supplying the Indians on New River with ammunition, sending it to them by white people.

*Dec. 30.* We see by the letters from Herrnhut and from Bethlehem that a new town for Wachovia is being again considered, so this morning the Brn. Ettwein, Gammern, Jacob Loesch, and Graff went to see a place Br. Reuter has suggested on the Lech.

[Governor Dobbs, being nearly eighty years of age, and being out of harmony with the Assembly of North Carolina and most of the settlers in that Province, asked permission to retire to England.

On April 26th his successor was appointed,—William Tryon, a young officer of the Queen's Guard. He reached North Carolina on Oct. 10th, but found Governor Dobbs did not plan to sail until the following spring, so could not at once take office.

In Mecklenburg County there were attacks on John Frohock and other officials, the controversy being over the ownership of lands formerly granted to McCulloh.

For the Unity of Brethren the year was marked by the first General Synod held since the death of Count Zinzendorf. The government of the Unity was re-organized on a firm basis, with a Board of Directors for general oversight and under it a Committee to manage the financial affairs, and another to handle all civil matters and negotiations with various Governments.]

*1764. Memorabilia of the Congregations in*

*Bethabara and Bethania.*

[Translated in full.]

At the close of this year, we can only exclaim, "O, our faces are covered with blushes when we think of the greatness of our debt of gratitude to our God!"

Our dear Heavenly Father has cared well for us, His poor children, and has graciously shielded us from misfortune or harm. The Holy Spirit has dealt lovingly and patiently with us, that He might direct us according to the mind and heart of Jesus. The nearness of our Saviour, wherein He has this year blessed and comforted us beyond our deserts, is not to be described.

O might each pulsation thanksgiving express,  
And each breath we draw be an anthem of praise.

In tangible proof of this we recount the following: Thirteen times has the Saviour permitted us to partake of the Sacrament; and has graciously made Himself known to us in the Cup of Covenant, four

times celebrated, and through our Gemein Tage, Congregation and Choir Festivals.

The Holy Spirit has sustained our hearts with the blessed merits of Jesus' death, and has led us to enjoy the spiritual food provided in the Daily Watchwords and Doctrinal Texts, the Gemein-Haus Wochen and Nachrichten.

Our Father has permitted us to go in and out in peace, and to do our work unhindered, and has laid an abundant blessing upon our trade at home and abroad, upon our fields and our professions.

In the spring there was a long-continued drought and much rain fell at harvest time,<sup>1</sup> so that it looked first as if crops would be a total failure, and then as if the grain would be ruined in the fields, but He knew how to turn aside the threatened injury, and to so order it that from our fields, meadows and garden, we gathered more than we expected for our own needs and the sustenance of our cattle. Our fruit trees were also blessed, so that for the first time we were able to dry apples, for which we gave happy thanks at the Harvest Lovefeast on July 21st. On July 22nd we read the account of the impressive Peace Festival, held in Herrnhut, March 21st, 1763, and shared in the thankfulness of our Brethren for the restoration of peace.

And although most of our Brethren and Sisters suffered from the prevailing fever,<sup>2</sup> which began in July, and although it looked as if all business would have to be abandoned, still our Father gave us help and counsel, so that we now have neither harm nor loss to record.

At times we were much alarmed by rumors and reports of murders committed by Indians near our borders, and by the attacks on our dear ones in Pennsylvania, especially our Indian exiles. We were, therefore, the more thankful when we heard that the Lord had brought to naught the designs of the Evil One and that the innocence of the Indian Brother, Renatus,<sup>3</sup> had been proved. In the same way, although several parties

<sup>1</sup> Details as to weather are given in the Diary for this year, but have not been included in the translation. It is evident that weather in the Eighteenth Century was just the same as in the Twentieth—the "change" sometimes claimed is purely imaginary. Mild winters and severe, early springs and late, good seasons, droughts, and freshets, occurred with the familiar variety of today.

<sup>2</sup> There was much fever in Bethabara each fall during these years. In 1764 there were two waves, so to speak, the first in July and early August, the second in late August and September, with a continuance of scattered cases the rest of the year. The Diary identifies three cases as typhoid, with the characteristic eruption—of these one patient died, and Sr. Reuter (Anna Catharina, m. n. Antes, widow Kalberlahn,) was desperately ill for months, though she ultimately recovered. One case is called rheumatic fever; the other cases are simply called Fever. Some attacks of this were mild, in others the patient became critically ill; sometimes the patient had fever every day; in other cases it came only every other day. The only remedy mentioned is in one case where profuse perspiration was induced, and the patient felt much relieved thereby. Careful nursing day and night is indicated in all cases.

<sup>3</sup> He had been accused of participating in an attack on some white soldiers. There are many references in this Diary to reports concerning the Brethren in Pennsylvania, their Indian converts, and the animosity of the "mob," but readers are referred to the general story of Pontiac's War, and to details in the "History of Bethlehem," by Levering.



of Cherokee Indians marched past, some six or eight miles away, going to Virginia and then returning to their own land, and there was little good to hope from them, yet we did not so much as see one of them.

Toward the end of May our mill-dam was swept away by a flood, but the mill was not injured, and by the aid of our neighbors on the Town Fork and at Bethania the dam was soon replaced, so that our mill could speedily run again, for which we praise the Lord.

One night, during a heavy storm, fire broke out in Bethania, but the angels protected them, and the Brethren who slept in the house awoke from deep sleep just in time to put out the flames. The angels also saved several of our boys, who fell with a ladder from the second story of a house, but were not hurt. Br. and Sr. Ettwein and their two children, who went to Pennsylvania, the colony who came hither from there, and the wagons on their trips to Charlestown and return, were all kept from danger.

We must also make grateful mention of the fact that again during this year several houses were built here and in Bethania without accident. Here the house for our apothecary was finished and occupied, and a new family house raised and roofed; an addition was made to our store, and at the Tavern a roomy shed was built for the convenience of the Tavern-keeper and the guests. In Bethania they have built three new log barns for grain, not to mention numerous repairs made on other buildings.

A piece of upland and a larger piece of the swampy land on the Grosse Johanna have been cleared for meadows, and the draining and drying of the latter will be of much benefit, since the standing stagnant water on it has bred much dampness.

By order of the Court, a new road was made to Salisbury, and as it only left the old road between the Middle and South Fork we had less than a mile of new work to do. The Court also granted our petition for a road-master of our own, selected from among us, and Br. Holder was qualified for this position.

The 19 Deeds of Wachovia, attested by the Lord Mayor of London, were acknowledged before the Supreme Court and properly registered, and the concern which, not without reason, had been felt on their account, was laid to rest. Three families have settled on our Out-lots on the south and west lines of Wachovia, that is, the two brothers, George and Adam Loesch, have bought a piece of land from us, and Kahlbach has taken another piece as tenant.

At Easter the new Vestry here was elected and the Church Wardens chosen from among them.

Bethania has undertaken the support of Br. and Sr. Bachhoff.

In place of the departed Br. Dixon, Br. and Sr. Reuter have charge of our store, under the supervision of Br. Gammern.

An old man, 123 years of age, by the name of Turk Weybrand, who knew our departed Brother Bruce in Walepak, and who loves the Saviour, visited here for several days to his satisfaction.

The Herrman family, who moved away from New River on account of the Indians, came to us as refugees and lived for a time by the mill, but later settled on the south-east border of Wachovia.

At the request of neighbors Br. Ettwein preached at various places, in English and German. During this year he preached for the first time in the Hollow, and in the new German Church on Abbott's Creek.

It was interesting that on Aug. 24th, when the Text was "The cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day and fire was on it by night," (Ex. XL:38) we saw in the evening a large, fiery meteor come from the south and pass so close behind our houses that our Square was illuminated.

Our connection with Bethlehem has continued satisfactorily, though we have not received many letters. In April Br. and Sr. Ettwein went thither with our wagon and brought back eight members for this congregation. At the end of October we had the pleasure of welcoming our Oeconomus, Br. Marshall, also Br. Frommelt, Oeconomus of the Brothers Choir in America. Both came for the first time, Br. Marshall<sup>4</sup> on a visitation to the whole settlement, and Br. Frommelt to look after the affairs of his Choir. We promise ourselves much blessing through them. A couple of days later, the Bethlehem wagon arrived safely, bringing 12 Older Boys, who are here to learn trades from our master-workmen. Most of them have already been in training, the rest are ready for it. They have walked all the way from Bethlehem and have been well and happy, to the pleasure and amazement of all who met them. With them came Br. Lorenz Bagge, to be Pfleger of the Single Brothers Choir and of the Choir of Older Boys; also the Single Brother Valentine Beck, who will here establish himself as gunsmith. Br. Gottlob Hofman, having been called to return to Pennsylvania, after nine years of service here as Pfleger of the Single Brethren, left with the Bethlehem wagon on Nov. 14th, in company with the three Brethren, Angel, Conrad, and Ernst, and Jacob, the mulatto, the last two having visited here for the first time.

---

<sup>4</sup> His name was properly von Marschall, but he liked the English language, and became so entirely an American that the English spelling is often used in the Diary, and is more appropriate in the translation.

The Single Brethren and Married People postponed their Festivals, partly because of the expected visitors from Bethlehem, partly because of the illness prevailing; both Choirs, therefore, celebrated their Covenant Days on the 24th and 25th of November, with much joy and satisfaction. As this was just the time for the Communion, the Sacrament was administered to them in their Choir services, the communicants of the other Choirs partaking together.

Br. Gammern, returning from Charlestown, brought word of the arrival of a new Lieutenant-Governor for this Province, Tryon by name, so before the close of the year Br. Marshall and Br. Gammern went to Brunswick, to welcome him in the name of the Unity of Brethren in North Carolina, and also to call on our friend, Governor Dobbs, before his intended departure for England.

There have been received into our congregations this year: Heinrich Spoenhauer and Philip Schauss and his wife, at Bethania; and George Hartman and his wife from South Fork.

Taking Communion for the first time were Heinrich Spoenhauer and the Single Sister, Maria Fiscus; and two Single Brethren were readmitted.

Three children were born in Bethabara, one girl and two boys. The latter, however, died almost immediately.

The home-going of Sr. Elizabeth Peter grieved us, though it was sweet and happy; and the same may be said of the other departures,—one Married Sister, one Married and one Single Brother.

Seventeen children of well-known neighbors and friends have been baptised, most of them here in the town.

On second Christmas Day four couples were married, all members of our congregation.

Bethania has lost no one this year, and gained one by the birth of a little boy on December 31st.

Bethabara has gained 25 by birth and by arrival from Bethlehem; has lost 11 by death and by removal to Bethlehem; net gain 14.

Total in Bethania, 74; in Bethabara, 91; together 165.

*1764, Bethabara Diary.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 6.* The Brn. Gammern, Loesch and Ettwein rode to the home of Christel Frey, below the Ens, to attend a meeting of the Jury appointed by the Court last spring to lay out a new road to Salisbury.



They returned in the evening. At the meeting Br. Gammern received a letter from Mr. Moore, of Braunschweig, in which he mentioned that the Rev. MacDowell passed away in October of last year.

*Jan. 9.* This afternoon the Brn. Loesch and Gammern left for Salisbury to attend the County Court. Heinrich Shor, of Bethania, went with them to resign his office as Constable.

*Jan. 13.* The Brn. Gammern and Loesch returned from Court. Regulations were made there for the maintenance of the new road from Bethabara into the Trading Path; Wachovia has been made a separate road district, with Br. George Holder as Road Master. A new order has been sent to Bryant's Settlement, beyond the Yadkin, that a road shall be opened from here through their section into the Charlestown road. So Bethabara becomes more and more a "house of passage."

From a newspaper we see that the life of Augustus, the beloved ruler of the country in which Herrnhut stands, came to a peaceful end on the 5th of October of last year.

A letter from Henry Laurens, from Charlestown, states that in spite of the recent peace treaty the Creeks have crossed the Savannah and have killed fourteen persons in Long Cane Bottom. Also that the Cherokees have offered to take the part of the English against the Creeks, but that opinions differ as to whether their offer should be accepted.

*Jan. 18.* There were many people in our Tavern today. Some came on their way to Salisbury, to the election of a new Assemblyman for this County; others brought a goodly quantity of deer skins to our store; some came with two couples who wish to be married by Justice Loesch.

Col. Hunter and another gentleman from Dan River had to be lodged over night in the Gemein Haus, for lack of room in the Tavern.

*Jan. 19.* This morning the Brn. Jacob Loesch and Holder from here, and Spoenhauer from Bethania, left for Salisbury for the Election. So far as one can make out the parties from Dan and Yadkin Rivers will try to elect a new Assemblyman in their interest, as they wish to secure a division of our County.

*Jan. 21.* The Brethren returned from Salisbury. There was such a crowd at the election of the Assemblymen that Br. Holder could not even give in his ticket. Mr. Frohock and Childs received a majority of the votes.

*Jan. 28.* At the mill a little son was born to the wife of Ulrich Richards. She is the daughter of our friend, the elder Herrman.



*Jan. 30.* The last Court having confirmed the new King's Highway from here to Salisbury, six of the Brethren, with a wagon, went to open it between the Middle and South Forks to our line. With them went Br. Holder, Road-inspector for our Parish.

*Feb. 10.* From New River came our friend, the elder Herrman, and his son Adam. The rest of their families will follow next week. Herrman says that by spring there will be no families left on New River, for by the King's Declaration the land must be returned to the Cherokees.

*Feb. 16.* Adam Spach, from the South Fork, brought his son to Bethania. He will attend Br. Bachhoff's school, and will lodge with Michael Ranke.

*Feb. 29.* The Herrman families, who have been staying at the mill, moved away today. They will settle near our east line.

*March 5.* An English Minister, James Farmer, came to our Tavern. He has been sent from England as a missionary to the Indians, and says he has preached to the Mohawks, under General Johnson. He intends to go from here to the Governor at Willmington. This evening he attended our singstunde. He has believed us to be a *Pack of Fools*, but has begun to have a better opinion of us.

Today we have had snow, the first of the winter; during the night it became several inches thick.

*March 7.* The English Minister left this morning, whereat we rejoiced. His conduct here was so bad that the former English Minister, MacDowell, has risen greatly in the estimation of the Brethren. Br. Ettwein accompanied him a few miles, and at parting gave him a half Pistole, and also a written explanation of our position in regard to Justification, as set forth in the 18th Article in the Confession of the English Church; also that we believe that our Saviour is our Creator. The English Minister had accused us of false doctrine on these points. Ettwein also told him that evidently he did not himself believe that 18th Article, or had forgotten it!

*March 12.* Schauss, of Bethania, took a load of deer and bear skins to Pine Tree Store for Mr. Armstrong. [This entry is repeated two or three times during the year.]

*March 17.* At sunset there was an eclipse of the moon. It was fully two-thirds obscured.

*March 28.* This morning our wagon started for Charlestown, with a load of 2000 lbs. deer skins, some of them dressed. With it we sent a package of letters to the Brn. Johannes, Joseph, etc. in Germany, and

the Extracts from our Diary from Oct. 1763, to the end of March, 1764. [The wagon returned April 25th.]

*April 3.* Our wagon left for Bethlehem, taking Br. and Sr. Ettwein, their little Jacob, Johanne Rogers,<sup>5</sup> Thomas Hoffman, John Ranke, and the widower Angel. The two children and the Brn. Hoffman and Angel will remain in Pennsylvania. With them we sent many letters, and our Diary from October, 1763, to the end of March, 1764.

*April 4.* At four o'clock this morning Br. August Schubert returned from Salisbury, whither he went day before yesterday with a messenger sent by Mr. Frohock, who is very ill with pleurisy.

From the newspapers, which were as late as February of this year, we saw particulars of the murders committed by the Mob on a party of peaceful Indians in Lancaster [Pa.]; and also the attempts of the same Mob against our Indians, now in Philadelphia. The Mob had been stopped in Germantown, but we will have to wait for the further news.

*April 9.* Peter Houser went to Salisbury to Court, having been appointed Constable.

*April 21.* Yesterday the elder Herrman and part of his family arrived. Today the rest came, accompanied by many wedding guests, for Daniel Herrman wished to be married to Billy Bughsen's daughter by Justice Loesch. About forty people had to be cared for in the Tavern tonight, but all went with reasonable quiet.

*April 22, Easter Sunday.* [The usual services were held.] In a separate service the little sons of Adam and Henry Herrman were baptised. The children are the grandsons of our friend, the elder Herrman. Adam's son, six weeks old, received the name Valentine; the other, a year old, was named Henry.

*April 23.* This morning the Brethren met in the Saal for the election of new members of the Vestry for Dobbs Parish, to take the place of those who have died or gone away.

Col. Hand and his wife, and Morgan Bryant and his wife, came to see our town. They attended the singstunde.

*May 5.* This morning a man by the name of Turk Weybrand came from Dan River. He had snow-white hair, and a long snow-white beard; and over a white shirt had only a piece of blue cloth wrapped around him. He says he was born in Amsterdam about 1642, so must be about 123 years old. From here he wrote to Pennsylvania inquiring about his five children, whom he left when he moved to Virginia sixteen years ago. He loves the Brethren, and follows their

---

Her mother had died in Bethabara during the typhus epidemic of 1759.

teachings. Eight years ago he was with the Army that marched against the Indians on New River. We gave him some clothing, and this evening took him to the Communion Lovefeast, where he bore himself devoutly. He understands German.

*May 6. Sunday.* There were many visitors in our Saal, including old Father Weybrand, who has spent the day quietly and alone in the fields. There was also the well-known Stahlnecker, who was captured by the Indians on Holston's River, and after having suffered much in their town made his escape.

*May 7.* This was a busy day. The roof and rafters over the store were rapidly taken down, and new rafters placed to cover the old house and the addition which had been laid up<sup>6</sup> before Easter; then most of the roof was covered before night, so that in case of rain no damage would be done in the store.

In addition many came to buy pottery, and to make purchases at the store.

The Sisters had washing to do, so the noon liturgy was omitted.

Old Father Turk Weybrand left today, in good spirits, and thankful for the kindness shown him. He said he was coming back, and might remain here.

*May 11.* Last night in Bethania a thief stole a saddle and bridle from Henrich Spoenhauer, and took three new shirts, belonging to Peter Houser, out of a wash-tub. Spoenhauer also cannot find his horse.

*May 14.* Two wagons from Bethania started to the Cape Fear loaded with meal, flax, hemp, and butter. They will bring back shells, for lime.

Mr. Churton has received orders from England to place in Metcalf's name ten of the tracts surveyed for Nesbit near our lines.

We have begun to prepare timber for a gallery in front of the entrance to the Tavern, so that the guests can stay outside more, especially in summer.

*May 15.* Messrs. Churton, and Childs left this morning.

There were again many people in our Tavern, for the Justices Hunter, Bryand, Hughes and Loesch held Court over a horse-thief, who had been brought here. It was very noisy, for Hughes defended the man, who was finally bound over to Court.

Br. Gammern wrote today to Br. Marshall in Bethlehem, and sent him a Bill of Exchange for £100 New York currency. Mr. Churton

<sup>6</sup>The addition was of logs—the coined verb “aufgeblockt” used in the Diary always indicates that logs were laid up. A frame house was “aufgeschlagen”—raised.



took this, and will send it by way of Hallifax and Philadelphia. Br. Gammern will try to send the two duplicates in other ways, so that if one is lost another may arrive safely.

*May 22.* This morning the retiring sheriff, Mr. Nazaree, was here to collect the taxes.

*May 25.* In the field behind the tanyard Br. Graff found a plant of red clover, nearly all four, five and six-leaved. In the same field Sr. Reuter recently found one stem with seven leaves.

*May 28.* There was a sale of pottery, and all day long many people came and went. The bees also swarmed for the first time this year. Toward evening the wagons returned from the Cape Fear, bringing 60 lbs. shells to be burnt for lime. They could only get 8d. a pound for the butter, which was therefore a loss.

Edward Hughes, Esq. came with Baker's son and insisted, with threats, that Br. Graff should publish the Banns for Baker's son and Tidvill's daughter, who wished to marry. But because of their manner, and the probable consequences, Br. Graff refused.

*June 2.* Mr. Gilbert, a merchant from Virginia, a relative of the Gilberts living in this neighborhood, came to see Br. Gammern, and exchanged £50 Virginia currency for Proclamation money at 24 shillings the pound.

*June 4.* George Loesch brought 300 lbs. of lead for our store from the mine on New River. Evening in the singstunde we remembered the 34th birthday of King George III, and wished for him many blessings in return for the many mercies which we have experienced under him in this land.

*June 6.* Last summer our neighbor Benner bought a negro from a man who had stolen him; later the negro ran away from his next owner, and he has now returned to Benner, and as he seems to be out of his mind he is being taken to jail. A Constable brought him here, and he was then taken to Bethania; from there Peter Hauser, the Constable, must take him to the south Yadkin, until he finds another Constable to take him on.

*June 11.* As Br. Holder went for the cows today he shot three young bears, their mother, and a deer,—more than he has ever shot at one time before.

*June 22.* This morning we were glad to welcome Br. Ettwein, who returned in good health from Pennsylvania. The wagon, and the company of colonists coming from Bethlehem for Wachovia, he had left thirty miles from here, so, God willing, they will arrive tomorrow. The Brn. Gammern and Graff rode out to meet them at the night camp, taking food from here for their refreshment.



*June 23.* This afternoon at three o'clock the company from Bethlehem arrived, and were heartily welcomed with the trumpets as they drove in.

*July 5.* Last evening a certain gentleman, named Rutherford, came to our Tavern. He is the General Quit Rent Receiver for the royal part of North Carolina, and is on his way south as a member of the Commission appointed by the King to run and mark the line between North and South Carolina.

*July 6.* Today it is 349 years since that witness for Jesus, John Hus, received the martyr's crown at Constance; instead of the usual liturgy we had the reading of a sermon preached just one year ago in Herrnhut.

*July 7.* The elder Henry Herrman came yesterday. He told of a woman who had reached Virginia after having been for seven years a captive among the Indians. She had escaped from a party of Delawares and Shawanos, who are at New River, and are threatening the forts there. She says that the Delawares are stronger now than before the war, because of the young people whom they have captured, and who are more cruel in killing and scalping than the Indians themselves.

*July 11.* Today a wolf attacked a flock of sheep that were grazing in the woods near the Tavern pasture, seized a wether and made off with it. The shepherd gave an alarm, the day-laborers working on a near-by fence came running, and the wolf dropped the wether, which was brought in still living, but had to be killed.

*July 25.* Yesterday a Swiss by the name of Civili came from Bryand's Settlement with his wife and little daughter. He asked earnestly for the baptism of the child, and as they are known to be worthy people this was granted, the service taking place in our Saal in the presence of a small company of the Brethren. The child received the name Margaret.

*July 30.* Day before yesterday several persons from our neighborhood behaved themselves very insolently in our Tavern, and then bragged about it in Bethania. So today a Warrant was sent to Constable Blackburn and a Summons to Peter Hauser, to bring the actors and the witnesses before Justice Loesch, in order that their freedom may be somewhat restrained by the Law.

*Aug. 10.* Mr. Wiltshire and others were here from New River. They reported that Little Carpenter and his Cherokees have left New River and returned to their Nation; that it is generally believed that

the Indians will not make claim to that section, still less take possession of it; and that people are again settling on Holston's River.

*Aug. 11.* The two sheriffs of our County brought us copies of the new Acts of the last Assembly; among them another Vestry Act, the former one having been repealed.

*Aug. 14.* The Brn. Ettwein and Gammern rode to the Hollow, having been often invited to come and see the neighbors there and their settlement.

*Aug. 17.* They returned from their visit. Br. Ettwein preached yesterday to forty English people, in Dorchester's house, and baptised three children.

*Aug. 24.* Before evening service we saw a rather large meteor, shaped like a spear. It passed from the south-east behind our town, and disappeared behind the bake-houses.

*Aug. 28.* In a Virginia paper we saw an Act of Parliament, according to which American paper money will be given up, and no new made.

*Sept. 3.* The singstunde was attended by a considerable number of Irish, from Dan River.

*Sept. 23.* Toward evening the Brn. Gammern, Loesch, Michael and Peter Hauser left for General Court at Salisbury.

*Sept. 28.* The Brethren returned from General Court. The Deeds to Wachovia have been proved, and will now be registered. [They were returned Oct. 13th from the Register's Office, by Adam Spach.]

*Oct. 1.* Adam Loesch and his family arrived from Pennsylvania; they will settle in the neighborhood.

*Oct. 4.* Adam and George Loesch arranged with Br. Gammern for the purchase of one of our Out-Lots, between here and the Yadkin. It contains 700 acres, and the price is £100 Proc.

*Oct. 8.* Br. Gammern wrote to Mr. Frohock about our Tavern license. He sent the letter by Squire Dorchester, as this time no one from here will go to Court. [The license came with the Deeds on Oct. 13th.]

*Oct. 14.* Dieter Danner, son-in-law of old Mother Hauser, arrived from Manacasy in Maryland, to visit here and in Bethania and look for land. Next day he bought the 400 acres of his brother-in-law, Michael Hauser, for £80. It is a good farm.

*Oct. 23.* Two wagons from here and two from Bethania set out for Charlestown, taking about 4000 lbs. deer-skins, 1500 lbs. butter, some Beaver and Seneca Snake Root.

*Oct. 29.* In the afternoon the long-awaited, beloved Brn. Marshall and Frommelt arrived on a Visitation to Wachovia. In the afternoon they inspected the town, and greeted the residents in their homes. In the evening gathering for reading and singing Br. Marshall gave the hearty greetings of the friends in Bethlehem.

*Oct. 30.* The Brn. Ettwein and Loesch escorted the Brn. Marshall and Frommelt to Bethania, where they enjoyed seeing the town and visiting the Brethren in their homes. They also inspected the mill.

*Oct. 31.* Today they visited the country on the Damnitz and at the forks of the large and small Johanna.

At a meeting of the Single Brethren Br. Frommelt announced that Br. Lorenz Bagge was coming with the Boys and would become *Pfleger* of the Single Brethren here, Br. Gottlob Hoffmann being recalled to Pennsylvania.

*Nov. 1.* Quite early Br. Angel arrived. He had come as guide and food purveyor for the company of Boys. The Brn. Marshall, Frommelt, Gottlob, Ettwein, Graff, and Loesch went to meet them, and greeted them at the edge of the field, then led them into Bethabara in procession, the trumpets sounding the welcome of the Brethren and Sisters. The Boys had walked the whole way from Bethlehem, but seemed as fresh and lively as though they had started but yesterday. In the evening a Lovefeast was given the entire company by the congregation.

*Nov. 3.* Yesterday the Brn. Marshall, Frommelt, Ettwein and Loesch visited the center of the Wachovia Tract, and the site first selected for the central town; then on to the Ens, where there is a good town site were it not too far south, and lacking in flowing water. Br. Loesch then returned to Bethabara, but the others spent the night with Christian Frey, and visited the neighbors, and today saw the Dorothea, into which all the streams of Wachovia empty, and then made their way back across the Ens and Wach to Bethabara.

*Nov. 9.* The Brethren visited a suggested town site on Mill Creek.

*Nov. 11.* At a meeting in the Brothers House Br. Frommelt installed Br. Lorenz Bagge as *Pfleger* of the Single Brethren and Boys.

*Nov. 14.* The Bethlehem wagon started on the return trip. We were able to send 220 lbs. of deer-skins, and 40 lbs. flax, besides the personal belongings of the departed Brother Christian Seidel. With the wagon and its two drivers went Br. Angel, and also Br. Gottlob Hoffman, who has served here for nine years with great faithfulness.

*Nov. 15.* The Brn. Marshall, Loesch, Frommelt and Bagge rode to George Loesch's, saw the Yadkin and Cossart's land, and returned in the evening.



*Nov. 17.* This was an anniversary day,—the day on which, eleven years ago, the Brethren arrived in Wachovia. In the evening there was a Lovefeast, in which we reviewed the difficult beginnings, and the successful progress in the Wachau, thanking the Father and Lord Whom we serve. Br. Marshall took this occasion to announce that the founding of a new town in Wachovia was the chief object of his visit; and that in the new town the financial arrangements would differ from those now in force here, which would for the present not be changed.

*Nov. 19.* In the morning there was a Conference, and it was decided with which master-workmen the twelve boys should be placed. [Since the 5th they had been helping thresh, and cutting logs for a new house.]

*Nov. 24.* The Single Brethren celebrated their Festal Day, which was postponed in August. For the first time this winter the earth wore a snow-white dress, and it snowed all day more heavily than has been seen for many years.

*Nov. 25.* The little Choir of Married People celebrated their Covenant Day, postponed from September.

*Nov. 27.* Br. Marshall and several others rode to the town site not far from the fall in the Wach.

*Nov. 28.* The Brn. Ettwein, Lorenz, Sauter, and Reuter visited the site mentioned yesterday. The majority think this the best of the sites suggested for this purpose.

*Dec. 2.* In the evening there was a Conference, and the Saviour was asked [through the Lot] about the town site on this side of and near the Middle Fork, on the highway. The answer was "no."

*Dec. 3.* A committee of Brethren decided that as wheat is scarce this year, both here and in the neighborhood, cornmeal shall hereafter be mixed with flour for bread.

*Dec. 5.* A new town site was found on the Petersbach.

*Dec. 19.* Br. Marshall held another Conference to consider the town site of the Petersbach; the decision was against it. The Lord advised us that we were to select a site between the Petersbach and the Lech.

*Dec. 26.* This evening at six o'clock was the wedding of the four couples who were betrothed on the 8th of this month. A wedding sermon was read, and then Br. Ettwein married two couples and Br. Graff two. Following the service the blue ribbon was fastened into the caps of the four Sisters.

*Dec. 27.* The four couples who were married yesterday had a delightful breakfast with certain of the Church Officials.



*Dec. 28.* Br. Marshall and Br. Gammern left for Brunshwig, to wait upon the new Lieutenant Governor, and bid him welcome.

*Dec. 29.* We had very changeable weather today. In the morning it rained; toward noon cleared up warm. Toward evening there was a north-east storm, with snow and sleet, during which we saw a beautiful rainbow. It cleared with wind from the north-west, and was followed by the coldest night we have had in a long time.

*F. W. Marshall's Notes concerning Wachovia.*

Bethlehem [Pa.] Feb. 1, 1764.

1) Concerning the Wachovia Diaconies I think it important that the Unity Diaconie, that of the former North Carolina Society, and the Little Congregation Diaconie of Bethabara should be kept separate. The Unity is the real Proprietor of the whole Tract, and after laying out the 35 [Etablissement] Lots there will remain at least 30,000 acres belonging to the Unity. \* \* \*

To offset the annual Quitrents there is the receipt of the annual Quitrents from the interested parties [Etablissement Subscribers] in Europe, from the Bethlehem Lot, from the Bethabara Congregation for its Lot, and the Ground-rent from Bethania. \* \* \*

2) If the new town is now to be begun there is unfortunately no money on hand for it, and the Bethabara Oeconomie will be so reduced in men that it will hardly be able to care for its own Lot without assistance. There will therefore have to be unusual encouragement given if the new enterprise is to be successful, though any suggestions that can now be made can be only preliminary, and subject to change. However I will mention my thoughts:—Bethabara is largely a “Pilgrim Oeconomie,” and there are many, reports say most of the members, who are eager for a change, for they went thither with the understanding that a town would be built, and they would have their own family housekeeping separately. The site chosen for the new town looks as if it were land that would not otherwise have been used for twenty years, so it might be well to give the Brethren who move thither a building lot and out-lot free of charge for their lifetimes, in consideration of their many years of service, and also to furnish them with such building materials as do not cost us money, such as timber from the woodland, though cut where it shall be directed. Those who accept this proposal shall first assist in the erection of several public buildings, and for that time shall remain in the Oeconomie. \* \* \*

3) To rent land is not usual in Pennsylvania, because it is so easy to become actual owner thereof. But during the last war Bethania was begun on the rent plan, and so continues to this date, and there may be circumstances to make it advisable for others, for otherwise there is the chance that this great Tract will not be settled, by Brethren, in fifty years. And from an economic standpoint, if the Lots are not settled, and neighbors must come eight or ten miles across unoccupied land to reach the new town, there will probably be other stores and trades established in the neighborhood, to the injury of ours, but if those in our new town once get well started they will keep the lead.

4) The settlement of the Tract and its Lots is a difficult proposition, but I must say this:—the migrations of men are like the movements of a flock of sheep, where one goes the flock follows, without knowing why. In 1762 a crowd of people from the Jerseys and some from the settlement beyond the Lechah moved to Yorktown and Virginia. In 1763 the stream turned and many settled beyond the Lechah and across the Blue Mountains, as if that were the delectable land, until the war broke out, although the best pieces had already been taken. So last year also many men moved to North Carolina. I think that for a Lot owner to send settlers from Europe would cost more than it would bring in, and many could not endure the climate, which is much warmer than Pennsylvania. \* \* \* I think it would be best to attract people already in America by easy terms, and when it has a good name, and many wish to come, then prices can be raised according to the value of the land and the demand; and if the coming of people who wish to rent should induce a small migration thither leases would be called for and our profits increased. \* \* \*

5) If we want to keep the privilege of a separate Parish, or ultimately to become a separate County, we will need Freeholders, that is men who have their own property, as otherwise they have no right to vote, and may be put upon oath when they try to vote.

The method hitherto used of putting twelve Brethren in possession of 50 acres each pro forma, may answer for a time in an unorganized land, but so soon as things are brought into better order, or some one finds it to his interest to challenge our vote, there will be difficulties. \* \* \*

6) If through the influence of the Governor we should seek to have a separate County, \* \* \* I do not see how it would agree with the Act of Parliament, which did not enable us to bear witness in capital cases, or to serve on a jury, as we do not take an Oath.

F. W. M.

*Memorabilia of Wachovia.*

[Translated in full.]

As we review the past year our hearts are filled with holy awe, and tears of contrition and joy are mingled as happy hallelujahs and "Jesus miserere" alternate in the story of Bethabara and Bethania.

It has been a noteworthy year for us. Our Lord has let us feel His power and His grace and we thank Him for both, and beseech Him to continue to reveal Himself to us, to show us love or severity as He sees that we need, so that nothing contrary to His heart and mind may be done among us, and that He may be well content with His people. During this year He has given us special proof that we are His people and He our Lord and Chief Elder.

During the first months our dear and honored Brethren, Marshall and Frommelt, were still with us; and in February the site for the future town was found and accepted, even on the day when the Text was, "Let Thine eyes be open toward this house night and day, even toward the place of which Thou hast said, 'My name shall be there.'" [1 Kings VIII: 29.] We take this word as the foundation and will build thereon.

The visitation of the above mentioned Brethren will remain as a blessed memory.

In April we were glad to receive the Minutes of the General Synod, which were communicated to the congregation under a renewed realization of the Headship of our Lord. The messages to His Servants and to the Congregations we received upon our knees; and He led us to see wherein we in Bethabara had erred and gone astray, and led us back into the paths of peace.

The joyful and important instruction was this year received that we should lay more emphasis on the worship of God the Father, and on Oct. 1st, with thankful and happy tears, we as dear children prostrated ourselves before Him.

He has hitherto graciously guarded, protected and led us, has turned aside misfortune and harm from us and ours, His blessing has rested upon our houses, our workshops and our fields.

We have experienced the guardianship of His angels on many occasions, at home and on journeys.

The Brethren Marshall and Gammern visited our Governors at Braunschwig and Wilmington.

In February the Brn. Marshall and Frommelt returned to Pennsylvania.

Br. Ettwein took a trip through South Carolina and Georgia.

Br. Steiner went to Pennsylvania and returned with the Single Brother Ernst.

Br. Gammern went to Charlestown on business for the store, and it was both remarkable and precious to us that he was able to make the trip in safety, since he was so soon afterward called home.

We give special thanks for the protection of all our Brethren on their journeys to and from Charlestown with wagons and goods, five wagons having been sent in spring and five in the fall.

Br. Holder went to Pennsylvania in November, and Br. Steiner went to Charlestown to meet the Brethren coming from Europe.

We have been kept from harm by land and sea. Our Brethren have frequently been in danger from snakes, which have been numerous and vicious this year, and several persons in the neighborhood have died from the effect of their bites, though none of us have so been taken.

We are thankful also for the general health this year, which has been better than for several years past.

The Nachrichten, Wochen, and Daily Texts, have been received in due order and the Church services held as usual.

The following changes have taken place: Br. and Sr. Baumgarten were married here, and Br. and Sr. Kürschner in Bethania. Br. Miksch and wife took the place of Br. and Sr. Reuter in the store, and the Baumgartens succeeded the Schaub's in the Tavern. Br. Kürschner moved to Bethania and Daniel Hauser came hither from there.

The Oeconomus of the Single Brethren established Viertelstunden<sup>1</sup> for them and organized Bands and Classes among them. The Single Brethren also built a little Saal for their meetings and this made it possible for them to improve their sleeping hall.

The Single Brother Jacob Ernst came from Bethlehem to enter the service of this Oecomonie.

In Bethabara were born 1 boy and 1 girl. In Bethania 1 boy and 3 girls; total 6. Martin Hauser was received into the congregation at the last Gemein Tag of the year.

<sup>1</sup> The Viertelstunden were "quarter-hour," i. e., very brief, devotional exercises.



In Bethabara have died 2 Married Brethren, Gerit Zyn and our beloved Vorsteher Abraham von Gammern<sup>2</sup>; 1 Married Sister, Barbara Holder; 1 Single Brother, Johann Michel Sauter, Vorsteher of the Single Brethren; and little Marie Fockel. Total 5.

About 30 persons,—Brethren, or children of Brethren, have moved from Pennsylvania into our neighborhood, among them Johann Leinbach who has settled on a Lot in Wachovia.

Others of various kinds have also moved into the neighborhood.

More travelers passed than in any preceding year.

So far as we know, we stand in good favor with the Government. With our neighbors we are at peace, and have preached the Gospel to them in English and in German.

The tumult and unrest here and there in the land have not affected us.

At the close of the year there are in Bethabara 88; in Bethania 78, total 166, three less than last year.

### *1765, Bethabara Diary.*

[Extracts translated and grouped.]

[During this and the following years certain subjects receive so much attention from the Diarists that it seems wise to group the extracts under separate heads, though it should be understood that in the Diary all entries are chronological, regardless of subject.]

### *The New Town.*

*Jan. 8.* The Brn. Ettwein and Lorenz Bagge rode to the Petersbach looking for a suitable town site, but found nothing better than we have had. On the 14th another trip was made to the Petersbach; and on the 15th Ettwein and Michael Hauser went to the Lech, where they found good ground, only it had neither wood nor water. On the 28th the Brn. Marshall and Ettwein again examined the land in the fork of the Petersbach and Wach.

*Feb. 4.* The Brn. Loesch, Reuter and Lorenz again went to the Petersbach looking for a town site. *Feb. 5th* was the 45th birthday of Br. Marshall. In the evening the congregation had a Lovefeast

<sup>2</sup> Abraham von Gammern was born in Danzig, Nov. 6, 1717. In youth he was a silk dyer. Became acquainted with the Moravians in Holland in 1739; and joined them somewhat later. Held various positions of trust among them, usually in connection with business affairs. Was ordained a Deacon in 1747. Came to Pennsylvania in 1761, and to Wachovia, 1762, bringing with him his wife Juliana, m. n. Mansberger. He was Gemein Vorsteher in Bethabara, and did much to build up the trade of the Bethabara Store. He died Nov. 11, 1765, of fever. The neighbors declared he had been "ein Vater dieser Country," "a father of this country." This phrase occurs in the Diaries several times,—the Brethren also used it in speaking of Gov. Dobbs.

with him, in the course of which certain specially written poems were read for him. Some of the Brethren and Sisters wish a change in our common housekeeping, and Br. Marshall took this occasion to explain that the object of his visit this time was to select a site for a new town, and that with its beginning the desired changes would be made, but that they would be postponed until then; he also begged the Brethren and Sisters to serve the Oeconomie here faithfully, that their transfer to the new town might be blessed. After the Lovefeast there was a Conference, and two town sites on the Petersbach were considered, one selected yesterday and one today, but both were given up. *Feb. 6, 7, and 11*, the Brethren were out seeking suitable sites. *Feb. 13th* there was a Conference, but none of the suggested sites were accepted. *Feb. 14th*, Br. Marshall and several other Brethren again rode toward the Petersbach, and were so fortunate as to find an apparently suitable site near the Annenberg, on the side toward the Wach. This evening, in Conference, we asked the Saviour about it,<sup>3</sup> and He approved, for which we are very thankful, especially as the Text for today is "Let thine eye be open upon this house day and night, even upon the place of which thou hast said: My name shall be there." *Feb. 15th* the Brn. Ettwein, Frommelt and Lorenz visited the new site, and blazed the path that turned to the left from Salisbury road. On the *18th* there was a Conference about the beginning of the new town, etc.; and next day Marshall once more visited the site, accompanied by Ettwein and Gammern, and the two Bethania Brethren, Grabs and Michael Ranke. *Feb. 20th*, at seven in the morning, the Brn. Marshall and Frommelt set out for Pennsylvania, the Brn. Ettwein and Gammern accompanying them one day's journey.

*May 1st*, the Brn. Ettwein, Reuter and Göpfert, with two boys, went to survey the town site, returning the next day.

*Oct. 2nd.* Several of the Brethren went to the town site to lay off the Square, but having examined the ridge which joins the one hitherto intended they preferred the higher location as being further from the bottom along the Wach, and as giving more place for buildings. We will therefore give the matter further consideration.

<sup>3</sup> As is here indicated the use of the "lot" was not a hap-hazard drawing of straws as has been sometimes supposed. Only the Board of Elders was privileged to appeal to the Lord in this way, and all matters of serious import passed through their hands. The method was very simple—the Brethren first worked as near a conclusion as they felt able to go, in this case it meant that they carefully chose several sites in every way adapted to their purpose, then the Lord was reverently asked to make the final decision. Two or three "lots" were prepared, the wording varying with the question under discussion, but one was an affirmative, one a negative, and one left the matter open for further consideration. Sometimes only the affirmative and negative were used. Any one who studies the Minutes of the Board of Elders to learn of the custom at this period becomes deeply impressed with the faith, the obedience, and the common sense of the Brethren, and the way in which the Lord directed them through this medium. As times changed men came to prefer other means of ascertaining the will of the Lord, and then the "lot" ceased to be used.

*Oct. 28th.* A company visited and examined the upper ridge, and found it could be used in connection with the lower ridge, so giving more place; the digging of wells was also considered, and the rod indicated that water could be secured. *Dec. 2nd* well-master Rothe estimated that wells would have to be 75 ft. deep in the lower Square, and 38 ft. in the upper Square.

*Dec. 30.* Br. Loesch and others began to cut a road to the town site. It was opened as far as the Spangenschach, and a foot path from there as far as the Petersbach.

### *General Items.*

*Jan. 7.* Peter Hauser, of Bethania, went to Court at Salisbury to give up his office as Constable.

*Jan. 13.* The Choir Festival of the Older Boys was held here for the first time. There were thirteen present, twelve from here and one from Bethania.

*Jan. 19.* The Brn. Marshall and Gammern returned from their journey to Brunshwig. They waited upon Gov. Dobbs, and were received in so friendly a fashion that it almost created comment. He sent a bundle of grapevines to be planted here. They also visited our old friend Mr. Hasel on his estate, and he greeted them as though they had been his own children. So in Willmington and elsewhere they have found that the Brethren are in favor with men. The Lieutenant-Governor, Col. Tryon, had gone to Edenton. Three gentlemen came with them from Willmington to see our settlement.

*Jan. 29.* Last night two sacks of flour and five deer-skins were stolen from the mill. The thief evidently came in through a loose board in the saw-mill, and went out through the door, taking the key with him, which would indicate that it was some one from the neighborhood, who may be found. *March 25.* John Waldon was brought in on his way to prison at Salisbury. He has lived on Strub's place near Bethania for about a year. He sold some skins to MacKrery, a store-keeper on the Yadkin, then stole them and resold them to Armstrong. Last week these skins were seized in Shouse's wagon at Salisbury, and were identified by MacKrery. [Shouse was taking a load of skins to Pine Tree Store<sup>4</sup> for Mr. Armstrong.] Last night, when Waldon's house was searched, two sacks of flour were found, which are probably those stolen from our mill. *March 26.* Mr. Doughted went today to the home of John Waldon to see the sacks of flour, but could not

---

<sup>4</sup> Pine Tree Store was probably in Lancaster County, South Carolina, not far from the North Carolina line.



prove that they were his, so no further claim can be made for them.  
*April 1st.* We hear that John Waldon (which, however, is not his real name) was whipped in Salisbury. In stripping him they found signs that he had suffered this punishment before,—he must be an arrant thief.

*Feb. 2.* Our four Widows and one Widower had their Covenant Day,<sup>5</sup> being joined by Mother Houser and Sr. Opitz from Bethania.

*Feb. 5.* Two large wolves have been shot on our land, one by Br. Richter and one by Henry Herrman.

*Feb. 11.* The Brn. Marshall and Gammern spent the morning with the house-holders in Bethania. Their Leases were translated into German, read, and explained point by point, and they were pronounced quite satisfactory.

*Feb. 14.* Br. George Hartman from South Fork was here. He and his neighbors unite in asking that a Brother and his wife may be stationed there, to serve them and their children; and they offer to build a house for school and meetings. He was told that they should present their request in writing.

*Feb. 15.* Daniel Houser has moved from Bethania into our Brothers House, and will assist Br. Georg Schmid in the smithy.

Again today many people came to the store with skins for sale. Br. Gammern will soon be at a loss how to pay for them in cash, even though the people always spend a good deal of their money at once in the store.

*Feb. 27.* Two of the Herrmans brought about 80 lbs. of deer-skins to the store. They and their company have been into the Shawano country this time, but have seen nothing of the Indians.

*March 1.* Two men came from the Cape Fear to the doctor. They brought several newspapers from Willmington, and in No. 21 we see that the Delawares, Shawanos, etc., have agreed to the Peace Preliminaries, have released all white prisoners, and have given several Chiefs as hostages until the Peace is ratified.

The boys have been divided into two room-companies in the Brothers House, with two Brothers in charge of each room.

*March. 4.* This afternoon, between two and three o'clock, our Br. Gerit Zyns died peacefully at the mill. At dusk it was announced with the usual tunes on the French horns.

The bridge across the Grassy Fork was repaired, for the King's Road to the Shallow Ford crosses it.

<sup>5</sup> The date is based on the presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple, Anna and Simeon being regarded as typical of Christian widows and widowers. Later the Widows' day was April 30th, and the day for the Widowers was Aug. 31st.



Br. Ettwein returned from the Hollow, where he preached yesterday morning, in English, in Dorchester's house, and baptised seven children of settlers in that neighborhood. As they asked for another service in the afternoon he read to them the story of Our Lord's Passion, to which they listened attentively.

*March 15.* Friday. Five wagons set out for Charlestown, loaded with 9400 lbs. deer-skins. About noon Br. Ettwein left for South Carolina and Georgia. On Sunday he will preach to the Germans in Hünkels Settlement beyond the Yadkin. He expects to reach Charlestown a few days ahead of the wagons.

Jacob van der Merk returned from South Fork, where he has been fixing George Hartman's loom.

*March 21.* The Brn. Loesch and Gammern went to General Court at Salisbury. Br. Shauss of Bethania took a load of deer-skins to Pine Tree Store for Mr. Armstrong.

*March 24.* A young man came with Loesch and Gammern. He was sent by Lieutenant-Governor Tryon to get all kinds of seeds from us for the plantation which Tryon wishes to lay out.

*April 9.* Br. Loesch went to the Court at Salisbury.

*April 10.* Br. Holder shot a very large wild-cat in our hen-house. It had killed a cock, and had badly bitten a hen;—this has happened before.

*April 14.* The betrothal of Br. Kirschner and Sr. Opiz, which took place yesterday at Bethania, was published to the congregation.<sup>9</sup> *April 16th* Br. Graff recommended the approaching marriage of Br. Kirschner and Sr. Opiz to the prayers of the congregation. *April 21st* Br. Kirschner's engagement was again publicly mentioned, and a blessing asked upon it. *April 23rd* Br. Kirschner was relieved from service in the kitchen, and in the afternoon moved his belongings to Bethania; and toward evening, in a gathering of the Married People, he was married to the widow A. Maria Opiz, in the name of the Holy Trinity and with the blessing of the congregation.

*April 17.* Adam Spach and the wife of Peter Frey took their daughters, nine and six years old, to the school at Bethania.

*April 20.* We heard from Salisbury that our old, beloved, Gov. Dobbs passed away on the 29th of last month; also that the Treasurer of this Province, Starkey, has died.

*May 4.* Saturday. The new Saal Dieners, Br. and Sr. Aust, and Br. and Sr. van der Merk, took part in the Saal Dieners conference;

<sup>9</sup>This series of entries shows the way in which the Brethren "published the Banns" for a wedding, which was then required by law.

the former couple served at the Lovefeast in the evening. At the Lovefeast the Covenant Day of the Single Sisters<sup>7</sup> was brought into affectionate remembrance.

*May 8.* This afternoon we had a thunderstorm which was really a cyclone. In the path of the heavy wind large trees were torn up by the roots. Here the old sleeping hall was blown down, and roofs were blown off. Water poured into the houses through roofs and doors and windows until the floors were flooded. This lasted a good half hour, and when it was over we thanked God that our poorly built dwellings had stood the storm.

*May 13.* Two men came from Maryland. One of them worked for a while in the mine on New River, and confirmed the report we had heard that Capt. Sawyer and another man had been drowned in crossing New River.

*May 20.* In the morning we had Conference. Two or three of the Brethren stated in writing that they wished to set up housekeeping for themselves, and requested permission so to do. In answer they were reminded of Br. Marshall's declaration in the Saal on Feb. 5th, [that such steps should be postponed until the settling of the new town.] *May 22nd* [Dr.] August Shubert again sent a letter to the Conference in which he declared positively that he would leave unless he could have his wife entirely for his own service instead of her giving part time to the farm, and unless they could have what clothing they wished without asking for it. We received permission to say to him that "The door is open", which the Brn. Graff and Gammern will communicate to him this evening. *May 24th* Shubert spoke rather more humbly with Br. Graff, and learning that the permission to leave was given with the approval of the Lord he will carry out the plan as promptly as possible. *May 26th.* Several of the Brethren and Sisters have been spending much time with the Shuberts. *May 28th.* At six this morning the Shuberts left for Springhill in Adam Spach's wagon. They seemed bitter, and said goodbye to no one except the Georg Schmids and the van der Merks. *June 25.* The Aeltesten Conferenz decided unanimously to omit the Communion this time on account of the trouble which the Shuberts started, and which has come to light as time has passed. We are greatly worried over the condition of affairs. *June 26th.* All the married Sisters here were called together in the Saal, and a written declaration was read

<sup>7</sup> May 4, 1730, Anna Nitschmann and seventeen other young, unmarried, women in Herrnhut formed an association, pledging themselves to have their entire life and all its relationships dedicated to the service of Christ. When the system of Choir Days was arranged May 4th was naturally selected for the Single Sisters. Neither in the original organization nor in the Choir was there any opposition to marriage, if entered into in the proper frame of mind.

to them, setting forth the whole Shubert matter;—it had a good effect. Next day, after dinner, all the communicants gathered, and Br. Ettwein discussed the circumstances with them, explaining what was wrong, and why the Communion could not be held. They were much moved.

*June 27.* Georg Schmid came to talk with Br. Graff, and said he believed the Shuberts had bewitched him and his wife. [At the August Communion most of the members attended, though the Georg Schmid, van der Merks, and Sr. Dixon were under discipline until the end of the year, being re-instated the latter part of December.]

*May 21.* Br. Richter was sent yesterday to a man in Hinkel's Settlement, who recently spent counterfeit money here. He was told that he must come and make it good, or it would be taken up at the next Court. Recently there has been much counterfeit money in circulation, both Proclamation and Virginian.

*May 24.* At present there are many catapillars here and there in the meadows, and they have eaten away patches of the grass.

*May 31.* Johann Leinbach, his wife and seven children, with two wagons, arrived after a five weeks trip from Pennsylvania. *July 5.* The Brn Ettwein and Graff visited Johann Leinbach on his farm<sup>8</sup> three miles behind Bethania. He has built a small house, and is preparing to clear land for turnips.

*June 11.* Br. Ettwein went to the South Fork to see the company that arrived yesterday from Pennsylvania:—Christian Frey, his parents, his brothers George and Valentine Frey, the latter's son-in-law, Friedrich Böckel, and their wives and children, some twenty persons in all. Kapp, a single man who started with them, was drowned in the Potomac.

*June 15.* Br. Graff baptised the two-months-old son of Henry Civili, a Swiss from Bryands Settlement. He was named John.

*June 19.* The Brn. Graff and Gammern rode to our lands on the Town Fork, and talked with our tenant Messer. Car Mickel, from Pennsylvania, is here again, and is complaining much about this land, to which he had a claim prior to ours, but he had neglected it so long that it had been declared vacant, and we had been given lawful possession. Next day Br. Gammern arranged a compromise with Mickel, paying him £38 N. C. currency, and receiving from him his Deed.

*July 19.* In a letter from Br. Brodersen we read that "the young Earl Granville will settle with his creditors as soon as possible, and

<sup>8</sup>This was Lot No. 1, in the *Nord Carolina und Colonie Etablissement*. The original share-holder, Giller, gave the lot to Nathaniel and Anna Johanna Seidel, and they gave it to the Congregation of Bethlehem, Pa., which sold it to Johann Leinbach.



then take over his property from the Trustees. Meanwhile the Quit Rents shall be paid, and proper receipts shall be taken for them."

*Aug. 2.* From Bethania Br. Ettwein visited the people on Deep Creek, and held a meeting in the house of the elder Riesen.

*Aug. 17.* The special Prayer Day<sup>9</sup> for the girls was held in Bethania for the first time, the two little girls from Bethabara going thither with Br. and Sr. Graff.

*Aug. 21.* A man and his wife arrived on foot from Virginia. He is a shoemaker, and hoped to find work here. He reported that the two Cherokee Chiefs, who have been to England, have returned to Williamsburg. They have brought two German Missionaries, who will go with them to their land. *Aug. 23.* Br. Gammern received a letter from one of the above-mentioned Messengers to the Cherokees. His name is Hammerer, he was born in Strassburg, Alsace. He is with the Little Carpenter and his company at Chiswell's mine on New River. He sent a printed outline of his plan for work among the Indians, to civilize and humanize them, and declared that he wished to establish connections and a correspondence with us, which he thought would be necessary for the success of his work. May God prosper it! *Sept. 27.* Mr. Herbert wrote to Br. Gammern from New River, and mentioned that Hammerer had gone with Little Carpenter to the Cherokees, and had been well received by them, but that the entire Nation had been called out for war against the Shawanoes, Little Carpenter among them.

*Aug. 29.* The Under Sheriff, Mr. Frohock, came to collect the taxes. He told us that recently, as he was putting his horse into a stall, a black and red spider hanging there bit him on the lip. He soon swelled, and for many hours lay speechless and unconscious, and nearly died; the juice of *Robert Planting*, the herb for poisons, had done him good service. He was not yet quite well, and the color of his skin resembled that of the spider.

*Sept. 7.* The Married People here had a blessed Covenant Day. [It was celebrated in Bethania on the 8th.]

*Sept. 10.* A company of men were here from Virginia. They said they represented some thousands more who wished to leave Virginia, and they were looking for land, and intended to go as far as Florida and Mississippi.

<sup>9</sup> The spiritual blessing which came to the Moravians in Herrnhut, Aug. 13, 1727, has already been noted. During the next days the children also were reached, Aug. 17th of the same year being the date of the conversion of eleven-year-old Susanna Kuehnel. In 1765 Aug. 17th was observed for the little girls, and June 24th (Day of St. John the Baptist) for the little boys, but later both boys and girls celebrated the 17th of August.



The son-in-law of the elder Fiscus, and his father, with a wagon and cart, were in Bethania, coming from Maryland. They said that more than a hundred families there had lost their farms through the running of the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and that many would move to Carolina.

*Sept. 23.* Br. Gammern, accompanied by Andreas Betz, went to Salisbury to General Court. He returned the 26th, and told of the critical situation and great bitterness throughout the land because of the Act of Parliament concerning the Stamp Duty;—may the Lord graciously guard us that we are not brought into danger thereby.

*Oct. 23.* Br. Loesch went to Lischer's Creek to investigate the events of several days ago when young Naaf shot and killed a single man, van der Boole, with whom he was hunting.

*Oct. 31.* A company of travelers from Pennsylvania brought a newspaper of Oct 3rd, this year, in which we saw that in all the English Colonies there is great unrest because of the Stamp Act. Also that there is a negro rebellion in the Bay of Honduras.

*Nov. 5.* Mr. Churton came for some information relative to the map of North Carolina on which he is at work. Br. Ettwein could assist him with the map of South Carolina we have recently received.

*Nov. 6.* This was the birthday of Br. Gammern, who, however, was taken with fever yesterday. Today the fever was high, and lasted all night. *Nov. 8th.* In the morning he seemed brighter, but in the afternoon the fever rose, and was very high all night; then he began to perspire and was more comfortable. *Nov. 10th.* This morning Joseph Müller was sent to Salisbury for Dr. Noonham. Br. Gammern, after the fever fell a little, was quite bright, and was visited by several of the Brethren, with whom he was able to talk. His wife asked him whether he thought he would be called home, and he answered "I think not, or else the Saviour has not revealed it to me." Toward evening he had a hard chill, followed by high fever, which continued all night. The next morning, *Nov. 11th*, about five o'clock, he broke out into a profuse perspiration, but it gave him no relief, and in a few hours it was evident that the Saviour was bringing the end quickly. Several of the Brethren around his bed united in the Liturgy for the departing, and toward noon he quietly passed into the arms of Jesus, with the blessing of his congregation and of his Choir, who were deeply impressed with the nearness of the Saviour. After the death had been announced as usual by the musicians on the trumpets the congregation assembled in the Saal, and after the usual Liturgy fell on their knees and Br. Graff poured out the sorrow of our hearts in these words: "O

dearest Saviour, our eyes are wet with tears, and yet we thank Thee for the peaceful end of our beloved Br. Abraham, and for his faithfulness, and for his successful work among us. May Thy peace, which rested on him, go with us into the future. Amen!"

This afternoon word was sent to the Town Fork, Yadkin, Doughtid's, and South Fork, and those who desired to come were invited to his funeral day after tomorrow.

Toward evening the doctor arrived from Salisbury, but his counsel and help were no longer needed.

Br. Gammern's remains were brought into the Conference Room in the Gemein Haus, and two Brethren watched by them during the night.

*Nov. 12.* Dr. Noonham left after dinner, taking a letter from Br. Ettwein to Col. Frohock, telling that Br. Gammern had gone home.

It was necessary today to place the remains in the coffin, and close it.

*Nov. 13.* This anniversary day was this time a day of sorrow for us. The first service was held at eight o'clock; in the second the Text for the day was considered. At eleven o'clock Br. Ettwein preached in English to a large congregation, many of them our neighbors. At the close of the sermon he read an English summary of the memoir of Br. Gammern. Then followed the funeral, which was attended by more than 200 persons, at least 150 being neighbors from various sections about us, who were as quiet and orderly as the Brethren themselves. After the burial these friends were served with buns and wine in the Tavern, it being necessary to use the buns which had been baked for the Lovefeast usually held on November Thirteenth. Many of our friends grieved with us for Br. Gammern, saying that he had been a father of this country. *Nov. 15th.* It was announced that Br. Gammern's duties would be assumed temporarily by a Diaconie Committee. *Dec. 1st.* At the evening service the Memoir of our departed Br. Abraham von Gammern was read to a most sympathetic congregation.

*Nov. 24.* Mr. Armstrong came from Salisbury. He told us much about the unrest there, and almost everywhere in the Province, over the Stamp Act;—we sigh and pray: "From tumult and uproar, deliver us, oh God!"

*Nov. 26.* The watch-house, built two years ago near the sheds, for protection against the Indians, was taken down, and was rebuilt in the cow-yard for a stable. *Nov. 27.* The old cabins at the mill, built for the refugees some years ago, were torn down and the best logs were brought here to be used in building another stable.

*Dec. 2.* A wagon was loaded with about 600 lbs. pottery and 1000 lbs. skins, for shipment to Pine Tree Store. The wagon will bring back goods for our store. [It returned *Dec. 19th.*]

*Dec. 3.* Adam Spach came with his wagon to take 140 lbs. butter and 300 lbs. tallow to the Cape Fear. *Dec. 24.* He returned, bringing us 25 bushels of salt from Cross Creek or Campeltown on the Cape Fear River. We are very glad to have it, for it is becoming scarce about here, on account of the decreased number of boats now sailing.

*Visitors to Bethabara mentioned by name.*

*Jan. 10.* Mr. Herbert, a superintendent in the mine on New River, came to the doctor. He has a swelling over the whole body, but as there is no suitable lodging for him for so long a treatment as this would require he was advised to return in the spring when the weather was good.

*Jan. 19.* With Br. Marshall on his return from Brunshwig came three gentlemen to see our settlement. They were Mr. Rutherford, brother of the Deputy Secretary, and Mr. Hooper, both lawyers, and Mr. Whitehurst, Lieutenant on a man-of-war.

*Jan. 30.* A man named Herd came from Oley in Pennsylvania. He wishes to buy or rent land in this neighborhood, and will go to the South Fork to see about it.

*Jan. 31.* At the singstunde were several visitors, among them a Mr. Stern from South Carolina, who loves the Saviour after his fashion.

*Feb. 1.* The merchant Mitchel, from Salisbury, came to bring a letter, and to see about his property on the Little Yadkin.

*Feb. 21.* Yesterday two Virginia hunters, named Bleven, came to the store bringing 1600 lbs. of skins and furs. Br. Gammern took them, though he could only get together £40 cash to pay for them. The men bought £40 worth of goods at the store.

*March 20.* Many people from the Hollow and from the Yadkin were here on their way to Court in Salisbury. Among them were Mr. Sween and his step-son. Mr. Sween was formerly the County Clerk in Eastown, and a good friend of the Brethren; he has lived in Virginia for some years.

*March 25.* Two gentlemen, Mr. Dunkon and Mr. Shaw, arrived from Willmington. The former is the leading merchant there, and wished to see about opening negotiations with us for trade. *March 27th.* The two merchants say the prospects for business here are not so large as reports in Willmington had led them to believe, so they will



not make proposals to us, for which we are glad. However, they left *well pleased*.

*April 6.* The two sons of Sr. Margaret Zyns came from Linchy's Creek, having heard of their father's death. On the *8th* they left for Salisbury to prove their father's Will at Court; he named Margaret and Valentine as Executors.

*April 24.* A German, Jacob Hahns, arrived with his family for the night. They left Saccona, near Bethlehem, in March.

*June 9.* The Under Sheriff, Mr. John Frohock, came to list the taxes.

*Aug. 26.* Col. Frohock, Clerk of our County, arrived toward evening. Later a chaise came, bringing Friedrich, Wilhelm, and Henrich Antes, of Pennsylvania, brothers of Sr. Reuter. *Sept. 5th* the Antes shared in Br. Reuter's birthday breakfast, and left about noon, well satisfied with their visit.

*Aug. 29.* Under Sheriff Frohock came to collect the taxes.

*Nov. 13.* Mr. Archibald Perry called on his return to Pennsylvania, to take letters for us.

*Dec. 5.* John Armstrong, from the Hollow, was here. He says three Northern Indians passed there, who said they had been to fight against the Catawbias, and that some of them had been killed.

### *The Weather.*

#### [A summary.]

January opened very cold; the middle of the month there were several warm, spring-like days, followed by a heavy rain, turning to snow which lay seven inches deep and froze, so that logs could be hauled on a sledge out of a damp piece of ground from which it had hitherto been impossible to get them.

In February there were two weeks of spring-like weather, followed by a freeze.

March was wet and cold, the peach blossoms were injured. On the 23rd there was snow and freezing weather.

April began with a soft, fruitful rain which was gratefully received as a raw, cold wind had made the ground very dry. On Easter Sunday, April 7th, the early morning service had to be held in the Saal on account of bad weather. The latter part of the month was dry and very hot, with occasional thunder storms. A much needed rain fell on the 30th.



May 8th there was a storm of cyclonic proportions, thunder, wind and rain. Trees were uprooted in its path and some damage was done in Bethabara. Two days later there was frost, then more thunder storms.

The early part of June frequent rains interfered with the hay making. The latter part of the month it was oppressively hot, then cooled a little, so that the grain could be cut in comfort.

July was very hot and dry, so that the gardens suffered.

In August there was much rain, and the first cases of the fever which during these years afflicted the inhabitants in the fall.

September opened cloudy and oppressively hot, then came cooler clear weather with improved health. Two rains are noted towards the end of the month and the first frost on the 30th, which, however, was not severe enough to hurt the garden.

The middle of October there was a hot, damp spell which ended with a severe thunder storm, which cooled the air and was followed by a light frost.

The weather in November provoked no comment. On December 3rd, there was a thunder storm, and twice during the month the evening meeting was omitted because of rain. Otherwise the weather was good.

*1765, Minutes of Helfer Conferenz.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 25.* Present the Brn. Marshall, Gammern, Frommelt, Lorenz, Graff, Loesch.

The *Powers of Attorney* which Br. Marshall holds from Hutton, and which he has authorized Br. Gammern to exercise in his name, shall be registered at the next Court, so that they may become effective as soon as possible.

*Jan. 28.* The question was raised whether we ought not to have Freeholders among us? This would be lawful in Bethania, and if their leases were made *for life* that would serve. So long as we take no active part in County affairs it does not matter that we have no Freeholders;—questions might arise about Dobbs Parish which would necessitate having them but just now it is not important.

Concerning Wills.—If any member have only a little to dispose of gifts can be arranged through two or three witnesses; but if he have considerable property a *lawful Will* is necessary.

*Feb. 5.* Present the Brn. Marshall, Ettwein, Graff, Loesch, Frommelt, Lorenz, and the Srs. Ettwein, Graff, and Bishoff.

The Brn. Marshall, Loesch, Reuter, Frommelt, and Lorenz have yesterday and today looked at sites for the new central town. There is one site a half mile from the center of the Tract across the Petersbach and the Wach. It is narrow at the lower end, but broader at wood for building would have to be brought two miles. We asked with *yes* and *no* "Whether this place, east from the head of the Petersbach, was approved by the Saviour as the site for the town?" "No" was drawn.

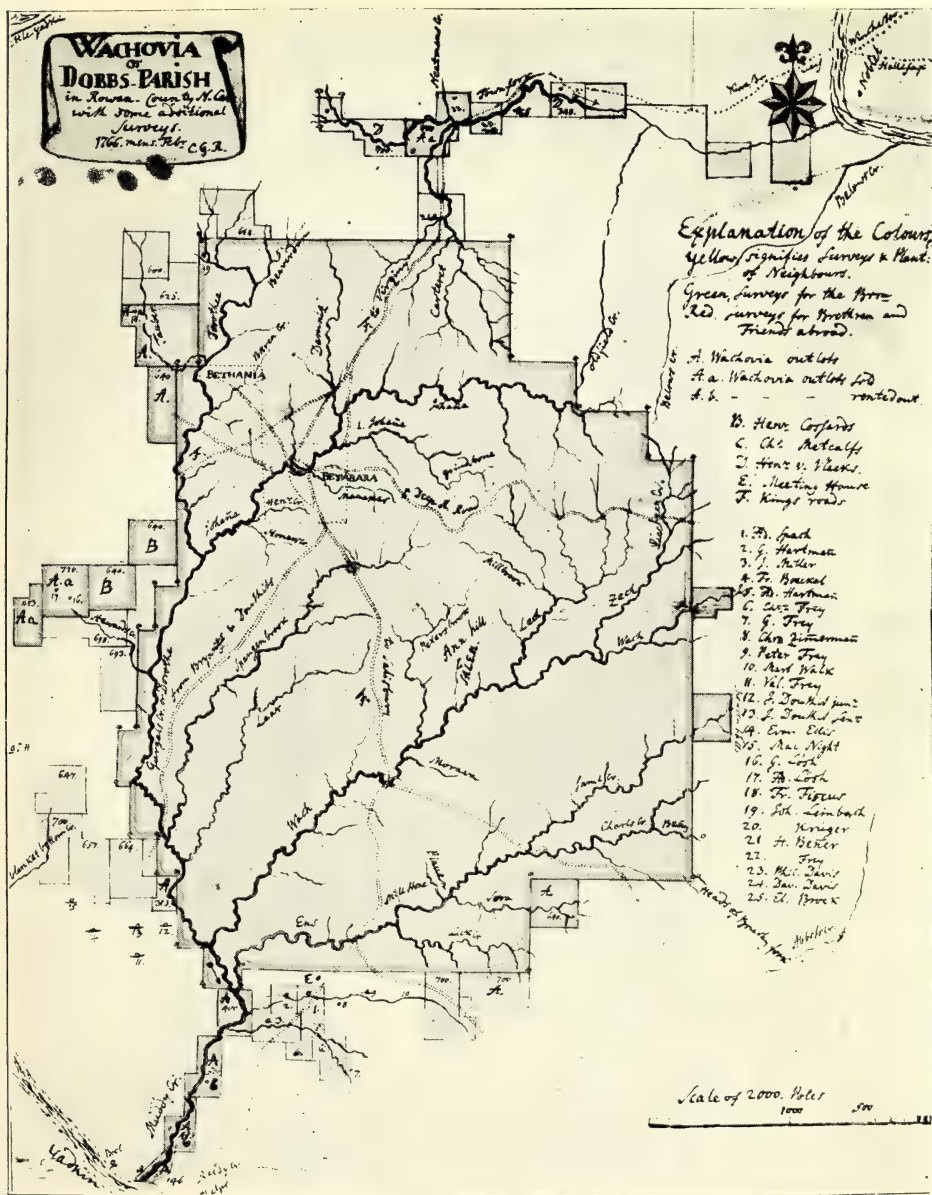
Then another place was discussed, lying in the forks of the Petersbach and the Wach. It is narrow at the lower end, but broader at the upper; water supply is not so good, but there are wood and meadow land convenient. It was asked "Whether the point where the Petersbach empties into the Wach shall be the site for the town?" Answer "No". And so another place must be found.

*Feb. 8.* We came together today to consider the town site. We have looked around and found a good place between the heads of the Petersbach and the Lech, at the head of a long branch; and another nearer the Wach above the Petersbach. The second was tried, and the "No" drawn. There is a beautiful place on the Annaberg not far from the first place there,—for which a blank was drawn,—there are two springs some 600 feet apart, and not far from the Petersbach, and as it is so hard to find the right place we presented this also, but the answer was "No". Now we must look toward the Lech and the Mill Creek.

*Feb. 13.* We have found a new place for a town between the heads of the Petersbach and the Lech; it lies on three ridges and is rather large. We have divided it into three sites, (1) toward the north, (2) between this and a run which empties into the Lech, (3) one toward the south, which connects with the Annaberg. These three and a blank were prepared, and the blank was drawn. We can do nothing more in the matter today.

*Feb. 14.* We have looked over two more places, one next that which we called Gammern's town site, and another nearer the Wach. Both were presented, as No. 1, No. 2, and a blank. No. 2 was drawn in the Lot.

It is pleasant that the Text today fits beautifully:—"Let thine eye be opened toward this house night and day, even toward the place of which Thou hast said, My name shall be there". [1 Kings VIII, 15.]



MAP OF WACHOVIA, 1766, WITH LIST OF OWNERS OF ADJOINING TRACTS  
(Original in Salem Land Office)





*Letter from Hammerer to Br. Gammern.*

[See Diary entry of Aug. 23, 1765.]

From Colonel Chiswell's Mines

Aug. the 1765.

Sir,

Various Circumstances preventing me from waiting upon you in person, as I at first proposed to do, I take the Liberty of writing to you from hence, tho' unknown to you, and to acquaint you with my Design of settling among the Cherokee Nation with a view, and from Motives, which you will find best explained in the inclosed Plan. The Character of Humanity and Generosity you bear among your Neighbours justifies my taking this Step to myself, and the Nature of the Plan, together with the near Neighbourhood of your Settlement to the Nation I am going to, may excuse me at least in thinking you concerned in the Dispositions of the Indians, and any material Alteration that might happen concerning them. And as it will be my Endeavours to promote & cultivate in those Parts Dispositions favorable to Peace, Friendship & good Neighbourhood, so I should be very desirous of doing to you and your Settlement every good Office my Situation and the Circumstances of Things might enable me to do.

But that you might be able to form a true Judgment of my Undertaking and the Progress I have made with it, I shall trouble you, Sir, with some Account of it from the Beginning. The Place of my Nativity is Strassburg, in Alsace, being born of Protestant Parents of what is called the Lutheran Religion, and brought up in this Profession. The civil and religious Oppressions which my Country is subject to under an arbitrary & Romish Government, made me in early Times look on my Country with Indifference, and after various Turns of Fortune I came to England. Here I had been upwards of ten Years before I entered upon the Design which now is become the chief Concern of my Life. The Scheme itself in which I labour and the Intention thereof sufficiently appear in the plan, and the Resolution annexed to it will shew how I propose to proceed from the first; I have hitherto kept strictly to it. \* \* \* Beyond anything, however, of what I could hope or claim, several worthy Gentlemen in England to whom my Intentions were communicated, promoted a Subscription to assist these Beginnings, and promised to do more if there should be any Hopes of Success. The Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough, first Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, with whom I had the Honour of a long Conversation on this Subject, was pleased to express his approba-

tion of my Plan and the Intention of my Undertaking, desired me to write to him of the Progress I should make in it, and promised to recommend it to the Board of Trade and promote it with his Interest as soon as I should let him know from the Nation that the People were disposed to receive the Benefit of Civilization. Charles Witworth Esq. Member of Parliament, and one of the Vice Presidents of the Society for promoting Arts and Manufactures, has also given his Word to employ his Credit & good Offices in promoting the Scheme, after he should have been informed from me of the Likelyhood of its meeting with Success among the Nation I should go to. My first Intention was to go among the Creeks, as you may see by the Plan; but whilst I was preparing to sail for Georgia, I read in the publick Papers of an Audience which some Cherokee Deputies had of the Board of Trade, at which they expressed the Desire of their Nation to have some Persons sent among them capable of instructing their Youths in Reading, Writing, and the Understanding of Things, which I looked upon as a good Opportunity of forwarding my Design, and took therefore with the Approbation of the first Encouragers of it, my passage in the Company of these People, with whom I arrived safe in Virginia on the 24th of June. Here, understanding that these Indians, one of which had passed in England for a Chief and a Man of Authority in his Nation, were People of little Account, and, at the same time, that the Little Carpenter, a Man well affected to the English and of known Influence among his People, was coming to Williamsburg on Account of what lately happened in Augusta County, I thought it advisable to wait his coming and see how He should approve of my Design; the Result of which was that, in consequence of some strong Recommendations from England in Favour of my Undertaking, and their own Sense of the useful Tendency of the Scheme, willing to shew their Readiness to encourage even weak Attempts in a good Cause, the Honourable the Governour & Council of Virginia generously resolved to bestow upon me a Bounty of £40, and to defray the Expenses of the Carriage of my Goods to this place. At the same Time the Governour recommended me and my Undertaking to the Little Carpenter in Publick and Private, and also to Mr. Cameron, Deputy to Mr. Steward Superintendent for Indian Affairs and the other Headmen of the Cherokees by Letter, and the Little Carpenter promised to take me under his Care and Protection. On the 18th of July the Little Carpenter, myself, and our company left Williamsburg, and being joined at Colonel Peter Randall's by Colonel Chiswell, we arrived under this Gentleman's Conduct, on the 6th of this Month, safe at this Place; which the Indians propose to leave in a few Days to return to their

Nation, and whither myself and a Companion of mine intend to follow, recommending ourselves to the Guidance & Protection of Divine Providence. \* \* \* After our arrival in the Nation, from the Result of their Councils, their Dispositions may be discovered and communicated to Colonel Chiswell, who will no doubt further inform you of the same, and also be so kind to convey any Letter to me, with the first Opportunity, which you should be pleased to favour me with.

I am very respectfully

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant

JOHN DANIEL HAMMERER.

*Remarks concerning the Laying Out of the new Congregation  
Town in the center of Wachovia.*

Bethlehem, July, 1765.

A Congregation-Town differs from other Congregations in that it is more like one family, where the religious and material condition of each member is known in detail, where each person receives the appropriate Choir oversight, and also assistance in consecrating the daily life. This must be considered in deciding the form of the Town Plan.

The departed Jünger has remarked that close building, as in a city, is not suitable for this, nor the many-storied apartment houses, as the large number of residents and the mixture of families, and the inconvenience it occasions as to barnyards, is disadvantageous for all and especially for the children. In a Congregation-Town, therefore not more than two houses should be built side by side (which also lessens the fire risk,) and where possible each family should have a separate house.

Here in Pennsylvania it is customary in new towns to make each lot wide enough so that there may be an entrance beside the house to the yard behind, as most people do some farming, and the lots are deep enough that in addition to the yard there is a garden, which is very convenient for the owner; and the warmer the land the more comfortable this method is. Among us it is not only an economical arrangement, but particularly good for the children, who can thereby have room for their recreations under oversight.

On the other hand it must be remembered that the lots should not be made too wide, or the town will spread out too far, especially if



the first thought is to occupy the land, and the family comes second, for it is not to be expected that the Choirs of Single Persons will be as large as they are in Europe, and consequently for a given population more family houses will be needed, with their lots, etc. The inconvenience of a wide-spread town is that the Brethren and Sisters can not so often attend the evening services or those of a day when there are many meetings, and the daily life of the Congregation, as one large family, can not be so well supervised by the Ministers and other Congregation officers.

With these principles in view the Conference has considered the Plan for the town, and thinks the size of the lots in Lititz, which has proved convenient there, might be used,—that is 66 ft. broad, and 200 ft. deep, or thereabouts. An exception could be made in special cases, where it did not interfere with any more important feature.

I have made several plans, partly like Niesky, with one main street running across the middle of the Square, partly like Gnadenberg, with cross streets. Of them all the enclosed has received the most approbation. Br. Reuter considers it important that the main street runs in a straight line from the Wach, through the town, and beyond it; I think too that this will be best, so I have provided for it in all the suggested plans. I have made it 60 ft. wide, as in Lititz, where the main street was originally only 40 ft. but that was found to be too narrow, and it was learned that 60 ft. was not too wide for the main street; the other streets are 40 ft. The Square is different in proportion but about the size that Br. Reuter suggested. The Gemein Haus, Saal, Boys' and Girls' School, their kitchens and gardens, are all together; then the Widows' House, and the House for the Single Sisters, which if desired may have a wider frontage. (All of these lots can run to the bottom land, and beyond if it is needed for gardens.) On the other side will be the Widower's House, or whatever of that kind of building may be needed. A Single Brothers' House is a manufacturing center, and an important business feature of the Congregation, and may well stand beside the Widowers' House, and keep all the business together; it would not be well to put these among the family houses. Besides they will need much room, which could be found in the lots opposite the Gemein Haus, running back some distance. \* \* \* In order to keep the plan symmetrical the Store might be placed on the lower corner, since it also is larger than a family house. \* \* \*

This town is not designed for farmers but for those with trades, but until the town has so grown that each resident can support his family with the money earned by his handicraft or profession it will



be necessary, as in Lititz, for each to have an out-lot and a meadow where he can raise his bread, flax, etc. and winter a cow, so that each family may have milk and butter, and perhaps also keep a couple of pigs, and so have food with little outlay of money. \* \* \* The Pennsylvania fashion of permitting men to build at all ends of the town, before the center is occupied, so that for years houses are really scattered about in the woods, is not suitable for us. \* \* \* It might be well to lay out the entire town, and then allow men to fence and cultivate the unused lots without charge, on condition that they surrender them as needed, though I do not know whether they would be willing to put the work on as poor land as most of it is, and clear it of stones, if they cannot hold it.

I do not advise the building of log houses, as there is not enough of the proper timber in the whole neighborhood, but it will be better to use framework, like the apothecary shop in Bethabara, for which shorter timbers can be used; and an attempt should be made to use stone.

Friedrich Marshall.

P. S. I ask that a place be selected for the Square which is as level as possible, at least on the side where the large Gemein Haus and other buildings will stand, and also the side for the Brothers House and Store. The two other sides of the Square do not matter, we will treat them as best we can.



**PART IV**

**BETHABARA, BETHANIA AND SALEM**





## PART IV

### BETHABARA, BETHANIA AND SALEM

1766

[The Stamp Act caused much dissatisfaction in all the American Colonies. The people of North Carolina rose in force, Col. Hugh Waddell being one of the leaders, and compelled the officers of the Crown to annul the Act for this Province some months before word came from England that Parliament had reversed its former action, and had repealed the obnoxious Act.]

*Memorabilia of Wachovia.*

[Translated in full]

Although in reviewing the past year we must again exclaim, "O, our faces are covered with blushes when we think of the greatness of our debt of gratitude to our God!" yet we would remind ourselves of the following from among the manifold experiences of the grace, love and care of the Holy Trinity, and offer our humble and childlike thanks therefor.

Our dear Lord has permitted us often, yea daily, to feel His presence, and has comforted and strengthened us in our need and short-comings.

God the Holy Spirit has declared unto us the sacrifice of Jesus and has fed our souls with the Daily Texts, and with the reading of Br. Cranz' account of the blessed Mission of our Brethren in Greenland, and other Nachrichten, which has strengthened us in the inner man and has kept us in one heart and mind with the whole Unity of Brethren, scattered throughout the world.

The love of our Father in Heaven, His forethought for us, His care of us, body and soul, has often abashed us and has strengthened our trust in Him, and for this, on Oct. 1st, we bowed before Him with humble and childlike hearts, sang a liturgy, and offered our petitions as dear children to a dear Father.

In the first months of the year, we were rejoiced and strengthened by the safe arrival of the first company of Brethren and Sisters coming to us direct from Europe by way of Charlestown; and also by the tender and important letters from our honored Brethren of the Directing Board and Unity Vorsteher Collegium, which brought word that the

Lord had directed them and us to proceed with the building of the town SALEM. Already on Jan. 6th, before we received these letters, we had faintheartedly made a small beginning there, but now in hope and faith we took up the work, and on Feb. 19th, a little household of eight Brethren was established there, in childlike trust that He would bless and prosper the work of their hands. This year, for lack of help only one house on the main street could be built and occupied, and two houses away from the street, which were necessary for the housekeeping of the Brethren and for the outside workmen employed. But for this small beginning we thank our Heavenly Father and He will help us further next year.

The entrance into the Passion season, and especially Holy Week, were blessed days for us. The blessed Whitsunday festival will never be forgotten, for the Spirit tenderly revealed Himself to His poor children. On Sept. 16th the Conference, and on Nov. 13th the entire congregation, had a blessed day with their Chief Elder. The other festivals of Choirs and Congregation, and the Gemein Tage, were also blessed to us.

The re-establishment of the office of Jünger for Choirs and Congregation, which took place in the latter part of the year, leads us to expect new blessings at the hand of our Lord and has meant much, especially to those serving for the first time.

Br. Ettwein's visit to Bethlehem, as delegate to the Provincial Synod, has brought us into close touch with its proceedings, and with the Visitation of Br. David Nitschmann to the Pennsylvania Congregations. As Br. Ettwein recounted to us these things we saw many points in which we had fallen short of the aims of Jesus and of the Unity, and the sorrow expressed to our Chief Elder will surely not be without result.

That our honored Br. Leonard (Dober) has been called into the joy of his Lord has touched our hearts, partly because of his many years of consecrated service in the Brethren's Church, in its Choirs, and among the heathen, partly because of the vacancy made in the Directing Board. Together with all other members of the Unity we beseech our Head and Chief Elder that He, Himself, will graciously fill this vacancy, and that He may powerfully support the members of the Directing Board and other Unity Boards, may bless them with His dear presence and direct them in all things according to His mind and heart for the best welfare of the entire Unity.

The grace which our Lord and Chief Elder vouchsafed to His Brethren's Church at the last General Synod, and which He has wonderfully

shown to them since that time, appeared to us so worthy of adoration, as on Nov. 21st we re-read the two important letters from the Directing Board and the Unity Vorsteher Collegium, that eyes and heart overflowed with tears of thankfulness and love;—where is there upon earth a people so intimately led by the Lord their God!

The Sacrament has been celebrated monthly, and other special services held from time to time as in former years, and all with blessing to our souls.

As determined last year by the Directing Board, Br. Ettwein has exchanged places with Br. Matthaeus Schropp, the latter coming as Vice-Oeconomus of Wachovia and being heartily welcomed by all Brethren, and we eagerly await the arrival from Europe next year of Br. Friedrich Marshall as Oeconomus.

In October, a company of Single Sisters and Older Girls arrived from Bethlehem, so Bethabara now has a complete congregation with all Choirs.

Our six little boys, after long waiting, have received the Single Brother, Andreas Gross, as their director, and a school has been established for them.

Br. Richard Utley came to us in October from Pennsylvania, and since then he has not only preached here in English from time to time, but has done the same for our neighbors in the Hollow and on the Yadkin and has been invited to preach at a number of other places. This is important service, for the salvation of our poor neighbors and their children lies upon our hearts.

Mr. Harris<sup>1</sup>, a well-known Baptist from Virginia, visited here to acquaint himself with our doctrine and constitution and to talk with us. We hope this may be for his good and the good of those to whom he preaches, for at this time the Baptists are the only ones in the country who go far and wide preaching and caring for souls.

In material things, we have experienced the manifold blessings of God, our professions and trade, our herds and fields, have prospered. In the earlier months of the year, indeed, we were somewhat anxious because of our small stock of grain and provisions, for want and high prices increased from day to day in our neighborhood, and we were expecting considerable additions to our numbers, but by the very evident blessing of God, our supply lasted, not only for ourselves but for the

<sup>1</sup> Col. Samuel Harris, born Jan. 12, 1724, in Hanover Co., Va. He was at different times Church-warden, Sheriff, Justice of the Peace, Colonel of Militia, and Captain of the Mayo Fort. Was converted about 1758 and at once began to preach, though he was not ordained until 1769. He died in 1795.



hundreds of poor people who came here for bread, often from many miles away, and so far as we know, none went hungry away.

In spite of the critical and apparently dangerous unrest in this Province on account of the Stamp Act, the mighty arm of our Heavenly Father has been held over us, so that nothing has been demanded of us contrary to our conscience, but under His protection we have remained peaceful and undisturbed as the quiet people of the land. In spring the visit of Br. Ettwein to our new Governor gave opportunity to present to him an address from the Unity of Brethren in Wachovia, which he received with approbation, and expressed a favorable sentiment toward us, both in writing and by word of mouth.

During the year we have again experienced the protection of God from harm and misfortune, for example, in the dangerous falls and injuries of several Brethren, threatening fire, danger from poisonous snakes, and also from evil men who sought to do us harm. The builders of Salem have also been guarded, though it seemed as though the powers of darkness were risen up against them, for over and over new ax-helves broke as though sawed in two, though no flaw in the wood could be discovered. And when the Lord has permitted something hard or unpleasant to happen to us, we have acknowledged His purpose and wholesome discipline and have bowed submissively thereto. We also give thanks for the safety of our Brethren and Sisters on their journeys here and there, especially the colonists who have come to us this year.

In health also this has been a marked year for us. Although various members were ill with fever in September and October, most of them recovered quickly, and we have the more reason to be thankful because there have been most alarming reports of the dangerous illness creeping through the surrounding country. We were also glad to have Br. Jacob Bonn sent to us from Bethlehem as our physician.

Our common housekeeping has been much enlarged this year by the arrival of three colonies. One in January from Europe, consisting of one Married Couple and eight Single Brethren, total 10; one in October from Bethlehem, consisting of two married couples, five Single Brethren, one Widower and eight Older Boys, and another of twelve Older Girls and four Single Sisters, among them Sr. Anna Maria Krause as Pflegerin and Vorsteherin, total 34. Five boys and two girls were born here, total 7, making a grand total of 51, which is more than in any other of the thirteen years of the Wachovia settlement.

One married couple with their child moved to Bethania; Br. and Sr. Ettwein with their child went to Bethlehem; Br. Scheffler, who brought the colony of boys, also returned thither; one little boy and one little girl died.



At the close of last year Bethabara had 88 souls. This year there are

18 married couples	36
Widowers	3
Widows	4
Single Sisters	3
Older Girls	12
Little Girls	5
Single Brethren	36
Older Boys	20
Little Boys	11

---

Total 130

an increase of 42.

Last year Bethania had 78, this year there are

18 married couples	36
Widower	1
Little Boys	27
Little Girls	23

---

Total 87

an increase of 9. In both Congregations there are 217, an increase of 51.

### *1766. Bethabara Diary*

[Extracts translated and grouped.]

#### *Building the New Town.*

*Jan. 6th*, Monday, a dozen Brethren, partly from Bethania, partly from Bethabara, took a wagon and went to the new town site where in the afternoon they cut down the trees on the place where the first house was to stand, singing several stanzas as they worked. Trees were then felled for the house which should, when completed, shelter the builders and other workmen. Certain Brethren and boys finished clearing the road opened last year. The Brethren Ettwein and Loesch were present and remained over night with the 12 Brethren, putting up a tent for shelter. Our Text for the day was beautifully appropriate for this little beginning in building: "I will defend this city." [Isa. XXXVII:35.] Last night it was so piercingly cold that in our Apothecary shop certain drugs dissolved in distilled spirits froze and burst their bottles, but today it was somewhat milder.

On the 8th the Brn. Graff and Lorenz [Bagge] visited the place. Br. Triebel, chief carpenter, fell from the top of the wall while helping place the roof timbers, but was fortunately not hurt. On the 9th the five Bethania Brethren went home, leaving the seven from Bethabara to finish the rafters, which was accomplished by the evening of the next day.

On the 13th several Brethren drove the entire herd of 75 swine to the new town, where Peter Stotz was left to feed and guard them until they should become accustomed to the place. Food for them had given out at Bethabara, and the fields and meadows there had been ruined by their depredations. On the 15th and 16th, however, they all went running home, the ground being frozen so hard that they could not find roots on which to live.

Jan. 29th word was received of the near approach of the expected colony from Europe, and the Brn. Ettwein, Lorenz and Loesch at once went to meet them. They found them sweetly sleeping in the home of Christian Frey on the South Fork and did not disturb them until morning, Jan. 30th, and then accompanied them to Bethabara, where they were heartily welcomed.

In the afternoon the Aeltesten Conferenz<sup>3</sup> met and Br. Ettwein communicated the important letters which the European colony had brought from the Directing Board and the Vorsteher Collegium. They gave instructions concerning the building of the new town SALEM, which had been positively ordered by the Saviour<sup>4</sup> and should be at once undertaken.

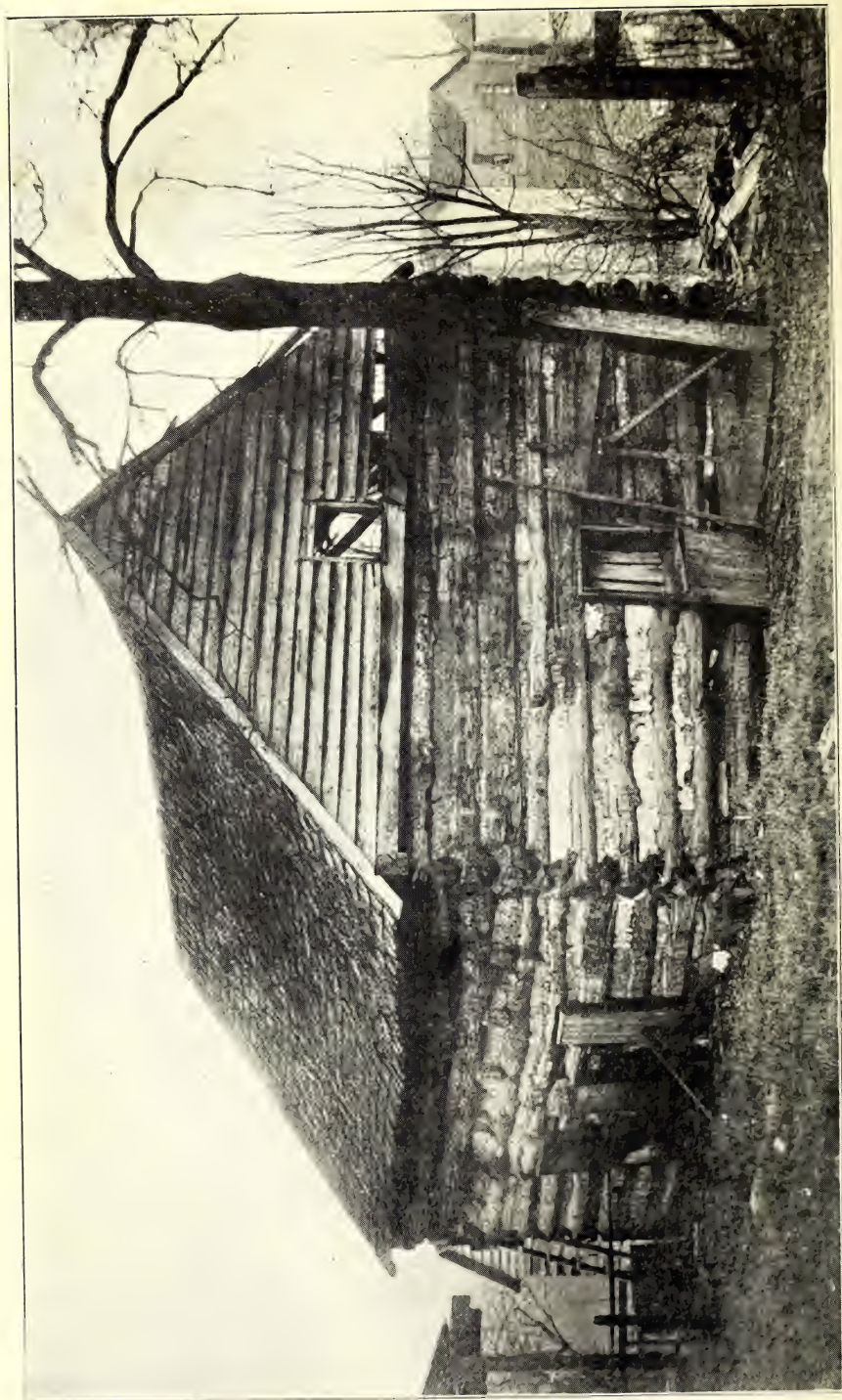
Feb. 5th the newcomers went to work, part of them making fences, others employed elsewhere. At 8 P. M. the communicants gathered in the Saal, and Br. Ettwein read to them the letters<sup>5</sup> mentioned above, asking their careful attention and their cooperation in the points concerning the building of SALEM, and the future arrangements and plan for Bethabara. With this in our minds, and with gratitude for the safe arrival of our Brethren, and in remembrance of our Oecono-

<sup>3</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>4</sup> Because the village of Bethabara was prospering the Brethren there were rather loath to carry out the original plan for the building of a central town to supercede it. The matter was referred to the Governing Board in Saxony, and they referred it to the Lord through the "lot." The affirmative lot was drawn, and read: "We are to tell our Brethren in America that the Saviour wills that Salem shall be the town in Wachovia for trade and the professions, and they shall be moved thither from Bethabara." The decision was rendered August 16, 1765.

<sup>5</sup> In answer to these letters Br. Johannes Ettwein wrote to the Unity Board: "The plans for Salem and Bethabara are wholly according to our heart, and tears filled our eyes as we rejoiced together over the clearness of the instructions. We will on our part use all diligence that the designs of our Lord for these towns shall be carried out as quickly as possible. And we will constantly pray our Father in Heaven that He may fill our hands with the means whereby our good will shall be made manifest. We know that we desire to serve the Lord with all we are and have, and in that spirit will handle every penny of our receipts and expenditures; seeking to do all things according to your directions."





FIRST HOUSE IN SALEM, N. C. BUILT JANUARY, 1766, AND FELL JANUARY, 1907



mus, Friedrich Wilhelm Marshall, whose birthday is today, we then partook of the Cup of Thanksgiving, covenanting together to live only for our Lord and for the furtherance of His designs for Wachovia as set forth in these letters, and pledging heart and hand as His true servants.

*Feb. 10th* a company of Single Brethren were selected to begin active work in Salem and would have gone thither at once, but a heavy snow storm came on, which lasted all day and delayed them for a week. Meanwhile a bridge was built on the Salem road across a branch of the Spangenhach. This and other work on the road was finished by the 18th, and on *Wednesday, the 19th*, eight men moved to Salem to remain there for a time and make a real beginning with building. They were Georg Holder, Steiner, Ziegler, Melchior Rasp, Petersen, Praezel, Jens Schmid and Birkhead<sup>a</sup>. Petersen and Praezel were to hold morning and evening prayer for the company, Petersen to look after the kitchen and write the Diary. On the way to Salem they shot two deer. The Brn. Loesch and Lorenz went with them, the latter remaining over night. Our two wagons took tile [for the roof], brick [for the chimney], bedding, and an outfit for cooking.

Next morning the Brn. Ettwein, Graff, Reuter and Loesch went to Salem, and Reuter ran a straight line along the ridge and about the middle staked a place for a Square, though its permanent location was not to be definitely determined until the streets were cut at the four corners and a clearer idea secured as to the general appearance, and whether it would be better to move the Square back a little and get a better situation.

Next day Reuter ran the streets around the suggested Square. A wagon took roof tile from Bethania to Salem, and this time only a few were broken.

On Saturday the Brethren returned from Salem to Bethabara, spent Sunday there and returned on Monday, [this remaining the custom throughout this year]. *Feb. 22nd* the Stundenbeter made Salem the special object of their intercessions.

*Feb. 26th* the Brn. Ettwein and Lorenz went to Salem, where Reuter had finished running the lines for two main streets along the ridge. He

<sup>a</sup> Four of the eight men had come with the European party on Jan. 30th. Of these two were Danes—Nils Petersen, born April 3, 1717, in Holstein, and Jens Schmidt, born at Seeland, July 25, 1731. Gottfried Praezel was a German, born Dec. 27, 1739, at Ebersdorf, near Löbau; and John Birkhead was an Englishman from Huddersfield, Yorkshire, born Sept. 28, 1739. Praezel was a weaver by trade, Petersen a brewer, Schmidt an anchor-smith, and Birkhead had been trained in a cloth factory. Of the other four, two were from Pennsylvania, Jacob Steiner, a miller, born July 25, 1734, near Lancaster, and George Holder, a farmer, born Jan. 27, 1729, at Oley. Melchior Rasp was born at Salzburg, Germany, Jan. 8, 1715; he was a master-mason. Michael Ziegler came to Bethabara from Bethlehem in 1764. All but two became permanent residents of Salem. Ziegler left the Moravian Church and drifted away. Holder moved to a farm near Bethabara, and is buried on the Bethabara graveyard.

had laid off several squares 400 x 300 feet, one of which was to be selected for the [open] Square.

*March 3rd* a Helfer Conferenz was held and it was decided that the first house to be built in Salem should be a one-story family house<sup>7</sup>.

*March 7th* a number of the Bethabara Brethren visited Salem. Reuter ran a level from three springs above the cabin and from one in line with the lower<sup>8</sup> street, the latter could be led to the middle of the upper square, No. 2, the others to the corner of the lower street. It was plain that the Brethren nearly all favored No. 2 as the main Square. A great eagle was seen overhead, was shot, and fell only about ten feet from the Brethren by the spring, where it was seized by the dog and then killed by the Brethren.

*March 13th* an apple tree and about 40 peach trees were planted at Salem.

[During the rest of March the work at Salem progressed as seemed most convenient, some of the men assigned to that place staying at Bethabara to help with the ploughing, etc. There were visits at frequent intervals to the new town and the wagons continued to take supplies thither. On *the 24th* it is reported that the cabin has a good door and has been plastered inside. On Sundays a guard remained there while the rest went to Bethabara, sometimes two men went from Bethabara to relieve the Salem Brethren from duty.]

*April 7th* five men went from Bethabara to Salem to fell trees and hew logs for a cabin for stranger workmen, who would be employed in the work. Reuter ran a level from the upper spring on the east side of the ridge and found it could be led to the street behind the high hump, which was important in considering the location of the Square. On *the 10th* Jacob van der Merk measured the slope of the two Square sites under consideration, and found No. 1 only two feet steeper than No. 2.

*April 12th* Ettwein, Graff, Loesch and Reuter went to Salem, and after further consultation with each other and Br. Lorenz, it was decided that the square marked No. 2 on Reuter's map should be the [open] Square<sup>9</sup> and he at once laid it off 380 feet long and 300 feet wide. They also decided that building should begin at the west corner and go north and sites were selected for the two houses next to be erected. North-east, on the height behind the outer street, a site was selected for a grave-yard, two or three hundred feet from the street.

<sup>7</sup> In numbering the houses built in Salem the Brethren did not count the cabin begun on Feb. 19th, nor the cabin for stranger workmen. The first cabin, however, stood for more than a century—served for many years as a potter-shop.

<sup>8</sup> The "lower street" was Main street—it lay lower than Church street.

<sup>9</sup> This Square, which was to be left open, and about which the chief buildings were to be placed, was the block now bounded by Main, Church, Bank, and Academy Streets.

On the 14th Melchior Rasp, on his way to Salem, fell, driving his pipe-stem against the roof of his mouth and injuring it severely. The wound became infected, the throat swelled, and finally opened inside and out, and it was seven weeks before he was able to return to work.

*April 22nd* Br. Triebel and his apprentice Strähle went to Salem and began work on the framing for the first house to be built on the lower street. The Brn. Herbst and Pfeil, with four boys, were also there to fell the trees on the building site and secure the bark.

On the 24th logs were hauled for the cabin for stranger workmen, which was raised on the 29th. A spring-house was also built, as two cows and their calves had been taken to Salem.

*Thursday, May 8th*, was Ascension Day, and Br. Lorenz went to Salem and held a service for the Brethren there. On the 17th another good spring was found; and on the 28th turnip seed was planted.

*June 6th* the Brn. Graff, Lorenz and Reuter went to Salem, and with the Brethren there, 18 in all, gathered about noon on the site<sup>10</sup> of the first house now to be erected on the main street. Br. Graff made a short address on the Text for the day: "I will have respect unto you and make you fruitful and multiply you and establish my covenant with you." [Lev. XXVI:9]. During the singing of the stanza:

"Der Grund darauf wir grunden  
Ist Christus und Sein Blut,"

Br. Lorenz laid the foundation stone on the south side, then Br. Graff offered an earnest prayer that the Holy Triune God would bless this building, consecrate it, and guard it from harm. A spirit of grace and love pervaded the entire service. Timbers were cut near the site, boards were hauled from Bethabara, and the framing of the house was raised *June 26th*, with the aid of a number of the Bethabara Brethren.

*July 22nd* the Brn. Schropp, Lorenz and Reuter went to the new town, taking well-master Rothe, who with his rod<sup>11</sup> sounded for water at the four corners of the Square, water being needed for building purposes,—plastering and brick-making. He estimated the depth at the higher places as 38 to 40 feet, at the lower as 26 to 28 feet. The Conference decided to dig the well where the water was nearest the surface and where it would be convenient for the building. Work was begun

<sup>10</sup> On the second lot from the north-west corner of Main and Bank Streets.

<sup>11</sup> The divining rod was a forked switch, preferably of hazel. One prong of the switch was held in each hand by the operator, parallel with the ground, and the switch was believed to turn down where water could be found. Belief in the power of the divining rod was general.



next day, water was found at 39½ feet, and when they had a stand of 8 ft, the well was walled and a pump installed, all being finished early in September.

The middle of August Joseph Müller began making brick in Salem, with the assistance of some outside workmen, his place being taken in September by Charles Colver, newly arrived from Bethlehem.

*Aug. 18th* was signalized by the first visit from any of the Sisters, seven of them being taken to Salem, in a wagon, by the Brn. Ettwein, Schropp and Graff. As the room in the new house, which was to serve as a little Saal ad interim, was far enough along to be used, in the afternoon a Lovefeast was held by the visitors and the resident Brethren, the first in the new town, so consecrating the room with joy and thankfulness, the company singing at the close of the service,

“Now thank we all our God  
With heart and hand and voices.”

*Sept. 27th*, a wagon was set apart for work at Salem, the teamsters being Stockburger and Kney.

*Oct. 1st* the Brn. Schropp and Lorenz went to Salem and assisted in laying the foundation stone for the second house.<sup>12</sup> This was to have two stories, and earnest prayer was offered that the blessing and benediction of the Heavenly Father might rest upon its erection.

On the *6th*, doors and windows were taken from Bethabara to Salem for the first house on the main street, and on the *10th* the first room was finished and Praezel set up his loom therein.

*Oct. 11th* there arrived in Bethabara a company of five Brethren, and eight boys, thirteen to fifteen years of age. On the *20th* four of these boys went to Salem with Lorenz and Beroth to finish clearing the main street. Heckewälder was placed with Br. Rasp to learn his trade as a mason; Flex with Br. Praezel to learn weaving.

*Nov. 17th* the two brothers George and Charles Holder moved into one of the rooms in the first house on the main street of Salem, Charles to make saddles, while George was delegated to search out the best way for roads to adjacent settlements.

*Dec. 8th* Valentine Beck moved into the third room in the new house, his quarters in Bethabara not being suitable for his work as gunsmith.

### *Bethania*

*Jan. 19.* Br. Ettwein read a sermon to the Married People. He also had a Congregation Council with the house-holders, and among

<sup>12</sup> On the north-west corner of Main and Bank Streets.



other things it was unanimously resolved to prepare for the building of a new Gemein Haus. Each house-holder will furnish about 100 ft. of boards.

*Feb. 18.* Br. Ettwein went to Bethania and held the Liturgy there. He also visited Br. Johann Leinbach, who has been in poor health all winter, and whose birthday this is.

*Feb. 22.* At noon Br. and Sr. Graff went to Bethania. From there Br. Graff visited Br. Leinbach, who is still ill; he also held Gemeinstunde in the evening in Bethania. Tonight a thief tried to steal corn from Heinrich Spoenhauer, but was frightened away. At present we hear of many such thefts here and there, and it is probably so, for there is a shortage of food everywhere.

*March 6.* At the earnest wish of Johann Leinbach, Br. Ettwein went there and after talking with him gave him the Holy Communion; his wife partook with him, and also Br. Michael Ranke, who had stayed with him all night.

*March 14.* This afternoon John Leinbach, Jr., came to Bethabara with the news that his father died quietly this morning.

*March 16.* This afternoon at two o'clock Br. Johann Leinbach was buried, near his home, on a hill, at a place he had himself selected. Br. Graff held the service, which was attended by about sixty Brethren and Sisters from Bethabara and Bethania.

*May 1.* We heard the distressing report that thirteen miles this side of Pinetree Store, Michael Hauser, of Bethania, who had gone with his wagon to Charlestown, fell under the wagon wheel and broke both bones in his leg. Abraham Krishan, store-keeper on the Yadkin, had been to Pinetree Store and had spoken with him, but did not tell us. We discussed what to do, and decided to ask Daniel Hauser to ride to Pinetree Store and visit his brother, which he was quite willing to do. *May 9th* the wagons returned from Charlestown, and Hauser's leg was so much better that he was able to come with them, and to walk a little with a crutch.

[Until April Bethania was served by the Brn. Graff and Ettwein from Bethabara. During the early summer Br. Bachhoff served as Reader, when needed, (besides teaching the Bethania school), and Br. Graff held some of the services. Br. Schropp arrived in July, and Br. Utley in October, and they, with Br. Graff, then served Bethania from Bethabara.]

*The Ens, or South Fork*

*Jan. 24.* The Brn. Ettwein and Lorenz went to our friends below the Ens, to decide about a place they have selected for the building of a meeting-house.

*Jan. 25.* The Brethren returned from the Ens. They have seen a piece of land that lies between the Wachau and the settlers, which would be suitable for the site of a meeting-house; we would have to take it up, and then let the people there have part of it.

*Feb. 15.* Br. Ettwein rode to the home of Peter Frey; tomorrow he will preach to the little company from the Ens neighborhood.

*Feb. 17.* Yesterday Br. Ettwein preached in Adam Spach's house, and later read a sermon to those at the home of Christian Frey, for because of the cold the congregation could not all gather in one place. The older Freys, [Peter, Sr.] have been married fifty years, and have 19 great grandchildren, 67 grandchildren, and 12 children, in all 98 descendants. Br. Frey is confined to his bed by weakness.

*March 3.* Friedrich Müller agreed to rent the piece of land on the South Fork known as Sweeten's Place; it contains about 100 acres, and he will go to work at once.

*May 5.* Christian Frey brought the news that his old father went home last evening about eight o'clock, and Br. Graff was asked to hold the funeral services. Next day Br. Graff went to the home of Peter Frey, and there held the funeral of Br. Peter Frey, Sr. He was buried in the graveyard which has been staked off on the Wachovia line, back of Adam Spach's, and the place was consecrated with prayer and an address on the text: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it bringeth forth no fruit." [John XII, 24.]

*Aug. 21.* We paid Sweeten £15, which he said Br. Gammern promised him for the improvements which he had made on a piece of land on Muddy Creek, which he had to vacate for the Brethren. We really did not owe him anything, but did not want him complaining about us.

[During the summer and fall there seem to have been no meetings at the Ens, the settlers from there coming to Bethania or Bethabara for services when they wished.]

*Nov. 28.* The Brn. Schropp and Utley went to visit our friends and neighbors below the Ens and on Muddy Creek.

*Dec. 22.* Adam Spach and Christian Frey came to Br. Schropp, to discuss with him their plan for the building of a meeting-house. As they had not yet made a preliminary agreement among themselves to make no claim to the land bought for the purpose, and not to charge

for the work or other expense connected with the erection of a house, they were advised to settle that first, and Br. Schropp drew up a proposition for them in writing, of which other Conference members approved.

*Bethabara*

*Jan. 9.* Br. Herbst returned from Salisbury, bringing two wagon loads of cowhides. He had spoken with a man from Charlestown who told him that a Negro Rebellion had been planned in that city for Christmas Day, but had been discovered just in time; also that the Catawba Indians had been called out against the many runaway Negroes.

*Jan. 13.* Br. Loesch went to Court at Salisbury.

*Jan. 14.* The elder Henry Herrman came on a visit. He and his sons have been hunting in the Shawano country, where they were visited by the Shawanoes, and also by a party of forty Mohawk warriors who were on their way to fight the Cherokees and Catawbas. All were friendly to the Herrmans.

*Jan. 16.* Mr. Erbin brought us about thirty bushels of salt from Edenton. Our two wagons brought one hundred bushels of corn from Mr. Wagner on the Town Fork.

Br. Loesch returned from Salisbury. The Assembly of this Province is called for April, and a new election is to be held.

*Jan. 28.* A school was begun for our older boys. It will be held in the evening between seven and nine o'clock, and they will be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic.

*Jan. 29.* Paul Behringer, who lives on the Buffalo beyond Salisbury, came with Fullweiler's son to get his windmill from Jacob van der Merk.

*Jan. 30.* The company from Europe arrived, this morning, to our unspeakable joy. Our wagon had met them at Frey's, and the Brethren had had to walk from Charlestown there. The company consisted of one married couple and eight Single Brethren. They dined with the Arbeiter in the Gemein Haus, and were then assigned to lodgings. They brought with them important letters and papers.

*Jan. 31.* In a newspaper received from Charlestown it was noted (1) that Capt. Jacobson had arrived in New York, Nov. 20th, of last year. (2) That Commander Palliser, under whose recommendation and protection Br. Jens Haven<sup>13</sup> and his company went to Terra di Labrador last September, had returned to St. Johns, Newfoundland, of which he is Governor; and that with the assistance of the Moravian

<sup>13</sup> Jens Haven had learned the Esquimaux language while a Moravian Missionary in Greenland, and by using their language and dress was able to overcome the suspicions of the Labrador natives, and open the way for a permanent mission there.



preachers he made a treaty with something more than thirty Esquimaux, and had opened trade between them and England; also that he intended to go there again this spring, and make a similar treaty with a larger number of Esquimaux.

The Irishman, whose wagon brought some of the goods of the European company from Pinetree Store, left this afternoon, taking a load of pottery and 300 lbs. deer-skins to Pinetree Store, in payment for what we owe there.

*Feb. 13.* Quite unexpectedly George Holder returned from Bethlehem, after a hard trip, partly on account of bad roads, and partly on account of his horses. One went lame, and had to be exchanged for another; that one gave out at James River, and he had to buy still another, which lasted until he reached here. He brought a large package of Nachrichten and many letters. Br. Ettwein is called to the Provincial Synod which will be held May 30th in Pennsylvania.

*Feb. 18.* Several strangers from Virginia attended the evening service, among them Capt. Ward, who was here with his company some years ago during the Indian War.

*March 6.* Toward morning there was a hard thunder-storm, with heavy rain, and a strong wind which blew down many trees in the woods, and injured roofs and fences.

*March 8.* Threshing is finished. Last year's crop gave 552 bu. of wheat, 37½ rye, 62½ barley, 331 oats, 27 flaxseed.

*March 15.* Br. Ettwein rode to the Hollow to preach.

*March 19.* A piece of land was planted with anise seed as an experiment.

*March 20.* A Presbyterian Minister, named Dieffield, from Carlisle, and Col. Hunter from the Yadkin, came on a visit.

We received a Willmington newspaper of February, this year, which said that the *Press*, stopped in November last year, had begun again; but that the *Stamp Act* had been repealed in England. This means nothing, and the contrary is probably true.

*March 28th.* Br. Loesch returned from General Court in Salisbury. Our old friend Mr. Hasel, who is again Chief Justice, was there, and persuaded him to remain longer than he had intended.

*April 5.* Sr. Ettwein had the misfortune to make a misstep in Loesch's garden, and broke her leg just above the ankle. We carried her to her bed, bandaged the leg as well as we could, and sent Joseph Müller to Salisbury for Dr. Noonham. He came next day, and re-bandaged the leg, but found it not necessary to change anything we had done.



*April 8.* We found that one post of the tower in which the bell hangs had rotted badly, so the bell was taken down, the posts cut off at the bottom, and the tower placed temporarily near the carpenter shop so that the bell could still be rung.

*April 17.* In the morning Br. Ettwein made his final preparations for his trip to Brunshwig and Pennsylvania. After dinner the Helfer Conferenz shared the Cup of Covenant with him, and then he left for Christian Frey's. Frey will ride with him beyond the Cape Fear.

*April 19.* It was recently agreed in Conference that it might be well to bring a quantity of grain and meal from the mill to our village, so lessening the danger of theft during the now prevailing shortage of grain. Today we have heard that the Irishmen on the Yadkin plan to rob our mill, so this morning Br. Loesch rode to Bethania to call for Michael Ranke and Schauss and their wagons, and tonight they brought one hundred bushels of corn from the mill; and the next night they brought two hundred bushels of meal, freshly ground; leaving only about three hundred bushels of grain at the mill.

*May 5.* A young man from the Congaree passed on his way to Werner Spoenhauer on the Berseba. The wife of the notorious John Walden has been staying there, and he is to take her to her parents on the Congaree. He says that Waldon is to be transported on a man-of-war.

*May 28.* A certain Ship Captain, who seems to have traveled with Mr. Dunn from Florida, came bringing a letter to Sr. Gammern from de Brahm, Surveyor General of His Majesty's Southern District of North America. The letter was a proposal of marriage to her; also offered his services to the Brethren, especially if they wished to establish a congregation in Florida. Br. Graff answered politely, in Sr. Gammern's name, saying that she did not wish to marry, and hoped, if opportunity offered, to return to Europe this year.

Next morning the Captain left, taking with him the letter to Mr. de Brahm in St. Augustine, East Florida. The reason for the proposal sent here was that Mr. Dunn, when in Florida, gave Mr. de Brahm a most favorable account of our departed Br. Gammern, saying that his widow must be a person of quality, etc.

The Captain told us that he had seen definite statements in the Virginia and Charlestown newspapers that the Stamp Act had been "solemnly and forever and ever" repealed by the English Parliament.

*July 11.* We were happily surprised by the return of Br. Ettwein from Bethlehem, after a rather quick trip of eighteen days. With him were the Brn. Matthes Schropp and Jacob Bonn. Br. Ettwein has

been called to Bethlehem, and will leave in a few weeks, Br. Schropp taking his place here; and Br. Bonn will serve the congregation as doctor and surgeon.

*July 16.* In the presence of several Conference Brethren Br. Schropp took over the money box, the books, accounts and papers of Br. Gammern [as Steward of Bethabara.]

*Aug. 5.* The eclipse predicted by the calendar took place just before eleven o'clock in the morning. Just about the time it began clouds gathered, so we could not see it when it was fullest.

Br. Hurst has a third attack of nerve-fever, with a drawing in the limbs and faintness. Br. Aust also has an attack of high fever.

*Aug. 6.* Toward noon three gentlemen arrived,—Mr. James Hampton, from the Town Fork, Mr. Barker, from Dan River, and Mr. Harris, the well-known Baptist preacher from Virginia, formerly a Colonel and Chief Judge there. Mr. Hampton told us of the proposed visit some days ago, but did not ask that Mr. Harris be allowed to preach, so we received them simply as friends, showed them around the village, and in the afternoon entertained them with a cup of tea. Mr. Harris and Mr. Barker remained over night, and were our guests at supper, and we lodged them in the apothecary's house. Mr. Harris asked many questions about our temporal and spiritual organization, and we told him plainly and simply the ground of our doctrine and constitution, which he apparently heard with satisfaction. The gentlemen attended our evening services, and Br. Ettwein spoke on the Text for the day, in English and in German, and the hymns also were in both languages.

*Aug. 19.* Michael Ranke's and Leinbach's wagons set out for Cross Creek to bring us salt. They took some bushels of wheat, and some pottery with them. The wagons returned Sept. 2nd, bringing a letter from Richard Lyon, who wrote that there was much sickness in the neighborhood of Cross Creek.

*Aug. 24.* In the afternoon Br. and Sr. Ettwein were in Bethania, where the congregation gave them a farewell Lovefeast. In the evening the communicants of Bethabara united with the Ettweins in the Cup of Covenant at the close of their eight years of service in the Wachau. *Aug. 25th* Br. and Sr. Ettwein packed their baggage in the wagon; and next morning, after breakfast, they set out for Bethlehem, the Brn. Schropp, Graff and Lorenz going with them the ten miles to Lischer's Creek, where they had dinner together. At two o'clock the wagon started again, and the accompanying Brethren returned to Bethabara.

*Sept. 8.* The Under Sheriff, Mr. William Frohock, came to collect the County Taxes, 9 sh. Proc. per Taxable (every man).

*Sept. 23.* In our store and Tavern an advertisement was posted in English and German calling on our debtors to come and pay. There are about 600 debtors, and they owe more than £1800. *Oct. 22.* We hear again that certain debtors, who owe £20 at the store, have run away, and others are likely to follow them, since we have advertised that they must pay, and that we will allow no more uncertain credit. *Nov. 26.* Br. Jacob Steiner was sent to the Yadkin, etc. to see our debtors, and ascertain when and how they mean to make payment. Several that were reported to have left were still there; they have said they would pay in cattle and corn, and one man today brought two cows and two steers. *Nov. 29.* A number of men came from the Town Fork with Under Sheriff Frohock and Constable Piles. Among them were a number of our debtors, as summoned. We spoke earnestly with them, and attached the elder Pool, who is reported to have said that he would let us have corn in payment for the debt at the store only at 3 sh. per bushel, though the current price is 2 shillings.

*Sept. 25.* Br. Loesch returned from General Court at Salisbury. He brought disturbing news of a sickness which is epidemic at Wilmington on the Cape Fear River. The patients die in four or five days, and immediate burial is necessary, dare not be delayed for even a few hours. The King's Attorney did not come to Court, and no one else from that neighborhood except Chief Judge Hasel.

He told us further that an English Minister had come with strong recommendations from England, and had been sent by the Governor to our County of Rowan. He has settled at Salisbury, in charge of St. Luke's Parish, and has preached there, but at present is having fever every day.

*Oct. 11.* We heard of the approach of the company of boys, and Br. Herbst was sent to Benner's to meet them. They arrived about five o'clock, and were greeted with trumpets. The company consists of eight boys, thirteen years of age, four Single Brethren, and one Widower. They left Bethlehem Sept. 16th, and the boys walked all the way from Lititz.

*Oct. 13.* Conference was held to discuss the employment of the boys who have just arrived. It was also decided to build another kitchen, in which food shall be cooked for the congregation, with the exception of the Single Brethren and Boys, who shall continue to cook in the present kitchen. *Oct. 20th.* In a Conference yesterday it was decided to take down the block-house by the mill, and bring it here and put it up for a kitchen, between the store and carpenter shop. Beginning with today the married people and widows will eat in their own rooms.



Food will be taken to the Gemein Haus for the Arbeiter and the widows, but others will go for it to the kitchen. *Dec. 9th* the kitchen for the families and Older Girls was used for the first time.

*Oct. 30.* Sr. Schropp and Br. and Sr. Utley arrived, and were followed Oct. 31st by the rest of their company, which was welcomed with the trumpets, and with coffee served in the Saal. The company consisted of twelve Older Girls, and four Single Sisters, of whom Sr. Anna Maria Kraus is Pflegerin and Vorsteherin, and Catherine Beroth her assistant. They have walked most of the way from Bethlehem. They were lodged in the Gemein Haus in the two rooms opposite the Saal, and rejoiced greatly over their nice living and sleeping rooms, having expected only uncomfortable quarters.

*Nov. 1.* Br. Utley held the Gemeinstunde for the first time. The next day, Sunday, he began his service as English Minister, by preaching an English sermon.

*Nov. 4.* There was a meeting of the Helfer Conferenz, and Br. and Sr. Utley, Sr. Schropp and Sr. A. Maria Kraus were welcomed as new member and associate members.

Br. Utley received a visit from a Presbyterian Minister named Allen, who is really a planter on Deep Creek, called to the ministry by his neighbors.

*Nov. 11.* A Committee of twenty Brethren was called to consider the fever which we have every fall, and to make plans for the preservation of health. It was finally agreed unanimously that in place of ordinary brandy or beer some should be made for use during the heat of summer and in the fall in which certain valuable bitter herbs and roots should be distilled. We hope from our hearts that this proposal may have good results.

*Nov. 17.* The anniversary of the coming of the first Brethren to Wachovia thirteen years ago was signalized in several ways:—(1) in the averting of fire in the small Brothers House, where fire caught in a log behind the chimney; (2) several Boys and Brethren began threshing; (3) Mr. Benner brought a load of corn; (4) the two Holder brothers moved to Salem; (5) Br. Matthew Micksch returned from Charlestown, having left the wagons at Pinetree Store.

We were worried about our two Bethania Brethren who have been to Cross Creek, it being reported that a wagon from Abbots Creek had been held up by highwaymen on the Cross Creek road and robbed; and lo, toward seven o'clock this evening our two Brethren arrived safely! Just before the robbery they had turned into the other road, and so did not meet the band.



Another letter arrived from Mr. Hammerer, the Missionary to the Cherokees. It was dated Fort Prince George, Sept. 26th, this year. His situation is the same as he mentioned in a former letter; he sent a small map of the country, showing how many towns there are in each of the four divisions, with a total of about 16000 souls. He said he had made but a small beginning in learning the language and in teaching the Indians, but offered to do anything in his power for one of our Brethren if one would come to him in this Nation.

*Dec. 1.* There was trouble in our Tavern this morning. A young man refused to pay all he owed, and attacked Br. Schille, angrily placing a loaded gun twice against his breast, and hurting his own thumb badly in trying to cock it. Br. Schille pushed the gun aside, and others disarmed the fellow, who struck them in the face, so that the blood flowed freely. Br. Loesch tried him, and sent him bound to the prison in Salisbury, under guard of Joseph Müller and Ziegler. *Dec. 4th* the two Brethren returned from Salisbury, both wounded. During the night, at Christian Frey's, the prisoner tried to escape; when Müller sprang between him and the door the man struck him in the face with a dull knife he had seized in the room, making him reel; and when Ziegler caught him the man gashed his finger. Thank God, that the rascal did not kill one of them!

*Dec. 15.* Br. Utley has been to the Hollow, where he preached in Mr. Dorchester's house, to a fairly good audience. He declined to administer baptism, however, until he should know the people better, and could see whether the Word of God bore fruit among them, and whether they could promise to bring up their children in the right way,—this precaution is very necessary with people of this kind.

We heard from Childsburg that Gov. Tryon and his Lady were there, and thinking he might now come to visit us, as was planned at the time of the last General Court, and prevented by illness, we sent Br. George Holder as Express thither with a letter from Br. Loesch to Mr. Fanning, so that if the visit should take place we could be prepared. *Dec. 20th*, Br. Holder returned with an answer from Col. Fanning, saying that the Governor appreciated our invitation, but that he could not come this time, might do so next spring when he came to run the Hunting Line between North Carolina and the Cherokees, etc.

*Dec. 18.* Was a busy day, as hunters came in with deer-skins. They reported that several parties of hunters had fought with parties of Cherokees, and some were killed on both sides. If this is true it is likely to make trouble.

*Dec. 21.* Sunday. Br. Utley returned from the Yadkin. He had not found the people assembled for preaching, as his letter had not reached them. He arranged to preach for them next Friday [the 26th], and at the Ens on Christmas Day.

*1766, Helfer Conferenz Minutes.*

*July 28.* Br. Reuter's plan for the two-story house in Salem was considered, and it was decided to leave out the partition wall in the lower story, which will give a good roomy Saal, as by putting a partition into the first house built the room intended for a Saal there has become too small. The cellar shall not be dug under the entire house, but a part only.

*Aug. 11.* John Müller wishes to rent a piece of land on Muddy Creek. We will offer him the terms in force at Bethania,—2 shillings Sterling per year for bottom land, and 1 shilling for upland, the lease to be for 21 years, and rent free for three years.

*Ettwein's Visit to Governor William Tryon at Brunshwig in  
North Carolina.*

In the latter part of March the General Court was held in Salisbury, with our good old friend Mr. James Hasel as acting Chief Judge. Br. Lösch was also there in the discharge of his duty and both Mr. Hasel and the King's Attorney, Mr. Hooper, took occasion to tell him "That Governor Tryon would like to have one of the leaders of the Moravian Brethren visit him in Braunschweig." Br. Lösch, knowing our circumstances, thought it impossible to carry out the Governor's wish this spring, and did all he could to excuse us, telling Mr. Hasel quite frankly all the conditions, but he would take no excuse, and advised that we do not postpone the visit, giving several reasons, and among them that "Not all people were our friends." Br. Lösch then promised him to speak to the Brethren about it, and that if possible his advice should be followed. We saw no other way than to send someone to the Governor before the Synod, as very likely something would come up that ought to be known before Synod met. And when for certain reasons we discussed the matter carefully we were shown that Br. Ettwein should travel alone by way of Braunschweig to Pennsylvania.

Therefore I left Bethabara on April 17th, and on the 24th reached the home of Mr. Hasel, who had insisted that if a Brother were sent he should come to him, and he would go with him to the Governor and introduce him; but two days earlier he had left for Newbern to hold

court. His son offered his services, as did Capt. Lobb, of the royal man-of-war, who knew Br. Marshall and the late Br. Gammern, and through his lieutenant, who had been in Bethabara, had conceived a high regard for the Brethren. I was unwilling to trouble them, but the first insisted on sending a servant with me, and the latter gave me a letter to Braunshweig, which place I reached on the 25th of April.

I had scarcely arrived when Mr. Bernard, Minister of the Parish and Chaplain to the Governor, came to welcome me, and offered to introduce me to His Excellency; I went with him (heartily praying "Grant that I may do no ill in word or deed") and was at once received. I presented an Address, in the name of the Brethren in Wachovia, which the Governor received in a most friendly manner, inquired concerning the well-being of the Brethren, and asked why Mr. Lösch did not come with me. I replied that Mr. Lösch was superintendent of our farm, where there was much work to be done at this time of the year, so that he could not leave home for so long, and that he begged His Excellency to excuse him! He expressed his pleasure that some one had come, and said he had just sent a letter to Mr. Lösch, which would not now be needed, and that he would recall it. (His Secretary told me, when I inquired concerning the import of the letter, that Mr. Hasel had deprived the Governor of hope that any of us would come so soon, as we were waiting for a Gentleman from Pennsylvania, whereupon he had written that the Brethren should wait for no one, but Br. Lösch or someone else should come to him.) He asked how long I would stay, and when he heard that I was on my way to Pennsylvania, and that the length of my stay depended on him, he said that I must stay several days and rest, but it was not proper that I should remain in the Tavern, and that I must come to his house; he lodged me with Mr. Bernard, the Chaplain, and for the three days that I was there he had me at his table morning, noon and evening.

He asked numerous questions about the land, and the settlers in our neighborhood; and about our trade with Charlestown, and why we traded there? I told him the reason was that we needed many things which could not be had in Willmington, that goods were at least ten percent higher there than in Charlestown, and that the deer-skins with which we paid in Charlestown were worth more there than in Willmington. He regretted it, but hoped things would improve! He asked how many of us there were, and I gave him a catalog; how long I had been in Wachovia; and about the Oeconomie in Bethabara? I explained to him that it was not an Article of our Religion, but had begun as a convenience, and so far had been a necessity, but would not



continue; that Bethania and other congregation-places had a different arrangement. He asked how we used the profits from the Oeconomie? I answered "To settle and improve Wachovia". Question: "Did we not send money to Europe?" Answer: "So far we had sent none, though we had frequently received money from there; that it would be right and proper to make returns to our Brethren, but we had not yet been able to do so." He said it would be long before we could do it if we wished to settle Wachovia, and to build a town; and that so long as he was Governor he would not willingly see us send money out of the country! I answered: "But Your Excellency would not object if we paid our debts!" With that he was content, and said he had been told that we sent large sums of money out of the country! I assured him that this was not true, so far it had been all that we could do to provide for our own needs, and the Brethren in Germany had paid our Quit-rents, and the expenses of those members who came over. He asked what Quit-rent we paid, and when he heard that it was £150 Sterling he said to the Secretary: "That is a small Capital, and it is a question whether Granville gets that much from all the rest of his land." He asked whether we were a separate County? I said "No, but a separate Parish". Further whether we had any wish in which he could aid us? Answer: "Just now, nothing; but when Salem has been built it may well be that the Brethren will ask a Charter for the town". Query: "Did we have no Justice among us except Mr. Lösch?" Answer: "No!" He thought there should be two more, so that one might surely be present each time in Court, and said I should propose the names of two Brethren; I asked for time to consult with the Brethren but he desired me to do it at once. In the morning he began about it again, saying he had been thinking that if he gave Commissions to three of the Brethren it might make others jealous and not do us good; but two were necessary,—was there not some one in Bethania we could recommend? I answered that there was one man who understood the English Laws fairly well, and could speak English, though he was only a farmer, Henrich Spoenhauer; he told me to give his name to the Secretary.

Moreover he and his Lady were uncommonly friendly, he showed me all the rooms in his house and other buildings, his horses and his garden, and when I was alone with him he let me read an interesting and important letter from State Secretary Conway. She talked much about religious matters, inquired concerning our rules, the education of our children, and the like, and at this and that point said to Mr. Bernard "Now that is like the first Christians," "Now that is



really Apostolic!" and Mr. Bernard replied that the English Church considered ours a sister Church, an honor which hitherto it had given to none.

Mr. Bernard was very friendly, and said that there were now seven Church Ministers in the Province, and he had received an order from the Bishop of London that so soon as there were nine he should call a meeting of them, adding the compliment that he would invite me to the gathering.

On my journey I heard at several places that the Governor and his Lady intended to visit Bethabara; I asked the Secretary, Mr. Elwin, about it, and he said that the Governor had planned to go to Bethabara if none of the Brethren came to him. (Which made me wonder whether he had not been instructed to find out about us.)

I took an opportunity to beg of the Governor that if he heard anything doubtful about us he would kindly let his Secretary write and ask us, assuring him that he would be told the truth, for while many gave us more praise than we deserved there were always those who spoke evil of us without cause. He assured me that he would be careful no such impression was made upon him until he had been to the bottom of the matter. So far as I could see he is a deep-thinking, substantial man. As I was leaving he gave me a friendly answer to the Address of the Brethren in Wachovia.

On the 28th I set out for Willmington, accompanied in the boat by the Secretary, who had showed me all possible attention, and had been most pleasant. He offered to serve the Brethren in any way he could, especially in the matter of correspondence with Europe. I thanked my dear Lord from my heart for the way He had advised us, and that He had so graciously helped me through. From Willmington (which is fifty miles further from Bethlehem than Bethabara is) I went by way of News River and Tarboro to Halifax on the Roanoke (where I visited the General Attorney, Mr. Rob. Jones, who advised the late Br. Benzien so wisely about our Parish), and reached Petersburg in Virginia on May 8th. From there I went by Warick, Richmond, Friederichsburg, Fallmouth, Dumfries, Colchester, Belhaven or Alexandria, and Georgetown in Maryland, Manakosy, Yorktown and Lancaster to Lititz, where I rested for Whitsunday; and on May 20th I reached Bethlehem, happy and well, and full of inward joy, humility and thanksgiving.

*Copy of the Address of the Brethren to Gov. Tryon.*

May it please Your Excellency,

We His Majestys most dutiful and loyal Subjects the United Brethren of Bethabara and Bethany in Wachovia Rowan County under Your Excellencys Government, moved by Love and Gratitude towards our most gracious King George and the British Government, had it much at Heart to Wellcome Your Excellency at your first Arrival in this Province; therefore Frederic Willhelm von Marshall Gentleman Director of the Brethrens Settlement here and Abraham von Gammern Steward of Bethabara, made a Journey to Willmington in Order to wait upon Your Excellency in the Name of the United Brethren. But as Your Excellency was just then visiting Edenton & that Part of the Province, they were to our Sorrow disappointed in the Aim of their Journey. The absence of Mr. v. Marshall & the death of Mr. von Gammern since prevented us again to follow the Dictates and Duty upon Your Excellencys Accession to the Chief Command of this Province.

May it therefore please Your Excellency graciously to accept our United most hearty Congratulations and Warmest Wishes for a long, blessed, happy & glorious Administration of Government in this Colony.

As we are most heartily attached to His Majestys Person & Government, & as the Holy Scripture teaches us for Conscious Sake, subject to all in Authority being desirous to lead a quiet & peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty as it is good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour, And hearing of Your Excellencys exemplary Regard for true Religion & Virtue, we have the greatest Expectation to live happy under your Administration. Humbly recommending ourselves into Your Excellencys Favour & Protection with all our invaluable Religious Rights and Privileges

We are

May it please Your Excellency

Your Excellencys most dutiful and  
obedient Servants

Ettwein, Graff, Löscher, Reuter, Miksh,  
Fockel, for themselves and the other  
Brethren in Wachovia.

Brunshwig

April the 26th

1766.

*Gov. Tryon's Answer.*

[The autographed original is in the Salem Archives.]

Brunswick, the 26th April 1766

Gentlemen

I had the Pleasure to receive by Mr. Edwin [Ettwein] the Address of the United Brethren of Bethabara and Bethany in Wachovia in Rowan County.

The Warm Sentiments the Inhabitants entertain of Loyalty to His Majesty, and steady Attachment to His Government, is Extremely agreeable to Me; as well as their Good Wishes for my Happy and Honorable Administration.

I shall be always glad to Encourage and Promote that good Order, Harmony and Industry which so happily subsists in the Society of the United Brethren.

The Inhabitants of Wachovia may rest Assured of Meeting with my Favor and Protection in the Enjoyment of their Religion; Agreeable to His Majesty's Benevolent Intentions.—

I am

Gentlemen

Your very Humble Servant

WM TRYON

Messieurs John Mich. Graff

& Jacob Loesch.

*Catalogue of the Inhabitants of Bethabara in Wachovia.*

John Edwin [Ettwein], Clerk

John Michael Graff, Clerk

Jacob Loesch, Esqr.

Christian Reuter, Surveyor

Matthew Micksh, Shopkeeper

Gottlieb Fockel, Tailor

Daniel Schnepf, Planter

Christoph Kühnast, Shoemaker

John Shaub, Cooper

James van der Merk, Millwright & Turner

George Schmid, Blacksmith

Gottfried Aust, Potter

Jonas Nilson, Tailor

Jacob Kapp, Turner & Miller

George Baumgarten, Baker & Tavern keeper  
 Peter Sehnert, Farmer  
 Jacob Blum, Farmer  
 George Holder, Farmer & Carpenter  
 Ener Enerson, Cabinet maker  
 Lorenz Bagge, Joiner  
 Adam Koffler, Weaver  
 Joh. Henr. Herbst, Tanner & Currier  
 Jacob Lung, Gardener  
 Christian Merkly, Baker  
 Andreas Gros,  
 Jac. Fredr. Pfeil, Shoemaker  
 Andrew Betz, Gun-smith  
 Jos. Miller, Gun-smith  
 Valentine Beck, Gun-stocker & Tin-man  
 Jeremias Shaaf, Farmer & Soap-boiler  
 John Ranke, Farmer  
 Jacob Steiner,       "  
 Michael Ziegler,     "  
 George Göpfert,     "  
 George Renner,      "  
 Christian Pfeiffer, Brewer  
 Christian Triebel, Carpenter  
 Melchior Rasp, Bricklayer  
 Peter Stotz, Potter  
 Henry Zillman, Tailor  
 John Würtele, Shoemaker  
 Jacob Ernst, Tanner  
 John Richter, Tailor  
 Nils Petersen, Stiller & farmer  
 Gottfried Praezel, Weaver  
 James Hurst, Weaver  
 John Birkhead, Clothier  
 Bernhard Shill, Weaver  
 John Priem, Farmer  
 John George Stockburger, Baker & farmer  
 Daniel Hauser, Blacksmith

*Boys & Prentices.*

Matth. Reitz, Tanner  
 John Lanius,       "  
 Jos. Miller, Potter  
 Rud. Christ,       "



Peter Sehnert, Shoemaker  
 Nathanael Kaske, "  
 John Nilson, Tailor  
 John Miller, "  
 Peter Mücke, Brewer & Stillier  
 Nath. Bibighaus, in the Store  
 John Stotz, Gardener  
 Rud. Straehle, Carpenter.

*Inhabitants of Bethany [Bethania].*

Gottl. Bachoff, Schoolmaster & Reader  
 Gottfried Grabs, Shoemaker & farmer  
 Adam Kremer, Tailor & farmer  
 Michael Ranke, Farmer  
 Balthasar Hege, "  
 John Beroth, "  
 Phil. Transou, Wheelwright,  
 Christoph Smid  
 John Chr. Kirshner, Shoemaker & farmer  
 Henry Spoenhauer, Cooper & farmer  
 George Hauser, Blacksmith  
 Henry Shore, Farmer & carpenter  
 Philip Shaus, Farmer & shoemaker  
 Peter Hauser, Weaver & farmer  
 Mich. Hauser, Weaver & farmer  
 John Strub, Baker & farmer

*Br. Ettwein's Itinerary.*

April 17, 1766. Left Bethabara; reached Christian Frey's.  
 the 18th, As far as Hugh Warren [the Huwarrie].  
 19th, To three miles from Sandhill Schmidt.  
 20th, To Silver Spring.  
 21st, To R. Lyons, at Springhill,  
 22nd, To Captain Shaw, Gov. Johnson's, two miles from Bladen  
 Courthouse.  
 23rd, Three miles from Judge Moor.  
 24th, To James Hasell's.  
 25th, Braunshweig. To the Governor, introduced by Mr. Bernard.  
 160 miles.

- 26th, There; Fishing Club; Governor in the morning.  
27th, Sunday. There, and in Church.  
28th, To Willmington, 16 miles.  
29th, There.  
30th, To Rutherford, a Councillor. Matth.  
May 1st, Dublin Courthouse. Sore from riding.  
2nd, Rain. Many on the Graveyard in Beth. Passed News River; as far as Harrison's.  
3rd, To Town Creek floating bridge; Bosmann's Tavern; Richard Edward near Hamilton's store in Dobbs.  
4th, Sunday. Tarboro; Tar River bridge is dangerous. Read the First Berlin Sermon to a family on Swift Creek. Stayed with Nimrod Folkerson, a Baptist, on Fishing Creek, Barker's Ferry.  
5th, Enfield Courthouse. 190 miles.  
6th, Hallifax; Stayed over night with General Attorney Jones. Tuscarora Indians there.  
7th. James Steward's; 60 miles from Hallifax.  
8th, Ascension Day. Petersburg, saw the race; Mr. Fennon's Company to the Glebe.  
9th, By Warwick; Richmond; Hills of James; to Hanover Courthouse.  
10th, Chesterfield at noon. Carline Courthouse; to George Dod.  
11th, Sunday. Fredericksburg; the falls of the Rappahannock, rode through. Fallmouth; Dumfries; to Colchester on the Oncocana.  
12th, Through Cammeren; near Belhaven, to Georgetown on the Patomak lower falls; 40 miles from Fredrichstown.  
13th, To Fredrichstown, in Maryland.  
14th, To Krogstrup's.  
15th, To Willson's.  
16th, To Yorktown.  
17th, To Lititz.  
18th, Whitsunday. In Lititz; preached.  
19th, To Lightfoot.  
20th, Reached Bethlehem.

*Wachovia Memorabilia.*

[Translated in full.]

For all that our dear Chief Elder has let us feel that He has done among us, our hearts at the year's close lie humbly in the dust before Him. He has graciously made Himself known to us, not only in the public and special services, but also in each Communion, and has impressed upon us that He is the Vine and we the branches; and in our Gemein Tage has proved Himself the Head of His church; and as we have heard all that He has done for His people everywhere, we have acknowledged the glorious proof of the Atonement He has made for us and for all the world and adored Him therefore. So also with all our hearts we give thanks to God the Holy Spirit for daily setting forth His merits, whereby there is made plain to us the blessed privilege of our close communion with our Saviour, the Man of Sorrows, and that day by day we may the more rejoice in this, may in faith apply His grace to the sanctifying of body and soul, and may receive the true spirit of Christ and of His church. To this end we have warned and encouraged one another and have been strengthened and bound together by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. He has been tender and earnest with us and when His gentle warnings were not heeded He has punished, and for the true blessing of His poor children.

During this year the forethought of our dear Heavenly Father for our temporal needs has been most manifest. We now need twice as much as formerly, and we thank God that He has provided enough, even when now and then it looked as though there would be a shortage. His rich blessing has rested on the labors of our workmen, the faithfulness of our craftsmen, and upon our trade, so that our faces are covered with blushes at our debt of gratitude.

As a precious proof of His blessings we first refer to our dear Salem. Owing to the lack of men building has gone slowly, but it has progressed happily and without accident. During the year four houses have been raised; of these two have been finished, the third is almost ready for use, and work is being done on two more. This fall the first harvest there has been gathered, some wheat, and a good quantity of corn. The Brethren there have lived together in love and unity and in the felt presence of the Lord, and have rejoiced in the welfare of Salem, being especially strengthened in this spirit by the Text of April

27th,—“In Salem also is His tabernacle and His dwelling place in Zion” [Ps. LXXVI: 2], on which day they together joined in the Cup of Covenant. Our Governor, his lady, and his suite, visited this town in September, and he graciously expressed his pleasure in it, and especially his approval of its situation. And the most honorable Court of this County has shown its favor by granting three public roads from this town to the chief settlements near by, which have already been partly laid out by the appointed Jury. Other mercies also have been granted to the town, especially the good health which the Brethren resident there, without exception, have enjoyed this year.

Our correspondence with the honorable College of Directors and the Vorsteher of the Unity has continued without interruption. We have received through them foundation principles laid down by our Lord for the conduct of commerce and trades in a congregation-town. According to instructions, these principles have been made known among us, and have been received with entire approval and with the earnest wish and intention that, so far as our understanding goes, we may apply them practically to our affairs. In the same spirit we received the tenderly touching Circular of Jan. 31, 1767, and thanked and praised our Heavenly Father for the gracious help accorded His servants, the Unity Vorsteher Collegium, and united our prayers for His further support, making supplication with thanksgiving. We also recall with sincere thanks that our Father has permitted these, His servants, to arrange for the purchase of the Proprietary Rights to the whole district of Wachovia from Lord Granville.

Our connection with Bethlehem and Lititz has been maintained, partly by frequent letters, partly by the coming of Br. and Sr. Jacob Meyer from Lititz to take charge of our tavern, and the visit there of a Brother from Bethania. Through those congregations we have received the Gemein Nachrichten, which this year have come in larger numbers and more quickly than formerly. The re-reading of many of the Jünger's sermons has nourished our souls, has laid a real blessing upon our hearts, and placed us more firmly upon the ground of our hope, and emphasized the oneness of spirit in walk and word of the members of His Unity in this world. During the reading of the Greenland History we have given Him many thanks for the blessing laid upon this mission, and especially that He has led so many, many people not connected with the Unity to read this book with interest.

The good will of our rulers has been a marked feature of this year. Governor Tryon, his lady, and a number of gentlemen who hold important offices in the Province, paid a three days' visit to Bethabara, made a careful study of our affairs, and when they left expressed them-



selves as well satisfied with their stay and much pleased with all they had seen. We thank our Lord for this, and pray that we may remain in good repute with our rulers for the furtherance of His cause in this land. Opportunity was taken to present to His Excellency an English copy of the Greenland History, in the name of the Mission Committee, which he accepted with thanks. His visit has also raised us in the estimation of our neighbors. Br. Utley's preaching of the Gospel was heard with attention and we hope for blessed results therefrom.

Our friends below the Ens have built a log house on a piece of land on the Wachovia Line, selected by the Bethabara Conference. It is now under roof, and when finished will be used for preaching and for a school for their children. Their numbers have been increased by several families from Pennsylvania who have come this year.

Along with these happy circumstances, we must record the deep sorrow that came to us in the death of our Vice-Oeconomus, Br. Schropp, who was called into eternal rest on Sept. 11th. His departure has made a serious break in our ranks, especially since the place of Steward, which he was filling temporarily, is now left entirely vacant, and a Committee of four Brethren had to be appointed here to look after the business. We hope that when our Oeconomus, Br. Marshall, arrives from Europe, the matter can be properly arranged,—we are longing for his coming.

The spring was very wet, and floods again broke our mill dam. Then there was hot, dry weather and it looked as if the crops would be a failure, yet with God's blessing we reaped a good harvest of all needed for man and beast. This fall the grapes in Wachovia were more abundant than any previous year.

Our mill was thoroughly repaired, which took two months, but we had purposely laid by a good store of flour and meal, which was enough for our household and also for many neighbors.

Here in Bethabara, in the building of Salem, on journeys here and there, our Brethren have been protected by the angels, especially Br. Meyer and his party, whose wagon was almost struck by lightning near the Roanoke on their journey hither, but no one was injured. We could add many other instances, but will only express our thanks that many an accident and misfortune that the evil One had intended, was kept far from us, also that the Lord led us through the time of sickness and that we have had very little illness this year. The epidemic of Distemper, which ran through nearly all the English Provinces, attacked the horses of our village also, obliging our wagons to postpone for a month their trip to Charlestown, but they then had better weather for their journey than they would have had before or later.

Our Choirs have had a blessed year under the care of God the Holy Ghost. The Choir sermons read to them from the *Gemein Nachrichten* and from the writings of the Jünger, with the Choir Principles therein laid down, have been applied to the upbuilding of their spiritual life, and in the Cup of Covenant on their Festal and Doctrinal Days each Choir has pledged itself anew to its Choir Head. The little Choir of Single Sisters and the Choir of Older Girls celebrated their first Choir Festivals in Wachovia with grace and with the sympathetic interest of the other Choirs.

The beautiful Doctrinal Texts for this year only reached us on the first of September, but just in time for most of the Choirs to use the Doctrinal Texts appointed them, as did all the Choirs together on Oct. 8th. The appointment of the Jünger for the congregation and the Choirs has been of blessing to many in their communion with the Friend of our souls, and several have anew enjoyed this privilege.

A certain man, whom we have endured with patience for some years, has moved away of his own accord and he must himself bear the responsibility of ceasing to live among God's people.

By reception, two boys have come into their inheritance and rights in God's house and congregation, and one girl has been confirmed and has partaken for the first time of the Holy Sacrament. A Married Brother in Bethania has also been privileged to commune with the congregation for the first time.

In Bethania, five boys were born, but one died almost at once, and a like happiness came to a little two-year-old girl.

At the close of the year the congregation in Bethabara numbers 130, of whom ten Single Brethren, three Boys, one Widower, and one servant are living in Salem. Bethania numbers 89; a total of 219. If to these are added the Diaspora families who belong partly to Bethania and partly to Bethabara, 130, the total number of our people in Wachovia is 349.

*1767, Wachovia Diary.*

*Salem.*

[Items grouped.]

*Feb. 2nd* the second house on the main street was raised, with the help of thirteen Brethren from Bethania and four from Bethabara, who had gone there the preceding afternoon. It was to be a two-story frame house. The third house was staked off on *Feb. 13th* and as it stood in a lower place, arrangements were made for a workshop, kitchen

and cellar in the basement, with one story on the street. Its foundation stone was laid *March 31st*, with a liturgy and prayer by Br. Graff, and the house was successfully raised *May 30th*, with the assistance of fifteen Brethren from Bethabara. *April 4th* a log stable was put up. Lines for the fourth house were run on *July 25th* by Schropp and Reuter, and it was raised *Nov. 28th*, with help from Bethabara. *Sept. 30th*, Graff, Loesch, Utley, Lorenz and Reuter held a builders' conference in Salem, and at that time staked the ground for the fifth house, which was raised without accident on *Dec. 22nd*, although the weather had been bad for a couple of days, and it was still very slippery. *Nov. 11th* Lorenz and Reuter staked the site for the sixth house, which came to the corner of the main street and the small cross street.

In *January* additional Salem land was cleared. *March 16th*, 150 fruit trees were sent there and Reuter ran the lines on which they were to be planted around the Square and along its walks, while Lung set them out. In *June* brick and tile were successfully made from clay dug in the bottom, and plans were made for cutting corn and making hay. On the *26th* their first wheat harvest was cut, yielding 22 shocks. In *July* the Salem Brethren helped with the harvest at Bethabara, then made hay for their own use from the grass growing around the heads of the Spangenberg. In *September* they made wine from the wild grapes, in *October* they gathered 100 bushels of corn and several wagon loads of pumpkins.

Frequent services were held in Salem, especially by Br. Lorenz [Bagge]. *Feb. 19th* they celebrated the anniversary of the settlement there the preceding year, and *April 27th* they shared in the Cup of Covenant, in view of the particularly appropriate Text for the day. The Ascension Day services, *May 28th*, were held by Schropp at Bethania, and by Lorenz at Salem, in addition to the meetings in Bethabara. Lorenz also conducted services in Salem on the *13th of August*, but the Brethren from there went to Bethabara for the Festival of the Single Brethren on *August 29th*.

In *February* George Holder went from Salem to take charge of the sawmill near Bethabara and Beck moved back to that village, the departure of Andres Betz necessitating his return to the gunsmith's shop there. *June 5th* a company of Single Sisters and Girls visited Salem, accompanied by Br. and Sr. Meyer and Br. Schropp. In *September* Charles Colver went to Pennsylvania and Peter Stotz was given temporary charge of the Salem brickyard. In *October* the widower, Enerson, a joiner, moved to Salem.



The settlement of Salem brought up the question of several new roads. *April 19th* a petition was brought to Bethabara and was signed by Br. Loesch. It asked for a new road to the Cape Fear by way of Salem, a connection which would be easy to make. The road to Salisbury and others already existing in Wachovia were worked from time to time and bridges repaired as necessary. It having been agreed to ask the Court for new public roads from Salem to adjacent settlements, petitions were sent on *Sept. 30th* to the Town Fork, Belews Creek and Abbotts Creek, to be signed by the settlers there. They were returned by Oct. 12th and were taken to the Court by Br. Jacob Loesch. The petitions being granted, Loesch went to Salem *Dec. 28th* and swore in the Jury appointed to run the road from Salem, by way of Abbotts Creek, to the Huware and the Trading Path.

### *Preaching Places.*

[Items grouped.]

The earlier part of the year was marked by a good deal of missionary work on the part of Richard Utley, English minister of Wachovia. Frequently on Saturday a messenger would arrive from one of the adjacent settlements and would take Utley back to preach for them on the following Sunday.

Blackburn's house on the Town Fork, Christian Frey's house on the South Fork, Robert Ellroth's house at the Shallow Ford, Squire Dorchester's house in the Hollow, Phelpp's house beyond Muddy Creek, Justice Sporgen's house on Abbotts Creek, are mentioned more or less often. In the latter part of the year requests grew few, and Nov. 28th it is recorded that the reason for this was the activity of a certain Baptist or New Light preacher, who was preaching frequently in the neighborhood and had baptized a number of grown persons. The result of his instruction was considered doubtful, for the same thing had happened several times in preceding years with no lasting effect, for the preacher laid great stress on a better life, but not through the atonement of Jesus.

The friends below the Ens, however, continued to desire the service of the Brethren, and Utley preached for them once a month. On *Jan. 6th*, Schropp and Reuter went thither, took a release from six of the settlers, Adam Spach, Peter, Christian, Georg and Valentine Frey and Friedrich Böckel, who waived all property rights in the house to be erected on the lot between their settlement and the south line of Wachovia, and staked off the site for a log house 34 x 28 feet. In the



afternoon of Monday, *Feb. 23rd*, Graff made a short talk on the object of this building,—that it should be used for the preaching of the Gospel, and also as a school house for their children,—and in prayer commended the building, and all those who should work on it, to the blessing and care of the Lord, and then the sills were laid. It rained heavily for some hours, and was cold, but the service was held, nevertheless. On Communion occasions, and for the Christmas and New Year services, many of the South Fork friends went to Bethania or Bethabara.

*Visit of Governor Tryon to Bethabara.*

[Translated in full.]

*May 20.* Toward noon Br. Loesch returned from Salisbury, where he waited upon the Governor, and was received most graciously and treated with distinction. The Governor promised that next September he and his sister Anne would come from Hillisburg (Corbintown), where they expect to spend the hot months, and that he would then inform himself as to our entire situation;—which suits us better than if he should come now.

*Sept. 17.* This afternoon an Express arrived with a letter from Col. Fanning to Br. Loesch, with the information that the Governor expected to reach our town tomorrow afternoon. On this account a conference was held this evening with a selected committee of Brethren and Sisters, in order to make suitable arrangements for this visit. All showed a willing spirit, and offered to do anything in their power, which will help in the matter, which is not a light one for us.

*Sept. 18.* The Brn. Loesch and Jacob Bonn rode to meet the Governor, finding him ten miles from here. About one o'clock he arrived, with his Lady, and a suite of gentlemen,—Councillor McCulloch, Col. Fanning, Col. Frohock, Col. Banton, His Excellency's Secretary Mr. Edwards, Billy Frohock, and Mickeljohn, the English Minister from Hillisburg. They were welcomed with music on the trumpets and French horns, and the Governor and his Lady were conducted to their lodging in the tailor's house. Half an hour later dinner was served to all of them in the Saal in the Brothers House. The meal was accompanied by music, and pleased them very much. After dinner the Governor and the gentlemen walked about a bit, saw our stable, farm, brewery, and cattle-yard, then, as it began to rain, they returned to their rooms,

where meanwhile his Lady had been conversing pleasantly and familiarly with the Sisters. The Governor asked Br. Graff about the Constitution of our Church, of which he seemed to know little, so at the close of the conversation Br. Graff gave him a copy of the *Acta Fratrum in Anglia*. They had supper with some of their suite in their rooms, the other gentlemen ate in the Tavern, and the Councillor with Br. Loesch, in whose home he also slept. So this first day of the visit came to a satisfactory close.

*Sept. 19.* The Governor and his Lady sat up late last night reading the *Acta Fratrum*, and when they told Br. Loesch this he presented to them an English copy of the Greenland Mission History, in the name of the Mission Committee, which had sent it to us expressly for the Governor, which pleased them. After breakfast the Governor, his Lady, and their suite, took horse, and rode across the large bottom meadow, and then to Salem, where they approved of the regular manner in which the building had been begun. Dinner was served in Bethabara, as on yesterday, then they looked at the pottery, and stopped at the mill so long that it was six o'clock when they reached Bethania, where light refreshments were served in the Gemein Haus. The village pleased them, especially the many children that they saw in front of the houses, and as they were leaving the Governor remarked that something would grow from this. This evening Br. Utley held the Gemeinstunde, speaking in English, with well-chosen words, on the Text for the day. The Governor and his entire company attended this service for the first time.

*Sept. 20, Sunday.* In the morning the English Minister preached on Haggai, II, 6, the Governor, his Lady, and their company, being present; then he baptised several children of our neighbors. All had to go quietly today, no music being used. In the afternoon, however, the Governor's Lady went alone into our Saal, and played a little on the organ, our girls came in and began to sing, which pleased the Lady so much that Br. Graff must play for them; then the Governor also came, and they entertained themselves in this way most happily for a whole hour, the Lady being particularly pleased. She visited the girls in their own room, then had them come again to the Saal to sing for her, this time in German,—she had the English Hymn Book and wanted the verses pointed out to her which they were singing. She must, against her inclination, leave them for tea; then a short visit was made to the Brothers House. Br. Graff held the Gemeinstunde, speaking on the

Texts for the day, and closing with a Liturgy. The service was attended by all the distinguished guests. The Governor and his Lady had an English copy of the Liturgy, and were very devout, the responsive singing by the various Choirs especially appealed to the Governor. Br. Utley presented to the Governor's Lady a copy of the *Berlin Sermons*, and also of the *Nine Discourses* of the Jünger, and this afternoon she spent an hour reading them, and the Governor did not go out until she was ready. At bedtime our musicians played softly before the house.

*Sept. 21.* The morning was spent visiting in the houses, the Governor and Br. Loesch going into every room, kitchen and cellar, he inquiring about everything, and asking, privately, about the nature of our joint house-keeping, especially the funds, and whether a man might retain his own property, and when the last question was answered in the affirmative he was well satisfied. In short one could see that he had received a very favorable idea of our customs and methods, remarking that he would not fail to write to England about us. At his request he was given a catalog of the residents of our three towns, with the occupation of each. His Excellency also said that our towns ought to have a Representative in the Assembly, so that if anything were proposed which was not to our interest he might speak against it. Br. Loesch answered that we were afraid it might cause envy and ill-will against us, but he replied that that might happen at any rate.

After dinner His Excellency, his Lady, and the Suite took a right friendly leave from all who were present, and thanked them for the good treatment they had received; then they left, in a state of satisfaction, going today as far as Christian Frey's, below the Ens. At the request of the Governor Br. Loesch guided them thither, and will probably go on to Salisbury with them, as General Court will be held there tomorrow. We were all heartily happy, and thankful to our Lord, that He has inclined the heart of our rulers to His People,—may He cause a blessed remembrance of the visit to remain with them. It was also a cause for thankfulness that all our Brethren and Sisters were ready and willing to serve the distinguished company, who commented upon it, and rejoiced in the happy and contented bearing of all around them.

*Sept. 23.* After the singstunde Br. Loesch returned. He had accompanied the Governor to Salisbury; the Governor has probably gone from there to Hillisburg today. He and his Lady spoke repeat-



edly of their satisfaction over their visit here, and sent hearty greetings by name and to all.

*Oct. 27.* Four wagons from Bethania, one from Hans Shor, and two from South Fork, started for Brunshwig. They took a windmill, 478 lbs. candles, 150 lbs. butter, six bee-hives, and a new gun, from here, and three bushels of rye from Valentine Frey, all for the Governor, who ordered these things while on his recent visit here. He particularly intended the order to lead to the establishment of trade between our settlement and Brunshwig. He stipulated that the wagons should be in Brunshwig on Nov. 6th, at which time he intended to be there. The wagons also took flour, butter, tallow, flax-seed, etc. and if this first trial turns out well more will doubtless be sent, and lead to trade within the Province.

*Nov. 22.* The four Bethania wagons returned from Brunshwig today. All of the men are well, though they have had a hard trip on account of bad weather and bad roads. They reached Brunshwig on Nov. 8th, and the Governor, who had waited for them two days, left for New Bern a few hours before they arrived. He had, however, arranged that the goods intended for him should be received and paid for. The price of 100 lbs. flour was 20 shillings, butter 10 pence, flax-seed 6 shillings, but the merchants would not pay our drivers in money, they had to take store goods in exchange for what they had brought, and could in no instance find the articles they wanted, and what they did take was at a cost practically as high as the selling price here. This first attempt gives no encouragement for further trade there.

### *Bethabara*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 12.* Br. Loesch went to Court to Salisbury; and Br. Ranke, of Bethania, went with him to give up his office as Constable. He returned Jan. 17th, and reported among other things that the name of Br. Henrich Spoenhauer was read in Court with the *Dedimus* as Justice; also that the Governor has a watchful eye on the officers of justice, especially the lawyers.

*Jan. 13.* The Brn. Schropp and Reuter went to Bethania to look into the complaints of several lot-holders that their lots are not as large as they are supposed to be; two Brethren from the Bethania



Committee were appointed to be present when the lines are again run. *Jan. 20th.* Br. Reuter has been in Bethania for two days, and has surveyed certain pieces of bottom land, in the presence of the Brn. Grabs and Spoenhauer. Now no one can claim that he is paying more rent than his land should call for.

*Jan. 20.* Br. Lorenz returned from Salem, and soon afterwards the boy Strehle brought him a note containing the information, brought there by Martin Walk, that Andreas Betz has secretly engaged himself to a daughter of Brunner, near Salisbury. After supper the Helfer Conferenz met to discuss the situation. For quite a while we have been suspicious of Betz, and yesterday appointed Br. Loesch to speak to him, but now we decided to ignore the matter until he himself brought it up, and then to have a committee arrange for his dismissal. *Feb. 2.* The Communicants were notified that Andreas Betz has at last made known his intention to leave us this week and set up for himself, and that he asks to be dismissed in peace. His future father-in-law was here yesterday, and among other things they agreed that he should tell the Brethren his plans before leaving. They both expected trouble, but when we made none they were much relieved. *Feb. 5.* Today settlement was made in full with Andreas Betz. He turned over a full inventory of the tools in the locksmith and gunsmith shop, with a list of the outstanding debts, signed a Discharge in the presence of the Brn. Schropp and Loesch, and received about £13 worth of tools with which to start business on his own account. He was earnestly warned to say nothing which would injure the Unity in the eyes of the world, and he said if he did such a thing he would certainly feel himself lacking in decency. Then the aforesaid Brethren bade him goodbye, and wished him success in his future life; and he left in a wagon which Brunner had sent for him. *April 17, Good Friday.* At the close of this most blessed day Br. Lorenz held a singestunde, and among others present were Andreas Betz and his young wife, who had come on a visit.

*Feb. 4.* Br. Loesch married a couple in our Tavern. They had a License which contained permission "for any (ligitimate) regular licensed Minister of the dissenting Presbyterian Clergy" to perform the ceremony, which has not hitherto been in marriage licenses.

*Feb. 24.* It is reported from New River that a party of Indians (probably Northern) had shot cattle belonging to white people, and had robbed a house. Capt. Thomson and some of his company had gone to the nearest camp to speak to them about it, but the Indians

took to the woods and, believing that the soldiers meant to take their goods, a couple of them, from behind trees, shot at the soldiers, killed the Captain, and wounded his cousin. *March 2nd.* Capt. English, from New River, was here, on his way to Georgia to see Valentine Zyns about the land of Gerit Zyns which English has bought. He confirmed the report about the murder, but the Indians killed Capt. Thomson's cousin, not the Captain, and two others were wounded. He also told us that our old friend Adam Herrman died there four weeks ago.

*March 12.* We heard today that twelve Northern Indians had passed William Becker's plantation.

*March 19.* Toward noon our wagons returned from Charlestown. They had made the trip at just the right time to escape detention by high water at Pinetree and at the Santee. The undressed skins were low this time, only 8 sh. 9 d; but the dressed brought 15 shillings.

Br. Steiner brought with him an unmarried Servant, Robert Denke, born in the Tyrol, whom Mr. Laurens had turned over to him for £56 South [South Carolina currency]. Denke was sent to Salem to work.

*March 22.* Br. Loesch went to Court, and with him Br. Bernhard Schille who must appear in the prosecution of a man named Moore. [See Dec. 1, 1766.] *March 30th.* While in Salisbury Br. Loesch made an opportunity to speak to a lawyer about the Saviour, and the man was much moved. Br. Loesch also set before the dying Tavern-keeper, John Howard, the offering which Jesus had made for him and for the whole world; Howard was touched to the heart, and wept bitterly. Br. Loesch has probably seen him for the last time.

*March 29.* A most polite letter has come to Sr. Gammern from de Brahm, Surveyor General of His Majesty's Southern District. He wrote Oct. 6th, from St. Augustine, and congratulated her on her decision to remain a widow, declaring that he also had resolved to remain in a lonely condition. [See May 28, 1766.]

*April 21.* Threshing is finished, and last year's grain crop amounted to 927 bushels wheat, 98½ bu. rye, 164 barley, 309 oats, 80 corn, 16 flax-seed, 2 buckwheat, total 1597 bushels.

*May 15.* Br. Loesch rode to Salisbury to wait upon the Governor. Our Governor, the Governor of South [Carolina], the Superintendent of Indian affairs, and others, are meeting to make a Treaty with the Cherokees; just what it will be no one yet knows. *May 20th.* Br. Loesch was most graciously received by the Governor, who has

gone South to make a Treaty with the Cherokees. This should have been done at Salisbury, but last month the Governor of South [Carolina] and the Superintendent of Indian affairs made a Treaty with that Nation and ran the line to the borders of North Carolina; now it must be extended to the Virginia line. *June 17th.* We heard from Salisbury that our Governor passed through on Saturday, the 13th; that he had made a Treaty with the Cherokees on the border of this Province. The Indians wanted to run the line on the course agreed to by South Carolina, that is much to the east, and this would have cut very deeply into the land; our Governor, however, set the compass directly to the north, and declared to the Indians the line should run that way *coute que coute*, and they finally agreed. The Governor gave to Wolf King the clothes he was wearing, and distributed to the other Indians the presents he had brought. *July 20th.* We hear from Salisbury that the Indians are much displeased with the Treaty, and that they had to be forced to sign the Deed concerning the Boundary Line. On their return march they were attacked by the Northern Indians, and the presents taken from them. This may have unpleasant consequences.

*May 15.* Johann Blickensdorffer came to bring a packet of letters. The man lives beyond Dan River, in the so-called Horse Pasture.

*June 1.* Br. and Sr. Jacob Meyer arrived. They left Lititz May 7th, and had a good and quick trip. On the 28th, Ascension Day, they had a wonderful escape, for in the afternoon there was a heavy storm, and lightning struck so near their wagon that wagon and horses were covered with a thick, sulphurous fume; the horses stood staggering for a while, and then began to run, but no one was hurt. To God be thanks! *June 10th.* Br. and Sr. Schropp installed Br. and Sr. Meyer in the Tavern of which they will take entire charge.

*June 6.* The Graeter and Volz families, fifteen persons in all, arrived yesterday among their acquaintances from Heidelberg [the Ens settlers].

*June 11.* Today the lightning struck near Leinbach's house, shattering a poplar tree. Benjamin had just been in the wash-house, and finding he had left his handkerchief stepped back to get it, so was inside at the moment, or he would certainly have been struck.

*June 23.* Today we made 18 gallons of currant wine and as the juice is less sour than that in Pennsylvania we used only 2½ lbs. of sugar to the gallon. On the Yadkin a number of people are sick from eating blackberries; there have been some traces of it here.



*June 25.* Last night a half bushel of corn-meal was stolen at the mill, also Br. Kapp's gun and a butter crock from the spring house. We suspect that the thief is a runaway negro who has been in the neighborhood for more than two years; probably it was also he who was at Bethania last night and took one of Br. Transou's bee-hives, carried it off, and took some honey from it, and when he was followed dropped it and took to his heels. We also hear of many thefts among our neighbors on Abbots Creek.

*Aug. 12* A man arrived from Brunshwig with a written Pass and Concession from the Governor, authorizing him to find mines and test the ore, and then report to the Governor and Assembly. He said he had found three mines in our neighborhood, and went on this evening to one of them. He also said there were some on our land, but Br. Loesch did not ask him where. *Aug. 24th.* The Brn. Schropp, Loesch and Reuter rode into the woods with the miner, a Swiss by birth, to look for limestone, iron, lead, etc. He took them to Joseph Steward's, where he thought there was black-lead, but they found none. *Aug. 25th* they went to the forks of the Dorothea and Johanna, where ten years ago certain hunters found lead ore, and made bullets; our Brethren paid no attention to it at the time, though since then it would have been very useful. Today the miner was so fortunate as to find the place  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of here on the bank of the Johanna, brought a piece of the ore back with him, melted it, and found it was lead mixed with silver. Now we will experiment with a larger quantity. The miner thinks that the surface stone, of which he brought this piece, contains more silver than lead, but that in the ground there will be more lead than silver, which would suit us. They also found copper ore not far from the same place.

*Aug. 14.* The former Sheriff, Mr. Francis Lock, was here to collect the taxes for 1766,—they were 7 sh. 4 d. per Taxable. Br. Miksch has been to Dan River to collect store debts; near Henry Benner's he met David Allen's son, and several families of people from the Jerseys.

*Sept. 8.* Br. Schropp had a bad night; this is the ninth day of his illness. *Sept. 10th.* Early this morning Br. Schropp had a hard attack, which left him unconscious; this continued all day, and prepared us for the end, which came at three in the morning, *Sept. 11th*, to our deep sorrow. In spite of pain he lay quite still until the moment when he entered into rest. Toward morning his home-going was announced by the musicians; then the congregation gathered in the Saal, and the customary announcement was made of his departure.



Later the Helfer Conferenz met, and it was agreed to send word next week to Bethlehem and Europe, so that his place might be filled as soon as possible.

*Sept. 12th.* To the funeral of Br. Schropp came friends and Brethren from the Ens and from Bethania, and also English and Irish neighbors. To these Br. Utley preached in English on the text; "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." Luke II, 29. Then the congregation assembled in the Saal, and Br. Graff spoke on the Texts for the day; then the procession moved to God's Acre, where the remains were laid aside of Br. Gammern, whose successor he had been in the Stewardship of Bethabara. After the funeral, buns and a little wine were served the attendants in the Tavern and Gemein Haus,—there were more than a hundred who had come.

*Sept. 18 to 21.* Visit of Gov. Tryon.

*Sept. 26, 28,* Vintage.

*Sept. 30.* We decided to send a Petition to the Court for new roads from Salem to the chief settlements in our neighborhood, so copies were sent to Town Fork, to Belews Creek, and to Abbots Creek, for the signature of settlers living there. *Oct. 12.* The Petitions have been returned with the names of a considerable number of settlers, and Br. Loesch will take them to Court tomorrow. Br. Miksch will go with him to Salisbury, to appear at Court in a case about a store debt.

*Nov. 6.* Letters from Bethlehem bring the important news that the Quit Rents of Wachovia will be bought from Earl Granville.

*Nov. 9.* Last night two Constables from Orange County arrived with a Press Warrant. In their County a woman had been bound by highwaymen, and her house robbed, and as they had heard of a suspicious company on Crooked Creek they went thither today with twelve men from here, but found no stolen goods.

Yesterday Andreas Volz, Joseph Holder, Stauber, and their families, arrived from Pennsylvania.

*Nov. 18.* We hear that the Indians have attacked a party of hunters in their camp at night, and killed three of them; that the same happened recently to another company that was hunting in the Indian territory. Also that a party of hunters has gone to take revenge on the Indians;—this may have bad results.

*Nov. 22.* Today at Bethania Br. Loesch married Martin Walk to Lisel Fiscuss.

*Dec. 28.* Br. Loesch went to Salem, and swore in the Jury appointed to run the new road from Salem, by way of Abbots Creek, to the Hware and the Trading Path. They began their work, but were divided in opinion, for some, especially Daniel Herrman, wanted the road to go by his house, while others preferred a more direct course. It remains to be seen whether they can agree or not.

*Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement*

[Continuation of historical sketch.]

Cornelius van Laer resigned his office as Director of the Society, Oct. 3, 1763, and Bishop Spangenberg, who had many other duties and responsibilities, felt that he could not properly attend to the matter alone, so tendered his resignation as Director also. This caused a thorough discussion of Wachovia affairs, and it was decided to drop the separate organization for the *Etablissement*, and transfer its management to the Directorial Conference, a board created by the Synod of 1756 to care for the temporal affairs of the entire Unity. Jonas Paulus Weiss, who was a member of the Conference, was put in direct charge of the office, being already familiar with its details through his service as book-keeper. Weiss was directed to notify the shareholders of the change, and to inform them that Frederic William Marshall had been appointed agent for the Unity in North Carolina, and that on arrival there he would look into the question of the proper plotting of the Society lots, with the intention that they should be soon transferred to the shareholders.

The map of 1754 had been discarded on account of the odd shape of the lots. A map of 1759 was considered better until it was noticed that the lot lines did not coincide with the lines of the nineteen surveys of Wachovia. A third map was drawn Feb. 19, 1765, and with some alteration was finally accepted. It shows 32 rectangular lots, arranged around the sides of the Wachovia survey in such a manner as to leave space for the towns of Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem.

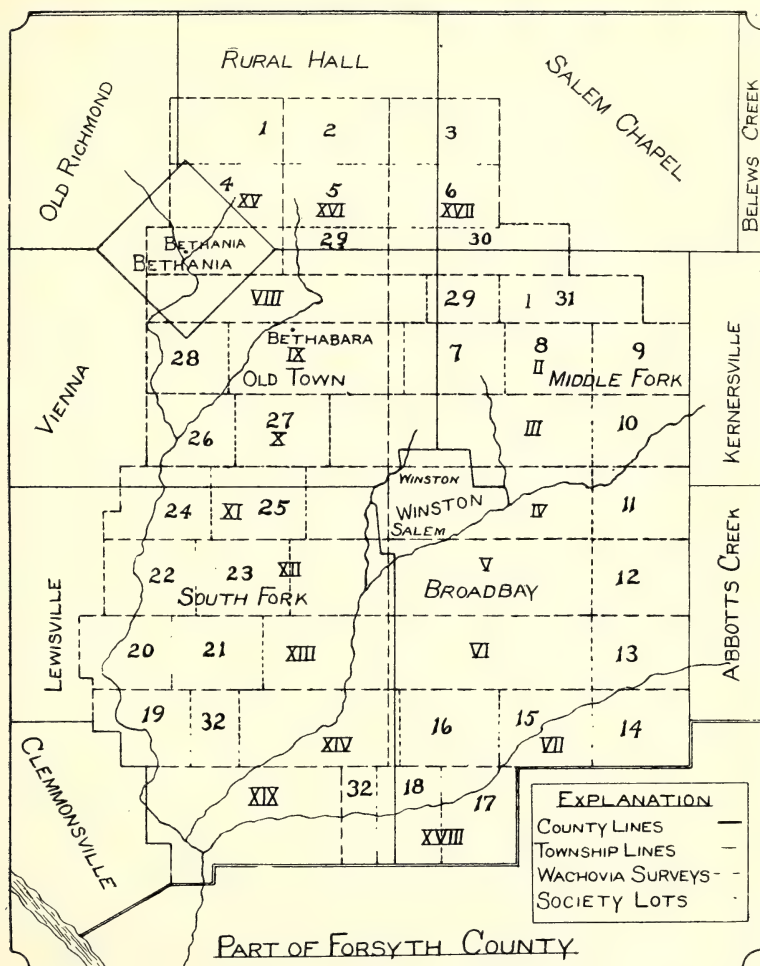
The Conference Minutes of 1765 state that the value of land in North Carolina at that time was £10 to £15 Proclamation money, or £5 to £7:10:— Sterling, per 100 acres. Further that it was very difficult to rent or lease land, for industrious men wished to own their farms, and had no trouble in getting them, and those who were content to rent were apt to be poor pay.

At last, on June 30, 1767, the actual distribution of the lots took place, and July 17th a circular letter was sent to the shareholders. It explained that the somewhat protracted delay had been caused by the war, and by the death of Count Zinzendorf, and other circumstances affecting the Unity. Heartly thanks were expressed to the "Interessenten", for their aid, and for their patience through all difficulties and delays. The map of the Society lots was explained in detail, and also the method by which the lots had been apportioned so that no question of partiality could be raised. The annual Quit Rent for 2000 acres was fixed at £3; and option was reserved to the Unity in case any shareholder wished to sell. The advantage of going in person to settle the lots, or inducing others to go, was set forth; but the services of Frederic William Marshall were offered to any who could not do that, and it was suggested that owners who wished should write to him authorizing him to sell or rent their land as occasion might offer. The circular was dated from Herrnhut, and was signed by the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium, which had succeeded the Directorial Conference in the management of the financial affairs of the Unity.

Marshall returned to Wachovia in 1769, and many of the lot holders authorized him to sell their land on the most favorable terms he could secure. At first this was no easy matter. From letters he sent to the Collegium it appears that there was no great demand for land, and that prices were low. Nor could he do anything toward pushing a lot whose owner was pressing for sale if the prospective settler wished to be near friends and acquaintances, or a mill, or a schoolhouse, and the lot did not fulfill these requirements. But gradually the growth of population increased the demand for lots and their price, which by 1772 had risen to £32 N. C. currency, per 100 acres. Meanwhile the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium bought lots from certain Society members who did not wish to wait for Marshall's sale to actual settlers, the Collegium then selling again either directly or through Marshall as opportunity offered. The following list gives the names of those who received lots in the distribution of 1767, the number of the corresponding stock certificates, and an indication of the disposition of the lots. It will be noted that Traugott Bagge was the only one of the original subscribers who took a Deed to his lot. Johann Leinbach was the only one on the 1767 list who built a house on his lot and actually settled there. Not all the lots laid off were needed in the 1767 distribution, which explains the apparent omission of certain numbers.

Lot Number 1767	Original Certificate Number	Name of Shareholder 1767	Disposal
1	11	Johann Leinbach	Deeded to five of his sons, four in 1770, one in 1771.
2	26	Baron F. H. von Bibra	Purchased by Unitas Vorsteher Collegium.
3	6	Traugott Bagge	Deeded to Bagge in 1770.
5	18	Jean Henri Planta de Wildenberg	Purchased by U. V. C. 1774.
6	2	Mrs. Bujak and son; Daniel Heinrich Hojer	Transferred to Mrs. Shiffert in 1768; all purchased by U. V. C. 1772.
8	16	Conradin von Perini	Sold to J. U. Albertini; and by him to U. V. C. in 1774.
9	1	Sack and Shiffert	U. V. C. 1772.
10	9	Von Schweinitz heirs $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Mrs. Rennekampf $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Walther $\frac{1}{4}$	U. V. C.
12	13	Johann Steinhauer	Passed by will to his son Daniel, 411 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres sold to Frederick Miller, 1774; balance to Magdalene Riegelmann, of Riga, 1788. She sold to U. V. C. in 1789.
13	15	Johann Hartmann	Given to U. V. C. 1768. Sold to Broadbay Settlers, 1769.
14	20	Friedrich von Wiedebach	Passed to heirs. Sold to U. V. C. 1774.
15	5	Johann Steinhauer	More than half sold for his heirs; Remainder bought by U. V. C. 1789.
16	3/2	Johann Roederer $\frac{1}{2}$	U. V. C. 1773.
	25/2	John Gustave Frey $\frac{1}{2}$	U. V. C.
18	17	Christian Schmidt	Passed to his heirs; sold for them by Marshall.
21	19/1	Zellich's widow $\frac{1}{2}$	U. V. C.
	19/2	Johann A. Schmutz $\frac{1}{2}$	U. V. C. 1773.
22	8	Abraham Duerninger & Co.	Sold to Traugott Bagge, 1774.
23	12	M. J. Klein	U. V. C.
25	14	C. F. Martens (for Diaconies of Single Brethren)	Parts sold on their account; balance bought by U. V. C. 1812.
26	22	Sack and Shiffert	U. V. C. 1772.
27	24	F. J. von Bruiningk	U. V. C.
30	23	Johann E. Dehio $\frac{1}{2}$	U. V. C.
		George Kandler $\frac{1}{2}$	U. V. C.





KEY MAP OF WACHOVIA, SHOWING 1767 ARRANGEMENT OF THE LOTS OF DER NORD CAROLINA LAND UND COLONIE ETABLISSEMENT IN RELATION TO MODERN TOWNSHIP LINES



*Value of Gold and Silver Coins, in North Carolina Currency,**Sept. 14, 1767.*

[From a sheet found among Traugott Bagge's papers.]

<i>Gold coins.</i>	<i>In N. C. Currency,</i>
½ Johannes.....	£ 3: 3: -.
Doubloon .....	6: -: -.
Spanish Pistole .....	1: 10: -.
Moidore .....	: 6: -.
English Guinea .....	1: 18: -.
French Guinea .....	1: 17: -.
Carolin .....	2: 2: -.
Lunenburg Pistole .....	1: 10: -.
Ducat .....	: 15: -.
<i>Silver coins</i>	
Spanish Dollar .....	: 8: -.
Pound Sterling .....	1: 12: -.
Pistareen .....	: 1: 6.

*Concerning Power of Attorney for F. W. Marshall.*

Whereas the late Earl of Granville, deceased, did by a Deed bearing Date, August the 7th, 1753, convey unto You James Hutton Secretary of the Unitas Fratrum a large Tract of Land in North Carolina known by the Name of Wachovia, for the Benefit of the Unitas Fratrum, You are hereby authorized and required by Us the Underwritten Lord Advocate, Chancellor and Agent of the Unitas Fratrum for the Time being, to give a full Power of Attorney to Frederick Marshall late of Bethlehem in the Province of Pennsylvania, now going to reside in North Carolina, to sell or convey any such Portions or Parcels of the said Land to any Purchaser or Purchasers as He the said Frederick Marshall shall find willing to purchase, and in so doing You will answer the End of Your Trust, and pursue the Benefit of the Unitas Fratrum, and for doing which, these Presents shall be Your Discharge.

Given under our Hands and Seals for Us and in the Name of the Unitas Fratrum this Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of Our Lord One thousand, seven hundred and Sixty Seven.

At Herrnhuth in Upper Lusatia.

Henry XXVIII Reuss  
Count and Lord of Plauen  
Advocate of the Unitas Fratrum

(Seal)

Abraham de Gersdorff  
 p. t. Chancellor of the Unitas Fratrum  
 (Seal)  
 Renatus van Laer  
 Agent of the  
 Unitas Fratrum  
 (Seal)

A true Copy diligently compared with the Original, attested by me  
 Friedrich Miller J. P.

*Marriage Licence.*

[See Bethabara Diary, Feb. 4, 1767.]

North Carolina, Ss.

His Excellency

(L. S.) WILLIAM TRYON, Esq.

Wm. Tryon.

Captain General, Governor and Commander in Chief,  
 in and over his Majesty's Province of North Carolina.

To any Orthodox Minister of the Church of England, or for  
 Want thereof, to any regular licenced Minister of the dissent-  
 ing Presbyterian Clergy, or lawful Magistrate within the  
 same. Greeting.

By Virtue of the Power and Authority to Me given, as Governor and  
 Commander in Chief in & over this Province, (Certificate having been  
 made to Me by John Frohock, Clerk of Rowan-County Court, that the  
 Bond as by Law required hath been taken and filed by him in his Office)  
 I DO hereby Allow, Admit, and Licence you, or any of you, to Cele-  
 brate & Solemnize the Rites of Matrimony between Thomas Willson &  
 Catherine Leviston, and to join them together, as Man & Wife, in Holy  
 Matrimony.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Newbourn this 22nd Day  
 of January in the Year of our Lord 1767, & in the Sevinth Year  
 of His Majesty's Reign.

By his Excellencys Command

Fount. Elwin, pr Sec:



[In North Carolina the men who were dissatisfied with the use made by Provincial Officials of the taxes collected refused to pay any further taxes until the abuses were corrected. "The Mob" now formed an association under the name of *Regulators*, Herman Husband being one of the leaders. They threatened Hillsboro and were particularly bitter against Col. Edmund Fanning.

The Helfer Conferenz Minutes of Wachovia, under date of Feb. 1st, note that the Assembly had passed an Act whereby each Taxable must shoot seven squirrels or cranes per year, or pay a tax of 4d for each one short of the number required.]

*Wachovia Memorabilia.*

[Translated in full.]

At the close of this year we remember with thankful hearts the priceless grace and presence of our Lord, the love of His and our Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, which the little company in Wachovia has enjoyed in abundant measure during the twelvemonth, and we rehearse the following experiences,—though who can tell all the goodness and mercy that God has shown to His people?

Early in the year we were lovingly greeted by the second colony of Brethren coming direct from Europe, and we rejoiced to see them. Among them was our beloved Oeconomus, Frederick Marshall, and for him, as he took up his important duties in Wachovia, we wished the joy of the Lord, as also for his dear Liesel, his helpmeet in all things, and for the entire company, desiring that together, with holy love and in the spirit of peace, we might carry on the work of the Lord.

The Brethren brought us many pleasant assurances of the tender love and thought of our honored Brethren in the Unity's Boards, and the interest of those Brethren in our circumstances here and especially in our dear Salem. The agreement between the Unity's Vorsteher Collegium and the Diacony<sup>1</sup> of Wachovia, and the arrangements made with

<sup>1</sup> The Diaconie was the financial side of Church affairs, as distinct from the religious side. It was concerned with receipts, investments, and expenditures, and at this period managed the businesses carried on for the benefit of the Oeconomie. At the head of the Diaconie stood the Vorsteher, and associated with him was the Aufseher Collegium, or Board of Superintendents—this Board was later re-organized, and became the Board of Trustees. Wachovia as a whole had a Diaconie; each fully organized congregation had a Diaconie, and so had the Choir of Single Brethren, and the Choir of Single Sisters.

the Carolina share-holders concerning their possessions in Wachovia, were according to our wishes.

In Salem building has progressed as rapidly as means and men permitted:—a house and workshop have been built for the potter, also a house and workshop for the black-smith; and on Aug. 30th, at the close of the Single Brothers Festival, the foundation stone was laid for the Brothers House, the first Choir House in Salem. Work was hindered, however, by much wet weather in the latter part of the year, and then winter set in earlier than usual, so that the Brothers House is not as far along as we had hoped. Two public roads have been opened, to the north and to the north-east, and the Salem Brethren cut them through our land. A beginning has been made with a little farm about a quarter of a mile from Salem, across the Wach, and this will provide the town with food in the future.

Our rulers have continued to show a favorable mind toward us, as was manifest when Br. Marshall went with Br. Loesch to Salisbury to pay his first visit to the Governor. His Excellency had intended again to return to Hillsboro by way of Bethabara, but was prevented by the disturbances of the time. It is owing to the protection of our dear Father that these disturbances, caused by a Mob, have neither interfered with our accustomed life nor had any ill results for us. Meanwhile we had an opportunity to prove our loyalty to our rulers, in deed as well as in word, by sending a goodly quantity of Zwieback to Hillsboro for the use of the Governor's troops. The new Chief Justice of our Province, Mr. Martin Howard, spent a few pleasant days in Bethabara, as did several other persons of distinction, and all expressed their opinion that we were "a happy and contented people".

By order of certain share-holders of Wachovia Br. Marshall sold several tracts of land, partly belonging to Wachovia, partly taken up for Bethabara, to members of Pennsylvania Country Congregations, who plan to have the tracts settled and cultivated by their children.

In Bethania two new dwellings have been built, with an addition to a third, and an arrangement has been made with the residents for an enlargement of the cattle-yard.

One family from Bethabara, at their own request, has begun independent housekeeping on a piece of land outside the village.

The blessing of our Heavenly Father has rested upon the labors of our workmen, the faithfulness of our craftsmen, and on our trade, and our Store has received in Br. Traugott Bagge an able merchant, who has taken charge of it, and also of our books and accounts.

In late summer a serious epidemic broke out among the cattle in Bethania. Fortunately some escaped the disease, and it did not come into our other towns, and we are thankful that the loss was not greater.

Our wagons took the two Sisters, Gammern and Schropp, to the Widows House in Bethlehem, as they had greatly desired; in place of Sr. Gammern, Sr. Marshall has taken charge of the clothing and other necessities for the Brethren and Sisters. The returning wagons brought three Single Sisters to add to our number; they also brought to Br. Jacob Loesch a call from the Oeconomie Conference in Bethlehem to go thither, a call given by our Lord through the Directorium; he has accepted it, and will make arrangements this winter to move there with his entire family.

Four of our boys have been put into trades, partly in Salem, partly in Bethabara.

We have this year experienced the protection of the angels on several occasions,—in the timely discovery of threatening fire, and in the averting of accident from children and others, and for this we give our thanks to the Watchman and Guardian of Israel. The Bethania Brethren had a special providential escape, on the last journey to Charlestown. Just as they approached Goose Creek, which is deep and has steep banks, a boy drove a herd of oxen across the bridge, the bridge broke, and boy and oxen fell into the water, our wagons thereby escaping a serious accident.

Br. Utley has preached the Gospel to our neighbors in English and in German, not only to the little company below the Ens, but at various other places, and has received and accepted invitations to some new localities here and in Virginia, sowing the Gospel seed in hope of a future harvest for our Lord in this apparently unfruitful land.

During the year we have received from Europe a set of trombones, and their use on solemn days and festivals has strengthened and edified our congregation.

Concerning the inner life of the congregation we may say that it has been nourished by the merits and atonement of Jesus, and has been strengthened by the Daily Words and Doctrinal Texts. The reading of the sermons from the Wochen, especially the re-reading of Zinzendorf's sermons, and the reading of the congregation reports from the Beilagen, has promoted growth in the spirit of Christ and of His church, and has taught anew that we are one with His people everywhere, grounded upon His Atonement. The general Church Festivals, as well as our special Congregation Festivals and Memorial Days, have been days of blessing, as have also our monthly Gemein Tage.



The Pedalavium and Cup of Covenant have been celebrated on certain Congregation and Choir Festivals and Doctrinal Days, as we pledged ourselves anew to hold to the spirit of Christ and of the Choirs; and at the close of the year our eyes fill with tears of thankfulness as we think of the grace vouchsafed to us by our Lord at each Communion season.

Concerning the individual Choirs we recount the following.—

The Married Choir bears witness to the grace of their Head, that in spite of their short-comings He has drawn near to them, and has made clearer to them the mystery of marriage as setting forth the relation of Christ to His Church, and has laid upon their hearts the sense of His sufficient redemption and protecting care; that through the application of His grace to body and soul they might become pure, and like unto Himself. These foundation Principles of their Choir have been diligently set before them, through the reading of Choir sermons from the Wochen, especially sermons by Zinzendorf, and many evidences of the good results attained have been seen in the private "sprechen" with the Brethren and Sisters. The Text of their Doctrinal Day, May 19th, and that of Sept. 7th, made a double reminder to them of the family altar, and that they should bring up their children before the Lord. Their Choir Festival was celebrated in Bethabara Sept. 7th with the Holy Communion; and in Bethania on the 8th with the Cup of Covenant. At the services in Bethania there were present a number of Married People who live outside of our villages, but belong to this Choir, and who wish to consecrate themselves and their children to the Lord,—we regret that at this time we cannot give them better service. During the year Br. and Sr. Marshall have been added to this Choir, and another couple came with them from England, so that the Choir is increased by two couples. The Lord has given to this Choir two sons and one daughter in Bethabara, and in Bethania three sons and two daughters. There are now 19 couples in Bethabara, and 17 in Bethania.

The Choir of Single Brethren remembers the precious nearness of their own Original; and on their Doctrinal Day, June 12th, they shared the Cup of Covenant in pledge of their determination to maintain the character of young men whose mind is in harmony with the mind of the Lamb of God. Their Choir Festival was blessed in all its services, especially the Choir Communion, as was also the 30th of August, when the foundation stone of their Choir House in Salem was solemnly laid, in the presence of the assembled Choirs of Brethren and Boys, including five Boys from Bethania. It was a noteworthy fact that Andreas Gros, then their Choir Jünger, helped to lay this stone, and



ten days later was called as a representative of this Choir into the presence of their Prince. One member had to be dismissed from this Choir, and one left of his own accord.

The Boys had a happy Choir Festival in January, to which four from Bethania came. Three were admitted to the Lord's Table; one was received into the congregation.

At the close of the year the Choir of Single Brethren numbers 32, Boys 19, of whom 10 Brethren and 5 Boys live in Salem; with 5 Boys in Bethania the total is 56.

The little Choir of Widows finds many reasons to thank the Friend, who has comforted their sorrow, and promised to keep them close to Him. Shortly before their Choir Festival their Friend called home the eldest Sister from their midst; and two went to Bethlehem, reaching there just as the new Widows House was to be consecrated. The Choir now consists of five, three in Bethabara, one in Bethania, and one living with her children a short distance away but attending services at Bethania.

The Choir of Single Sisters acknowledges the mercies of their Beloved, and the care of the Holy Ghost. Their numbers have increased this year from 3 to 17. In February the first five from Europe arrived, among them Anna Maria Quest, as Pfliegerin of the Single Sisters and Older Girls. On their Choir Festival, [May 4th] six Girls joined the Sisters Choir, and united with them in the Cup of Covenant, pledging themselves to be their Lord's hand-maidens in Wachovia. The Choir was now large enough to have a Choir Litany on their Festal Day, and a Choir Communion on Sept. 10th, the first special Communion for their Choir in Wachovia. In November three Sisters from Bethlehem and Lititz arrived, so that they are now 17 in number, all but three being communicants.

The Choir of Girls had a happy Festival on March 25th,<sup>2</sup> when two children from Bethabara joined the Choir, the first to do so. Six Girls from Bethania were also with them. Four Girls have been admitted to the Lord's Table, and one is a candidate for this privilege. There are eight Girls in Bethabara, two of them being communicants.

In Bethabara one Single Brother and one child died; in Bethania one Widower and one boy.

At the close of the year there are in the Bethabara congregation 136; in Bethania 94; total 230; an increase of 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Lady Day." Tradition says that the Virgin Mary was fourteen years of age at the Annunciation.

To these should be added the goodly number of Brethren and friends who live here and there in and near Wachovia. Those who are not far from Bethania attend Sunday services there; the rest, especially those below the Ens, have the Gospel sent to them from Bethabara.

*1768 Wachovia Diary.*

*Marshall and Bagge.*

[Items grouped.]

The long-desired arrival of the Wachovia Oeconomus, Frederic William Marshall,<sup>3</sup> took place on Sunday, *Feb. 14th*. With him were his wife Elisabeth, Traugott Bagge<sup>4</sup> and his wife Rachel, and five Single Sisters. News of their approach had been received on Saturday, and the Brn. Utley and Bonn had ridden to Christian Frey's to meet them, but they reached Bethabara just before noon, when the congregation was in one of the sessions of Gemein Tag, and did not expect them at that moment. They were heartily welcomed, and that evening the congregation united in a solemn and happy Lovefeast, during which Marshall gave the Wachovia Brethren the greetings of the Boards of the Unity, and told something of his journey from England, Oct 14th, to Charlestown, Jan. 24th. On the *17th* Marshall met with the Aeltesten Conferenz for the first time; and on the *20th* preached his first sermon in Bethabara. *March 5th* Br. Loesch went to General Court in Salisbury, and took with him the Power of Attorney from James Hutton, of London, to Marshall, authorizing him to sell land in Wachovia, and a similar document from Nathaniel Seidel, of Bethlehem, covering certain tracts on Muddy Creek. These were registered by

<sup>3</sup>Friedrich, Wilhelm von Marschall was born Feb. 5, 1721, at Stolpen, near Dresden; son of George Rudolph von Marschall and Louisa Marciana, m. n. Loka. His father was an officer in the army, and destined his four sons for the same profession, giving them careful education at home and in the University. With his father's consent, however, F. W. v M. joined the Unity of Brethren at Herrnhag in 1739. His exceptional talents were at once recognized, and he held many positions of trust and importance, especially as an associate of Count Zinzendorf and his son Christian Renatus, and in congregations of the Brethren in England and America. He was married, June 30, 1750, to Hedwig Elisabeth von Schweinitz. He was received as Akoluth, Aug. 18, 1742; ordained Deacon, Sept. 15, 1748; Presbyter, Sept. 30, 1754; made Senior Civilis, 1761. According to his own computation he lived 31 years in Germany, 15 in England, 1½ in Holland and Prussia, in America 32½, and spent a year and a quarter on shipboard during various journeys. He served the Unity for more than 62 years. Died in Salem, N. C., Feb. 11, 1802. He liked the English language, and when in America spelled his name Marshall.

<sup>4</sup>Traugott Bagge was born June 26th, Old Style, or July 7th, New Style, 1729, in Gothenburg, Sweden. Was the 14th and youngest child of Lorenz Bagge, and Anna Margaretha, m. n. Calms. Was educated in the town schools, and had a special liking for mathematics. His father was a merchant, and Traugott was trained to enter that business, for which he showed much aptitude. After some years in business and travel he joined the Unity of Brethren at Zeist, in 1755. Was received as Akoluth in 1759, and called to the service of the Brethren's Church in England. In 1769 he married Rahel Nicholson, and accepted a call to Wachovia. He was the leading man in Wachovia during the Revolutionary period, when Marshall was detained in Europe. He was a member of the N. C. Assembly in 1782; was also a Justice of the Peace. He died in Salem, April 1, 1800.

the Clerk of the County Court, and were returned to Marshall on Oct. 22nd. In *July* Marshall went to Salisbury to pay his respects to the Governor, but Tryon did not appear; in *August* he tried again, and was given a kindly reception by the Governor. In Bethabara Br. Marshall decided various business questions, which had been awaiting his arrival; and in Salem he definitely located the Square, and the site for the chief buildings of the new town.

Traugott Bagge at once took charge of the Bethabara store as Merchant, Matthew Miksch being retained as Storekeeper. Bagge became responsible for the store books and accounts, with supervision of all connected with the trade and commerce of the village. The committee which had been filling Br. Gammern's place as Steward of Bethabara was continued, with Br. Utley as chairman. In April, when the Bethania wagons went to Charlestown, taking 3000 lbs. dressed deer-skins and 600 lbs. tallow, Bagge went also to fully acquaint himself with business conditions there. In November the wagons made a second trip to Charlestown, taking 4400 lbs. skins, and 300 lbs. butter; two shipments were made from the store to Cross Creek, and two to Pine Tree Store. At intervals agents were sent out among the neighbors to collect debts due the store. In the latter part of April wheat sold in Cross Creek for 5 sh. 4 d. per bushel, or in barter one bushel salt for one bushel wheat.

### *Salem.*

#### [Items grouped.]

The early part of the year was devoted to road work, especially on the new roads from Salem to the Town Fork and to Belews Creek. Protests having been made against the route selected for the Abbots Creek road, the Court in January appointed a new Jury, with an Overseer, who were to review the matter and render a final decision. A road was also cut from Salem to the pine woods between the Spangenbach and the Laer, so that logs might be hauled to the sawmill near Bethabara. George Holder was again stationed at Salem as Road Master.

Building in Salem was continued. The cellar wall for the fifth house on the main street caved in and had to be replaced. Boards were bought from David Allen, and were hauled from the Landing Place on the Yadkin to Salem. *March 26th* the Saal in the Two-Story House was consecrated by a Lovefeast, the occasion being the first visit of Br. Marshall and the other recent arrivals from Europe.



The exact location of the chief buildings had been left for Br. Marshall to decide, and after several conferences, and again running levels from the springs behind the west ridge, which were being considered as the future water supply, he recommended that the Square be moved seven building lots further south, to the first location that had been considered, where the ground was somewhat more level, and the water could be brought to houses on the upper side.<sup>5</sup> The final decision was reached at a joint meeting, *April 18th*, in Bethabara, of the Helfer Conferenz, the heads of families, and the master workmen.

*June 3rd* the potter's house and shop were raised, the building being 56 ft. long. It was the sixth, and most northern of the first group, being on the corner of the main street and a lane. *June 27th* Reuter laid off a lot for Georg Schmid across the lane from the pottery. His blacksmith shop was raised *Aug. 20th*; and work on his dwelling house was begun two days later. It was a log house, instead of the frame-work being used for the other dwellings. Schmid dug a well on his lot; and on the ridge west of the Run he found good stone below the surface, which was better for foundation building than that hitherto used.

In *June* a farm was laid out which should furnish food for Salem.

*July 25th* the lot was measured for the Single Brothers House. *July 11th* it had been decided that only one half of the House should be built at this time; and *Aug. 30th* the foundation stone was solemnly laid. At 11 o'clock the congregation gathered in the Saal of the Two-Story House, where Br. Marshall made a short address, and read the paper to be placed in the tin box in the Foundation Stone. Then in procession, led by the musicians, they went to the place of building, and sang the latter part of the Psalm<sup>6</sup> used at the Festival of the Single Brethren the preceding day. The box was placed, and the stone covering it was laid by the Brn. Lorenz Bagge and Andreas Gros, Gemein Jünger and Choir Jünger respectively for this month. Then standing on the stone, Br. Lorenz offered an earnest prayer that those who would live in this House might have the grace, love, and fellowship of the Triune God, and that its erection might be under the protection and blessing of the Heavenly Father. The seventy and more Brethren and Boys present voiced their *Amen* to these petitions in the singing of several stanzas. At the close of the service all had dinner in Salem, and then returned to their respective homes. The site for the Salem Tavern was selected *Dec. 1st*, by Marshal and others. Lime for building

<sup>5</sup> This placed the Square in its present position, between Main and Church, Academy and West Streets.

<sup>6</sup> The "Fest Psalm," and a copy of the paper placed in the box, are filed with the Diary.







MAP OF BETHANIA TRACT, 1766  
(Original in Salem Land Office)

was a perplexing problem, but during this year sixty bushels of lime were bought from Marshall Dunckan, for 18d. per bushel. It was probably the first lime burned in North Carolina.

There were two accidents in Salem during the year. A day laborer, Fletcher, was caught under a falling tree, and badly hurt. A comrade, Johnson Martin, released him, and Br. Bonn was called from Bethabara, bled him, and gave medicine, which seemed to relieve him somewhat, but two days later he was little better, and friends took him home. Sept. 3rd Br. Hurst fell, cutting his knee on a chopping knife, which lamed him for a time, though not permanently. Except for their daily devotions the Salem Brethren were served by ministers from Bethabara, especially Br. Lorenz, but for special days they went to the older village.

### *Bethania.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 9.* Our old Mother Frey died suddenly and peacefully. She had been spinning industriously, then rose from her chair, lay down on the bed, and passed away a couple of hours later. [She was visiting her daughter, Sr. Hege, at the time.] The funeral was held Jan. 11th by Br. Graff.

*May 15.* It was Gemein Tag, during which Br. Marshall conducted the services. There was also a conference with all the house-holders, to consider certain suggestions for so using three vacant lots in the village as to give more place in the lots on which new houses were being erected. A decision was reached June 7th, to the satisfaction of all parties.

*June 24.* Today, the Day of St. John the Baptist, the Little Boys had their Festival, six coming from Bethabara for the services.

*July 23.* For some days the weather has been very hot and oppressive, with frequent thunderstorms. As Andreas Volk and his wife were approaching Bethania there was a sharp clap of thunder, the horse reared, the girth broke, and the saddle and Volk fell one way, and his wife fell the other. Neither was hurt.

*July 25.* The second story was placed on Henrich Shore's house. This is the first two-story house in Bethania.

*Aug. 11.* Br. Ranke's daughter Elisabeth was sitting in the doorway when a large saw, which hung over it, was blown down by the wind. Two of the teeth wounded the child in the head, but she might easily have been killed.

*Sept. 14.* There is a disease among the cattle belonging to the upper town, and a number have died. There are large lumps under the skin, especially along the neck and back, and these lumps are full of clotted blood. It was at first thought that the cattle had been driven in too roughly from the woods, but it was later found that the range had been crossed by affected cattle from the Peedee, which had spread disease and death all along their path, from the Peedee, through the Hollow, and to New River. By Oct. 14th seventeen cattle had died in Bethania, though the disease was confined to the herd from the upper town.

*Dec. 30.* Benjamin Leinbach came to Br. Graff and announced his engagement to Andreas Volk's daughter, Christine, and asked for the publication of the Banns, and that we would marry him. For the latter he was referred to Br. Loesch as Justice of the Peace; the Banns can be published by Br. Bachhoff as Public Reader and Clerk of Dobbs Parish.

*Preaching places.*

[Items grouped.]

Br. Utley preached about once a month at Christian Frey's below the Ens, and at Valentine Frey's in the Muddy Creek settlement, near Douthit's. Once he went to the Town Fork, but found all the men away at a political meeting, so returned to Mr. Benner's for the night. Three times he preached in the home of Mr. Hawkins, up the Yadkin, about thirty miles from Bethabara. Twice he went to Mr. Robbert, an inn-keeper at Pittsylvania Court House in Virginia, whom the Brethren had often seen as they passed on their way to Pennsylvania. Mr. Robbert visited Bethabara in July, and invited Br. Utley to come and preach in his home. Nov. 30th he was invited to preach in the Baptist Meeting House on the Yadkin, and accepted, being assured by Mr. Little, who brought the invitation, that it was given with the approval of Mr. Murfy, the Baptist Minister.

*Bethabara.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 12.* The cold today is more intense than it has been for a number of winters. Br. Loesch rode to Court at Salisbury, taking the Returns of the Juries appointed to lay out the three new roads from Salem.

*Jan. 17.* Yesterday morning it rained; then snowed all day and into the night as hard as ever it could. Today it is clear, but quite



unusually cold. Br. Loesch returned from Salisbury. He brought no news of our travelers expected from Europe; six so-called Regulators from Pine Tree Store had heard nothing of them from Charlestown. Br. Loesch had received a most friendly letter from the Governor from New Bern, referring graciously to the courtesies extended to him and to his lady during their visit here, and inviting Br. Loesch to Hillisburg next summer. He expressed regret that more wagons than he had engaged had gone to Brunshwig last fall, and had found such a poor market there; he seemed not to encourage a further attempt.

*Jan. 19.* The eclipse of the sun, predicted by Sauer's Calendar, began about half past twelve. It was about as dark as at sunset.

*Jan. 25.* Br. Richter and Adam Spach had to take a horse-thief from here to the Salisbury jail. He had been brought here from the Hollow by the so-called Regulators from South [Carolina].

*Jan. 29.* The company of Regulators came today with a prisoner and four stolen Negroes from the Hollow, whom they were taking to Charlestown. One of the Regulators told Br. Loesch confidentially that in fourteen days another and a stronger party would come, and then there would be more to hear. To all appearances the band of highwaymen, recently scattered in South, have nested in the Hollow.

*Feb. 4.* Br. Reuter has begun a class in arithmetic for the younger boys early in the morning, and one for older boys in the evening. Br. Utley will have evening classes for the older boys and certain Brethren in English reading and writing.

*March 4.* The Brn. Reuter and Triebel went by the way of Bethania to the Landing Place at Isaac Free's plantation on the Yadkin, where yesterday David Allen brought a good lot of pine boards for us.

*March 10.* A neighbor, who lives on the east line of Wachovia, came to Justice Loesch and reported that last evening two highwaymen came into his house to rob and murder. He and his sons came into the house to help the two women, and finally forced the two highwaymen to leave. The one left his horse and dog, so perhaps he can be caught; the other shot from his horse, wounding the man of the house in the leg. A hue and cry was sent after them.

*March 16, 17, 19.* It snowed as heavily as though winter were just beginning.

*March 23.* Yesterday Br. Loesch went to the Hollow as Coroner, a man having been found dead. He took with him several Brethren from Bethania for the inquest. To all appearances the man was drunk, fell from his horse, and died from cold on the ground.<sup>7</sup> The Jury

<sup>7</sup> Tradition says he was buried where he fell, and the grave is pointed out beside the road from Mt. Airy to Mt. Bethel, a little beyond the Virginia line.

pitied the poor widow, who had six little children and expected another soon, and was in great need, so a collection had been taken up for them.

*April 15.* The Under Sheriff, Mr. Graham, came to collect the County Taxes.

*May 4.* The Brn. Reuter and Loesch went with Br. Baumgarten to the Dauba Branch, where the latter has decided to lease 100 acres and begin a little farm for himself. *May 26th.* Today the Brethren laid up Br. Baumgarten's log house. *June 2nd* he moved thither with wife, children, and baggage. *June 5th.* This evening full settlement was made with Br. Baumgarten for his service in our Oeconomie. He received a sum of money, and signed a formal Discharge in the presence of witnesses.

*May 18.* The more than one hundred years old Turk Weybrand came again, attended the reading meeting, and spent the night in the woods, apparently, since he was not to be found in the village.

Next morning several Brethren met him going to Bethania, where he gladly accepted food, drink, and clothing. (N. B. Br. Utley remembers to have seen this man some twenty years ago in Menissing. He went to see him, and found this was so; also that at most he can not be more than seventy years old. )

*May 28.* On the Yadkin a number of settlers met at the home of Isaac Free and signed a Contract against the Public Taxes and other grievances. Many of them do not know what they want; it is a contrivance of certain rebellious heads.

*June 1.* The month opened very hot.

*June 7.* A lawyer, Mr. Vorseight [Forsyth?], came from Salisbury on a visit. He reported that the Assembly would meet this month, and that the Counties of Rowan and Mecklenburg would be divided.

*June 12.* Br. Utley went to the Town Fork yesterday, expecting to preach today in James Hampton's house, but found all the men gone to a gathering about political affairs (against government orders).

*June 18.* About six o'clock was the Communion Lovefeast, for which the announcement was given for the first time with the new trombones.

*July 4th.* George Schmid's little son died, and trombones were used for the first time in announcing the death; also at a funeral for the first time next day, when the child was buried.

*June 20.* Fine weather for the beginning of summer.

*June 25.* Mr. Dun, a lawyer from near Salisbury, came on a visit, with his wife and little daughter.

*June 29.* The eclipse of the moon, noted in the calendar, began about nine o'clock. It was full moon, and after sunset the moon shone with its full light, but by ten o'clock it was covered all except the lower edge, being red as the evening glow.

*July 1.* The weather is oppressively hot.

*July 18.* Br. Miksch went to Salisbury to Court; certain Store debts have been brought up in Court. A man brought the report to us that a highwayman, Shepherd, who has twice broken out of the prison at Salisbury, was shot several days ago in the Jersey settlement, and will probably die.

*Aug. 8.* Capt. Collet arrived toward evening. He is Commandant of Fort Johnston, knew Br. Marshall in London; his mother is a member of the Unitas Fratrum in Geneva. *Aug. 10th* he left *well satisfied*. He hinted that he would like his visit to be recorded in our Diary. He went by way of Salem; he plans to see the Governor in Hillsbury, and then go, via England, to Switzerland.

*Aug. 9.* We had white cabbage for dinner today, unusually fine heads for this season of the year,—one weighed eleven pounds.

*Aug. 18.* Several men who have been following a horse-thief found him in the Tavern, and took him to prison at Salisbury.

*Aug. 19.* Mr. Martin Howard, Chief Justice of this Province, and several other gentlemen from Hillsbury arrived about noon, and will stay a few days, and then go to General Court in Salisbury which will be held the 5th of next month. Mr. Howard brought a letter from Capt. Collet to Br. Loesch, in which he mentioned confidentially that the Governor had left Hillsbury secretly for Mecklenburg County, and expected to be in Salisbury on the 25th; he had not told the Chief Judge of the trip, nor of his purpose, it was probably being kept secret on account of the Regulators, as just now their matter seems to be at a very critical point, and there may be dangerous developments.

*Aug. 24.* The Brn. Marshall and Graff rode to Salisbury with Mr. Howard and Mr. Cook, who have been here since the 19th, to their *satisfaction*. A party of men from Orange County passed through our village. They were Regulators, and said they were going to Holston's River to look for land,—though there may be another reason.

*Sept. 6.* A number of the Brethren and Sisters are complaining of fever, and some have much pain in the body. It may come from bad colds brought on by the autumn chill of the last days, which affects the health, especially if clothing is not changed to meet it. *Sept. 9.* Our sick are improving. Purging and vomiting seems to be the best treatment, and generally breaks up the fever.



*Sept. 15.* This morning two wagons loaded with zwieback from our bakery were sent from here to Hillsborough. Hans Shore and Ludwig Leinbach, from near Bethania, were the drivers. Just as they were leaving Br. Bagge told them their destination. They were given a written address to a merchant in New Bern but were told they would be stopped in Hillsborough by order of the Governor. They had hardly left town when a rumor spread in Bethania, coming from the Hollow and the Yadkin, that the Regulators believed that the wagons contained arms and ammunition, and would stop them on the road. We committed them to the care of Him who can bring to naught the evil designs of men.

Toward noon Mr. Martin Armstrong came from Salisbury with the news that the Governor left there yesterday with 600 armed soldiers whom he had summoned for the protection of the Court at Hillsborough. Mr. Armstrong also said that the Regulators had presented to the Governor a written request for Pardon, but the Governor would hold his troops until the Court adjourned.

*Aug. 18.* The first frost fell to-night.

*Aug. 19.* People came from Haw River, Orange County, bringing 50 bushels of wheat to exchange for pottery. They knew of no disturbance in their neighborhood caused by Regulators.

*Sept. 21.* In Europe the Equinox falls on the 21st, but in America does not come until the 23rd. It is unusually warm for the season, for the beginning of autumn.

*Sept. 22.* The two wagons returned from taking biscuits to Hillsborough. They had not had the slightest trouble, except that they had been stopped with blows. Col. Fanning took the biscuits for *His Majesty's service*.

This evening there was a hard clap of thunder, and Sr. Meyer fainted, probably from the impression made on her by the stroke on their journey hither. She was bled.

*Oct. 4.* We at last heard this much from Hillsborough,—that there was no violence at the General Court, but that the Governor had seriously considered the complaints of the Regulators concerning the unlawful acts of certain officers.

*Oct. 11.* Mr. John Armstrong came from Hillsborough, whither he had marched under the Governor's standard. He said Court had adjourned without doing anything definite about the Regulators. The Governor had left, but he did not know where he had gone.

*Oct. 12.* The Aeltesten Conferenz met to consider several matters of importance, especially the call to Br. Loesch to return to Pennsylvania.



*Oct. 17.* Since day before yesterday the weather has been very changeable. The 15th was as warm as the middle of May; that night the wind changed to the north-east, and yesterday it felt like snow. Last night it rained; and today it is clear and fresh, with some frost.

Br. Georg Schmid went to Salem with a well-digger who has recently come from Pennsylvania. There he was a partner of Gotthelf Rothe, who has been here for some time.

Br. Loesch went to Salisbury to Court. Br. Aust went with him, partly on account of his health, partly to set up a stove for Andreas Betz.

*Nov. 8.* In a Philadelphia newspaper we see that things are very uneasy in New England. The King and Parliament wish to force the American Provinces to obey the recent Acts of Parliament, and the Provinces, especially in New England, insist on their Privileges.

*Nov. 17.* Fifteen years ago the first colony of Brethren arrived in Bethabara, and took possession of the first house, which has now been torn down. The Aeltesten Conferenz had a Lovefeast with the four Brethren of that first party who are now here,—Loesch, Lung, Merkly, and Pfeil, Br. Beroth is away on business. Later the communicants were notified of Br. Loesch's call to Bethlehem.

*Dec. 15.* The first snow fell today.

*Dec. 17.* In the Sisters wash-house an iron plate was set, with a stove under it, so as to warm the house, and also heat the irons that should be set on it.

*Dec. 18.* Br. Herbst returned from Salisbury. He brought Br. Loesch a letter from Mr. Dun, which stated among other things that as last year a new County, Bedford, had been erected in Lord Granville's part of the Province, the last Assembly had made a new County, Tryon, in the King's portion of the Province, taking the part of Mecklenburg that lay between the South line and the Catawba River.

*Dec. 25.* The new Seal for Wachovia, which Br. Marshall brought with him from Europe, was used for the first time today.

[Translated in full.]

We recall today the gracious care of our faithful God, which we in the year now closing have so richly received, and give humble and joyful thanks for it all; our faces blush for gratitude before our God for all His unrecognised goodness, and all that has been accepted and forgotten. But we would once more recount the remembered mercies of our Lord and Father, and at the year's end bring Him our thanks, trusting that with them He will be well pleased. We praise Him, in particular, that He has given us His gracious presence, and daily and richly has comforted us and guided us in all things. The Holy Spirit has nourished our hearts with the merits of Jesus, and has watched over us. Our dear Father has provided abundantly for our temporal needs, has shielded us from misfortune and harm of body and soul;

When Satan harm would bring  
 God bids the Angels sing:  
 "This child shall undisturbed abide."

Of this we had a marked instance at the beginning of the year, when a certain contagion broke out among the boys, which would have meant ruin, injury of body and soul, had not His gracious care brought those whose hearts had wandered back to a better knowledge of themselves, and to a true blessing. That at their Festival, on the 8th of January, one of the boys was baptised, was a fresh sign of His thoughts of peace toward this Choir. The whole congregation had been much concerned over their troubles, and were heartily glad when the Saviour bestowed this blessing on this Choir.

Otherwise all has gone well with our congregation and Choirs. The Church and Congregation Festivals, the special Doctrinal Days, Memorial Days, and Choir Festivals, have brought their blessings. The Holy Communion was celebrated thirteen times this year by the Congregation, and also by the several Choirs on their Festival and Doctrinal Days. There was a special blessing on the days of the Passion Week, on the 13th of August, the 16th of September,—which was celebrated by the *Stundenbeter*, to whose ranks there have been eleven accessions this year,—and on the 13th of November. We would also mention the days

in July when we especially thought of the General Synod then in session, prayed for a blessing on its deliberations, and re-read some of the Proceedings of the preceding Synod.

We also remind ourselves of some of God's special mercies in our temporal affairs. Our Heavenly Father has laid His blessing upon our commerce, our trades, and the diligent labor of our workmen, whereby our Diaconie has been kept in position to meet the ever-increasing needs of our daily life. Our settlement is also more firmly established in Wachovia by the favor of God, and according to the wholesome customs of His church; and the aim set before us, the principles laid down for the conduct of our commerce and trades, have been kept in mind by being read from time to time to the Brethren serving therein.

This year 1400 acres of Wachovia Land have been sold to Brethren and friends, who have come from Pennsylvania, have settled on their lots, and begun their cultivation. The inhabitants of Wachovia have increased by more than 40 souls, which does not include those who have come from Europe and Pennsylvania to assist in our joint house-keeping. Such an increase has never before taken place here, and Wachovia now has a population of over 300. From Broad Bay, in New England, six families, 28 persons, arrived unexpectedly in November. They had been touched in New England by the preaching of Br. Soelle, and decided to forsake the world, and come with their children to Bethabara. Their schooner was wrecked on the Virginia coast, but their lives were saved and most of their baggage, and, thankful for their escape, they reached Bethabara on the very day when the Text was "Cast all your care upon Him, for He careth for you."

We also have been kept from harm during the past year, of which a few instances must suffice.— In raising the Single Brothers House in Salem a piece of timber fell, taking with it a wall which was not yet secured; it might have swept a number of Brethren from the second story to the ground, or have crushed others as it fell, but the angels guarded them and no one was hurt. A Sister and her wee infant escaped injury, although the curtains around her bed burned quite away before the fire was extinguished. Another Sister, going to her door, was reminded of something that called her back into the room and the next moment the poles that held the clapboards in place fell from that side of the roof to just where she would have been had she passed out. Other sections and towns in this and other Provinces have suffered from great storms and floods, but God has held us safe beneath His wings. There has been little of the usual sickness in our towns

this year, though we hear the contrary from the surrounding country. No one of us has died, the first time in many years that this has happened.

Our correspondence with Europe and Pennsylvania has been maintained; and the Wochen and other Gemein Nachrichten have come so promptly that on our Memorial and Festival Days we were able to use exactly the material used in the older congregations the same days in the preceding year; and we were thereby kept in touch with God's people everywhere in the earth.

Under the gracious protection of our rulers we have lived in peace and quiet; and their continued favor towards our settlement was shown in the appointment of Br. Jacob Bonn as a Justice of the Peace, to take the place of Br. Jacob Loesch, who was called to Pennsylvania, and who as a magistrate had been of great service to our village, and to the entire neighborhood. At Easter a new Vestry was elected for our Parish, and having been approved by our rulers qualified for office. The County Court ordered that the roads of this Parish should be made and kept in good repair by all the tax-payers of this Parish; therefore in addition to the Road-master two deputies were appointed, one from Bethabara and one from Bethania, and this promises to make the handling of the matter easier in the future.

### *Salem.*

Building in Salem has been diligently continued. A house has been built for the tannery, and such provision made that as different parts of the work are finished in Bethabara they can be begun and continued in Salem. Beyond the Wach a dwelling house has been built, also a stable, and the farm put in such order that immediately after New Year a married couple will move there, to carry on the farm for the benefit of Salem. More important still has been the completion of a Choir House for the Single Brethren, which was solemnly consecrated on Dec. 27th in the presence of the entire Choir; and on this occasion, by command of the Lord, a beginning was made toward changing our joint house-keeping, the house-keeping of the Single Brethren's Choir, or such part of it as lives in the new House, being divided from that of the rest of the congregation. Nov. 19th the first baptism took place in Salem, when Br. Utley baptised the two-day-old daughter of Br. and Sr. Baumgarten, in the presence of Br. and Sr. Reuter, Sr. Krause, Sr. Bonn, and all the little congregation of Salem. The Baumgartens live only two miles from Salem.



*Bethabara.*

Bethabara had to give up to Bethlehem Br. Jacob Loesch, who was one of the company that began the settlement in Wachovia, and who as Vorsteher of the farm and household affairs had given much faithful service during his sixteen years here. His family moved with him to Pennsylvania. The management of the farm has now been given to one Brother, with the assistance of several other Brethren, composing a Conference. From Bethlehem came one Single Brother and five boys for service in Bethabara; and in October two Single Brethren arrived from Europe. The Widower, George Holder, was married to the Single Sister, Elisabeth Biehler, and they are to undertake the management of the farm near Salem. The negro Sam, who had been for some years in service in Bethabara, and who had expressed a desire to learn to know the Saviour, was bought by permission of the Lord.

Owing to a false report that spread through the neighborhood that there was small-pox in Bethabara, no outsiders visited the village for a couple of months, and that just at harvest time. The Brethren and Sisters therefore resolved to do the work themselves, and accomplished it all, and without injury to health.

*Bethania.*

The Brethren in Bethania have begun the building of a new Gemein Haus, and hope to have it under roof yet this winter. The two new dwellings and the addition to a third, which were begun last year, have been finished and occupied. A widow, with two daughters, has moved from the neighborhood to Bethania to live.

*Unter der Ens.*

The Brethren and friends living south of the Ens, who began a school and meeting house last year, finished it so far that on March 11th a Lovefeast could be held with the fathers and mothers who are interested there; and the next day the meeting hall was consecrated by Br. Utley in the public preaching of the Word, and the baptism of two children. Since then Br. Utley has preached there every four weeks; and now that the two living rooms have been finished the friends living near are waiting for a married couple to be stationed there, to care for them and for their children.

*Summary.*

3 have been received into the congregation.

2 Single Brethren, 1 boy, 1 Single Sister, 1 Girl, have partaken for the first time of the Lord's Supper.

2 Single Brethren have been re-admitted.

1 Married couple with 4 children has moved to Bethlehem.

1 Brother has gone there on a visit. 1 Boy has returned thither to his parents.

2 boys and one girl have been born in Bethabara; 1 boy and 2 girls in Bethania. 1 Single Brother and 5 Boys have come from Bethlehem; 2 Single Brethren have come from Europe.

From Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Broad Bay 48 have come to settle in Wachovia.

At the close of the year the congregation of Bethabara has 120; Salem, 23; Bethania, 99; total 242; 13 more than last year.

There are 20 other families in Wachovia and along its borders, and 15 families more belonging to the company that gathers in the school-house below the Ens; of these six married couples and three married sisters come every eight weeks to the Communion at Bethabara or Bethania.

*1769 Wachovia Diary.*

[Extracts translated. Some items grouped.]

*Jan. 2.* Two of the Bethabara boys ran away. Men were at once sent out along the several roads, and Br. Herbst found them at the farm of a neighbor, where they said they had arranged to work. He took them back to Bethabara, where the occurrence caused much distress, especially as it was discovered that two more boys had planned to do likewise. The runaways were brought before a committee of five leading Brethren, their wrong-doing was set before them in plain terms, and they were deprived of the privilege of attending service, and ordered to spend all free time in the room at the bakery under the supervision of two Brethren, though they were to work as usual. The other two were straitly warned to behave themselves, and on the 4th a conference was held with all the boys, where they were told that an apprentice was not his own master, but they must yield obedient service until they were of age. Careful investigation led to the belief that only the four boys were implicated, and it was decided to hold the Boys Festival, as usual, on *Jan. 8th.*, for those who were

in a proper frame of mind. Two days previously, however, it was necessary to bring two of the four boys before Justice Loesch for trial, they having been very insolent ever since the beginning of the trouble, and one of them having finally fired a gun into a keg of oil. They were found guilty, a whipping was ordered, and administered by Br. Ernst in the presence of Br. Loesch. This settled things, and before the Festival all four boys offered apologies, and were re-admitted to their privileges. One of the boys, however, while he gave no more trouble, continued unhappy and homesick for his parents in Yorktown, Pa., so when Br. Loesch went north he was permitted to accompany him.

This incident led to a realization of the importance of legally binding apprentices to their Masters. Hitherto the Masters had stood *an Elternstatt*, which was just as binding, but less easily understood by the boys. [Helfer Conferenz Minutes.] *Jan. 12th* the first legal Indenture was signed in the presence of Justice Loesch, Matthes Oesterlein being apprenticed to George Schmid.

*Jan. 6.* Capt. Little, of Salisbury, brought a load of cow-hides to the tan-yard. He also brought a report that a new Lieutenant-Governor, Jacob Messer, had arrived in the province, and that Tryon would be recalled to England; he also said that Gov. Tryon had given permission to the Assembly for the issue of £20,000 paper currency.

Plans for the new Gemein Haus in Bethania were accepted last evening in a meeting of Br. Marshall and the house-holders there. The building will be 30 by 40 ft. and during the next weeks the Brethren will work together in the preparing of timber for it. *Jan. 22nd* a Lovefeast was held, to which the neighbors who often worshipped at Bethania were invited, and a call was made for volunteers to help with the new house. The Brn. Grabs, Spoenhauer, Heinrich Schor, and Transou were announced as the building committee.

*Jan. 15.* Yesterday Br. Utley preached in English at Valentine Frey's house in Muddy Creek settlement, and today in German to the company beyond the Ens.

*Jan. 17.* Br. Loesch, Justice of the Peace, married Benjamin Leinbach to Christine Volk, at the Leinbach home.

*Jan. 23.* There was a discussion as to the opening of a new public road from Salem to the Shallow Ford.

*Feb. 1.* A log house was raised for the Salem tanner with help from Brethren from Bethabara. On the *21st* the first marriage in Salem took place, in the potter's house, Br. Loesch performing the ceremony at the insistent request of a neighbor from south of Salem.



*Feb. 4.* Br. Utley went to South Fork to conduct the funeral services for a child of George Frey. The child was buried beside its grandfather in the graveyard near the new Schoolhouse.

*Feb. 14.* Br. Loesch went to County Court at Salisbury.

*March 8.* A three-inch snow fell this morning.

*March 10.* The Brn. Marshall and Graff rode to our acquaintances beyond the Ens. The lower story of their new meeting-house is so far finished that it can be used. *March 11th.* The Brn. Marshall and Graff yesterday visited half of our acquaintances, and today the other half, in their homes, to the pleasure of both parties. This afternoon the fathers and mothers of thirteen families met for a Lovefeast in the new meeting-house, which stands in a good location on a hill. Several hymns of thanksgiving and blessing were sung, then there was an address on the purpose for which this house had been erected,—for the preaching of the Gospel, and then for the instruction and schooling of the children of the settlement; that it should serve, by the Saviour's grace, for mutual growth in spiritual things, and that other souls in the neighborhood might be reached. The congregation was told many things about the blessings that had rested upon Diaspora congregations in Germany, and one could see that they longed for the same blessing to rest upon them and upon their children. Then the Brn. Marshall and Graff returned to Bethabara, but Br. Utley remained over night, and *March 12th, Sunday*, held the first public preaching service in the new meeting-house, speaking on the Text: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ", 1 Cor. III, 11. Then he consecrated the place with an earnest prayer to our dear Lord, asking that He would graciously own the testimony to His sufferings and death, and all else that should here be done in His name, to the blessing of many souls. There was a fine attendance of more than seventy. After the preaching there was a baptism, the four-weeks-old son of Peter Frey receiving the name of Joseph, and Martin Walk's two-weeks-old son that of Johannes.

*March 13.* Br. Miksch rode to Salisbury, to look after several matters during the sessions of General Court, now going on. He is to see about some land affairs, and also to receive the pay for the zwieback sent to Hillsborough last fall.

*March 14.* Br. Marshall received letters from Europe forwarded by Mr. Bamfield from Charlestown; Mr. Bamfield also notified him that the goods for our store had arrived from Europe.

*March 15.* Trees were planted on both sides of the main street of Salem, by the Gemein Haus Square.



In a Charlestown newspaper we saw that on Nov. 28th the Lady of our Governor bore him a son.

*March 27. Easter Monday.* After dinner there was a meeting of the Brethren from here and from Bethania who are counted as Freeholders, and by authority of an Act of Assembly they elected a new Vestry for Dobbs Parish. In another meeting the Vestry elected the Brn. Fockel and Grabs as Church Wardens, and Br. Bachhoff as Public Reader.

*March 28.* Adam Loesch's wife came to Bethabara, and Br. Graff read to her the Memoir of her departed father, Christoph Weiser.

*April 3.* A log house was raised on the plantation south of Salem; 300 acres were run off for this farm in December. *April 4th.* Wagons went to the Yadkin for boards for Salem. They had been cut at Mr. Allen's saw-mill, and floated down to Isaac Ferry's landing, but could not be hauled out across a field until the corn on it was ripe.

*April 6.* By Martin Armstrong, who was on his way to Campeltown, Br. Loesch wrote to the Governor, notifying him of his own approaching departure, and nominating Br. Jacob Bonn for his place as Justice of the Peace.

*April 7.* There was frost last night, and the peach and apple blossoms and the flax appear to be hurt. Threshing has been finished, and last year's crop was 665 bushels wheat, 105 bu. rye, 156 bu. barley, 300 bu. corn, 75 bu. flax seed, 209 lbs. butter, 3 lbs. hemp seed, 3 lbs. buckwheat.

*April 10.* This morning Daniel Hauser left for Maryland and Bethlehem; he thinks he will stay for a while at Bethlehem.

*April 14.* This was a great moving and traveling day. First the four Bethania wagons started for Charlestown, taking 4000 lbs. of deer-skins, butter and tallow from our store. Some hours later Br. Jacob Loesch, his wife, and four children left for Bethlehem. He was one of the first company, which began the settlement here in 1753, and since its beginning he has been Vorsteher of the Congregation and farm; and for a number of years as Justice of the Peace he has given much faithful service in public affairs to us and to the whole neighborhood. The Brn. Johann Ranke and Joseph Müller went with him as teamsters, and the boy, Johann Lanius, returned to his parents near Yorktown. The Brn. Marshall and Utley accompanied them as far as Henry Banner's, and he as a good and faithful neighbor rode with the party for some distance, and Br. Jacob van der Merk went as far as Dan River.

*April 16.* The wind from the north-west is so cold that there must be snow on the mountains, and there is frost here tonight.

*April 17.* Br. Fockel, as one of the Church Wardens of Dobbs Parish, was appointed charity agent for our town, and Jacob Blum was placed in charge of the farm, in which office he is to be assisted by a committee.

*April 20.* It is again very cold, and stormed the entire day. In the morning it rained, toward evening there was snow mixed with sleet.

Peter Geiser, from Rocky River, came for some money which had been sent him from Pennsylvania. He took advantage of the opportunity to tell Br. Marshall of his desire for salvation. He had made the acquaintance of Baptists in his neighborhood, who told him he must be baptised again. Br. Marshall pointed him directly to the Saviour, in Whom there is grace and the forgiveness of sins, which he accepted as his best hope, and left much comforted.

*April 29.* The widow Leinbach and her youngest daughter, Catharina, moved to Bethania, into the addition to Br. Michael Ranke's house.

*May 1.* At the Meeting of the Helfer Conferenz the Brn. Blum and Fockel were received as new members.

It has rained almost continuously for five days, today there were several thunder storms, with some hail.

*May 6.* The Brn. Bagge and Charles Holder returned from Charlestown, bringing letters and Nachrichten. Br. Marshall received the three Deeds to the Cossart lands on the west line of the Wachau, and on the Mulberry Fields.

*May 9.* Br. Bonn rode to Salisbury to the County Court, which is in session this week. He is to bring back several Deeds which have been left there for registration, and attend to other matters.

The corn-crib was cleared out, and the boys killed 120 rats, which have been doing much damage to the grain.

*May 11.* The wagons returning from Charlestown brought mail from Europe, and several copies of a *Declaration concerning the Labors of the Brethren among the Heathen*, which was written for the Board of Trade of London.

*May 12.* Through John Armstrong, who passed on his return from Anson County, we heard that our Governor has gone to Virginia to a conference of Governors; and that Governor Tryon will call for soldiers, as a party of the so-called Regulators in Anson County have bound and whipped the Sheriff when he wished to collect the taxes.

*May 17.* The heat today was oppressive, but by four o'clock the framing of the first story of the Salem Brothers House was raised, with the help of Brethren from Bethabara, Bethania, and beyond the

Ens. Next day the rest of the framing was put up, without injury to any workman, though a piece of timber fell, and when the work was ended the musicians blew their trumpets from the top of the house.

*June 5.* Three families arrived from Pennsylvania, the older and younger Schulz Brethren from Hebron, with their wives, and the two small children of the younger couple, and Christian Conrad with his wife; also a single man by the name of Feiser. After resting a few hours Br. and Sr. Conrad went on to their farm four miles from Bethabara, on the west line of Wachovia, [which his father, Jacob Conrad, had bought the preceding year, and on which a cabin had been erected on the 19th of the past month by men from the South Fork]. *June 12th* the Schulzes decided to buy 500 acres below the bridge over the Dorothea.

*June 20.* Mr. Temple Kole, Bush Ranger for this County, posted a public Advertisement in our store and Tavern, summoning all Freeholders to meet in Salisbury on the 18th of next month for the election of a new member of the Assembly, under penalty of the law for non-appearance. We looked up the law and found that any one who voted, not being a Freeholder, was liable to a fine of £5, so decided that we would be inactive, especially as just now there is friction between the so-called Regulators and the others.

The Aeltesten Conferenz decided that the Little Boys Festival should be held in Bethania on the 24th, but there should be a separate celebration for the Bethabara boys the following Sunday, as the latter have whooping-cough, which is contagious.

*June 24.* The wagon returning from Bethlehem brought one young Brother and five boys to Wachovia.

*June 30.* Today ten Sisters began to reap a field of wheat; the Brethren were cutting rye. The harvest was finished in eight days, with almost no outside help, for a report spread that the last company from Pennsylvania brought small-pox, and that we were hiding it.

*July 6.* The currants were picked and pressed today. There were not so many berries as last year, but they were more juicy, so more wine was made, 55 gallons this year.

In the singstunde we remembered the martyrdom of John Hus.

*July 20.* Men from the Town Fork, returning from Salisbury, reported that Christopher Nation and Rutherford were elected Assemblymen.

*Aug. 5.* Justice Gideon Wright summoned Br. Jacob Meyer to appear before him and give evidence in the matter of a lost horse.



*Aug. 12.* Mr. MacNally, Esq. came from Salisbury Court, and according to an order of the Court he qualified Br. Bernhard Schille as Constable. Before going north Br. Loesch advised that we have a Constable appointed so that he could keep order if we had no Justice of the Peace, and there have been several occurrences in the Tavern which proved our need of one. We also heard that Br. Jacob Bonn's name was included in the list of Justices. Only nine from the whole County had appeared at this Court and taken the oath, and thereby been authorized to serve as Justices of the Peace.

*Aug. 27.* A German, Wilhelm Adam Wolf, and his family, arrived today. Some years ago they joined the little congregation at Manacasy, Maryland. They are very poor, but pleasant, friendly people. The parents have brought six children with them, the eldest son is at work in Manacasy, but will follow them. *Sept. 2nd* they moved to a couple of hundred acres of land between the Leinbach farm and Bethania.

*Sept. 26.* Michael Ziegler, who has been here more than eight days, went again to his sister in South. He came to get the clothing he had left here.

*Sept. 28 to Oct. 4.* Wild grapes gathered, and wine made.

*Oct. 15.* Heinrich Schmid, his wife and two children, arrived from Pennsylvania. He is a brother-in-law of Br. Jacob Loesch, also of Jacob van der Merk and Blum. On the 19th he decided to buy a piece of land on the Grassy Fork, aside of the Bethania land.

*Oct. 18.* Unexpectedly, but to our great joy, the two Brn. Steinman and Walther arrived from Europe, via Charlestown.

*Oct. 29.* After the preaching beyond the Ens, Br. Utley baptised the little daughter of Peter and Salome Hinkel, at the home of George Hartman, the child's grandfather.

*Nov. 3.* Br. Reuter ran the north-east and the south-east lines of the Bethania lot, the corner coming almost to the point where the foot-path from Bethabara to Bethania joins the wagon road.

*Nov. 6.* The Brethren Triebel and Melchoir Rasp met with the Helfer Conferenz. In regard to the Salem Gemein Haus it was decided that the basement and the first story should be built of stone.

*Nov. 7.* Peter Frey brought word of the approach of a company, coming from Boston, via Willmington, Cross Creek, and the Abbots Creek settlement. We were not expecting them, but the description suggests that they are the families from Broad Bay, Maine, who wished to come last year. *Nov. 8.* three of the families arrived,—David



Rominger and his grown son, Philip, Seiz with his wife, four children, and his wife's sister, a girl of twelve years, and Kasner with his wife and little child. They reported three other families following, who would bring their letters of introduction. They said they had thought of moving to the Kennebec River, but could get no better assurance of good title to land there than in Broad Bay. So they decided to come to Wachovia, and had left Boston the middle of August. Their schooner ran aground and sank off the Roanoke, and two families lost most of their goods, but all persons escaped with their lives. In another schooner they reached Willmington, where many of them had been ill, and of those who reached Bethabara today one man and three children are still having fever. They were lodged temporarily in the Tavern, and plans were considered for taking care of these and those who are yet to come. It was decided that the cabins at the mill could be repaired for use, and two days later three families moved thither. *Nov. 11th.* the three other families arrived,—Hahn, Grün, and Schumaker; the man and boy of the latter family had stayed a few days longer in Cross Creek. Several of these new-comers also had fever. They are dear people, and delighted to be with us, and as they were being escorted to the Tavern Mrs. Hahn asked what the Text for the Day was? "Cast all your care upon Him, for He careth for you", was the answer, and she rejoiced greatly that she was among the Brethren, as she had long desired. On the evening of the *14th* there was a conference with the leaders of the Broad Bay party, who gladly accepted the proposal that for the present three of the families—Hahn, Grün (or Krön), and Schumaker should move into several almost completed houses in Salem, where the work of the men would support them; the Kasner and Seiz families should stay at the mill, where work could be given to the men; and the two Romingers could go to Bethania. Next day the three families assigned to Salem moved thither. Toward evening Schumaker and his son also arrived. He seemed of a different type from the others, and had come largely to please his wife. He decided to buy a piece of land at once, and in December took about 107 acres near Baumgarten. His step-son, Wohlfarth, he placed with Jacob van der Merk on trial, with the intention that he should be formally apprenticed if the trial proved satisfactory.

*Nov. 19.* Br. Jacob Bonn returned from Salisbury Court, where he qualified as Justice of the Peace. Only four Justices had gathered, out of the whole county, and a couple of lawyers behaved so badly that the other Justices wanted to have them arrested, but Br. Bonn forbade that.

*Dec. 22.* Br. Daniel Schnepf went to Salem, where Br. Marshall showed him the house he is to occupy. In the basement he will have the kitchen for those in Salem, outside of the Single Brothers House.

*Dec. 23.* The first snow of the season fell last night and today, but it was mild, and the snow melted rapidly.

*Dec. 24.* Br. Utley returned from the Ens. He preached today in the little Saal in the second story of the school-house. The living rooms on the first floor are finished, and the Brethren and friends there have sent a written notice of this fact, and have asked that we send a married Brother and Sister to take care of them and of their children.

*Dec. 27.* All the Single Brethren and Boys, the members of the Aeltesten Conferenz and the Helfer Conferenz, went to Salem from Bethabara, and Br. Bachhoff, several of the committee, and the seven Boys went from Bethania to Salem, for the consecration of the Single Brothers House. The Brethren's Choir met in the house where they have been living, and led by the musicians marched in procession to the new Choir House. In its little Saal the first service was held for the Brethren by Br. Lorenz, who delivered an impressive address, and led in an earnest prayer, while all knelt, giving heartfelt thanks to their Chief Elder for His guidance and guarding while the House was being erected, and asking that His peace might rest upon the House, that the Holy Spirit might work within it, and that the approval and blessing of the Heavenly Father might consecrate it. Then the list was read of the Brethren and Boys who were for the present to live in the new House. At noon there was a solemn Lovefeast, at which the Broad Bay fathers and mothers, and the Brethren and Sisters mentioned above who were not members of the Choirs of Single Brethren and Boys, were present as guests. During the Lovefeast various interesting facts were noted;—for instance that on this date 17 years earlier Br. Spangenberg had begun the survey of the Wachovia Tract, (of which no one had thought when selecting the day for the consecration); also that the settlement of Wachovia had been begun by Single Brethren; they also had begun the building of Salem, and were now to be its first permanent residents. Br. Nils Peterson was then presented to the Choir as its Vorsteher; and at the close of the service the Festal Psalm [filed with the Diary] was sung. Then the resident Brethren retired to their rooms, where they received the rest as guests. Somewhat later the Single Brethren met in the little Saal, and the Rules for Salem were read to them,—although at present not all the regulations could be carried out they needed to be known, as the Brethren were now to begin their own house-keeping. The

guests then went home, except Br. Lorenz, who remained over night. At bed-time a short service was held on the sleeping hall. At the evening singstunde in Bethabara a full account of the day was given to the congregation there.

*Helper Conferenz Minutes.*

*Dec. 4, 1769.* The God's Acre near the Bethabara mill is badly overgrown. It will be made the Dobbs Parish graveyard, and Br. Fockel will have charge of it for the Vestry.

*Dec. 18,* The expenses of the building of Salem are not to be met from the profits on the Bethabara Oeconomie, but the Unity has donated £500 North Carolina currency, received from the sale of Wachovia land, and certain Brethren have called in their money invested in Europe, and have lent it, with interest, to the Salem Diacony.

[In September the Regulators broke up the Court at Salisbury, whipped Col. Edmund Fanning, Alexander Martin, and others severely, drove many merchants and others out of town, tore down Fanning's house, and broke the windows in many other buildings. The riot lasted two days.

These excesses turned many of the leading men of the Province against the Regulators, and paved the way for their downfall.]

*Wachovia Memorabilia.*

[Translated in full.]

As we briefly review the year now closing we must with humble and thankful hearts repeat the collect for the 1st of January,—

“Ach, grosser König, gross zu allen Zeiten,  
Wie kan ich gnugsam Deine Treü aussbreiten!”

For more clearly than hitherto we have seen what the Lord wishes to do with His people, indeed what He has done for them in the Synod at Marienborn, held last year, of which we received the Minutes the beginning of March. The reading of these Minutes touched us deeply. The earnest warnings of our Lord and Master to the Brethren's Unity, and to us, caused us to sorrow over our shortcomings, even while His promises filled our hearts with faith and hope.

We are Thy property, Oh Lord,  
Let life go well or ill;  
We love to honor Thy great name,  
And seek to do Thy will.

The sympathetic interest of our Brethren and Sisters in the parts of the Minutes touching our spiritual and temporal affairs has had a blessed effect ever since they were read, and we wish to give more joy to our Lord, and that His designs may be more fully carried out among us.

By the use of the monthly and weekly Reports and Sermons sent from Europe we have been kept in harmony with the entire Church of the Brethren in our understanding of the mysteries of Christ.



As instructed by the Synod Minutes we have re-commenced the public reading of the Scriptures in the Saal several times in the week, in addition to our private study of the Bible, and the reading of the portions assigned for Sundays and Gemein Tage.

The Grosse Helfer Conferenz is adjourned, by Synod, until the Congregation is moved to Salem.

The Church and Congregation Festivals, the Doctrinal Days and Choir Festivals, have been days of special blessing, when we have thankfully claimed the wonderful grace of the Atonement of Jesus Christ for the sanctifying of body and soul. On these days we have usually shared in the Cup of Covenant or the Holy Communion. On May 4th a Single Sister from Bethania was received into the Congregation by the rite of Baptism, and soon after she moved to her Choir in Bethabara. Aug. 29th the Single Brethren celebrated their Choir Festival for the first time in the new Choir House in Salem. On account of much illness among the members the Choir of Married People had to postpone their Festival from Sept. 7th to Nov. 24th and 25th, but celebrated it then with much blessing. The whole congregation has had Communion 12 times this year, and the first time three young men in Bethabara were confirmed,—Rudolph Straehle, Nathanael Bibighausen, and Heinrich Blum,—and one married Sister was re-admitted.

On Second Easter Day there was a Parish Meeting, for the election of a new Vestry for Dobbs Parish; it was attended by the Freeholders living along the borders of Wachovia, who believe that a special Act of Assembly has made them a part of this Parish.

We have been made happy by the news that a Deputation from the Unity's Aeltesten Conferenz will visit Bethlehem this fall, and Wachovia next spring, and we expect much blessing from it.

The Heavenly Father has prospered our commerce and trades, so that, although many efforts have been made in the neighborhood to ruin our commerce and draw people away from us, we have this year had more than ever coming to sell and to buy, and many have complained that they could not get all they wanted. So our Heavenly Father has enabled our Wachovia Diaconie to meet the increased expenses, including the large outlay for the building in Salem, which has been considerable.

It looked this year as if our crops would be a failure, for in April and May most of the peach and apple blossoms froze; then an astonishing number of caterpillars almost ruined the meadows, fields and garden; and the season was very rainy, especially at harvest time; but our dear Father gave us more than we expected, so that we not only

gathered enough for man and beast here, but were able to help our needy neighbors. In August, September, and October, many of our members were ill with fever, especially in Bethabara, and sometimes it was difficult to properly care for them and keep the work going in house and on farm; but the Lord helped us through, and the sick ones gradually recovered.

Nine more families have come from Broad Bay to Wachovia; also one family from Pennsylvania; about 50 persons in all. Those from Broad Bay have begun a settlement<sup>1</sup> on the Ens, and the Pennsylvanians have also settled in Wachovia, four or five miles west of Bethabara.

Br. Utley has continued to preach the Gospel on the Yadkin every four weeks to an increasing audience. This spring a Society of 14 married couples was formed at the Schoolhouse below the South Fork, and Br. Bachhoff and his wife moved into the Schoolhouse, he to be pastor of the Society, and to conduct a day school for the children. They have been visited from Bethabara several times and on the occasion of the December visit four more were received into the Society. One of the Broad Bay families who came last year has settled in Wachovia quite near the South Fork Schoolhouse.

Our numbers were increased this year by four Brethren from Europe, Johannes Klein, Johann Muschbach, Toego Nissen, and Andreas Broesing. The first had been appointed Vorsteher of Salem, and his gifts and industry foretold that he would be of much service, but the hand of God soon took him from us, and in a tragic way, for on a journey to Cross Creek he was drowned, and that in no very deep water. About the same time God gave a wonderful escape to Nissen and Broesing, for as they attempted to cross the Yadkin, which was rather high, the wagon in which they were riding turned over, and the driver's boy and three horses were drowned, while they escaped unhurt. In other cases during the year have we seen the protection of our Father and His angels, though we can only mention a couple of instances. That the large Gemein Houses in Salem and Bethania were erected without accident fills us with gratitude; on the contrary a Brother living near Bethania had his leg broken while building a little log house, when one of the roof timbers slipped and fell.

The Evil One would gladly have disturbed our quiet sky, and attempted through his agents to work us harm and misfortune through the Muster which was held in Bethabara in October, but the Guardian of Israel permitted it not, but brought literally to pass the Text for

<sup>1</sup> Later Friedland Congregation.

the day:—"Let us now fear the Lord our God, that giveth rain, both the former and the latter, in his season." [Jer. V, 24.]

He showers thee with benefits,  
Forget them not, O heart of mine.

So midst all the disturbances in the land we have escaped the snare.

In our neighborhood many have been killed by snakes; in Bethania a medium-sized rattle-snake coiled itself about a child's leg, and one of the Sisters tore it away with her bare hand without receiving any injury, and before it hurt the child. His tender hands have led His own by land and sea,—give to our God the glory!

After ten years we have again been visited by an Indian, a chief of the Cherokee Nation, who lodged over night in Bethabara. He died on his way home.

In Bethabara one couple was married,—Jacob and Juliana Ernst. Four married couples with one child, four Single Brethren, and three Boys moved to Salem; one Single Brother, Christian Heckewälder, has come from there into the Bethabara Store. Eight have entered into their inheritance in the house of the Lord through reception into the Congregation,—of these four were from Salem, three from Bethabara, and one a married man from the South Fork Society.

In Bethabara three children were born and baptised, and two children of members living outside the village were brought there for baptism. Three Single Brethren and one Youth have died. The widower, Adam Schaus, who passed away at the home of his son in Bethania, was buried in the Parish Graveyard near the mill.

At the close of the year there are 109 residents in Bethabara, 13 less than last year.

### *Salem.*

Directly after New Year three married couples moved from Bethabara to Salem, namely the Utleys, Daniel Schnepfs, and George Holders. Br. Utlej was appointed to hold the services for the congregation there; the Schnepfs have charge of the housekeeping for the outside day-laborers; the Holders have charge of the farm near Salem. They were followed by Br. and Sr. Matthes Miksch and their child, four Single Brethren and three Boys, from Bethabara, among them being Br. Johann Muschbach as Vorsteher of the Single Brethren there.

On the Tuesday after Easter the Corner-stone of the Gemein Haus was laid; the house was happily raised on the 17th and 18th of October, and since then a good part of the interior has been finished, so that



it can be used next year. It contains the Gemein Saal, and living rooms for the Minister and his family, and for the Single Sisters. A one-story house for Br. and Sr. Miksch has been raised and roofed; the place for the Graveyard cleared and fenced.

Roads opened this year from Salem to Cross Creek and to Salisbury have led to the beginning of trade with the neighboring settlements.

The Single Brethren, who moved into their new Choir House last year, have begun their own Choir house-keeping, and give thanks to God for the blessing that has rested on it; indeed we are humbly grateful for all the general and special blessings that have rested upon Salem. The houses that were empty are serving as temporary homes for the Broad Bay families. Br. George Soelle, who had preached the Gospel in Broad Bay to these, as well as to the families that came last year, reached Salem with the latest arrivals.

In this little congregation one child has been born,—the son of Br. and Sr. George Holder. The congregation now consists of four Married Couples with two children, two Widowers, eighteen Single Brethren, three Youths, and four Boys, total 37; 15 more than last year.

### *Bethania.*

In February Br. and Sr. Bachhoff were succeeded by Br. and Sr. Ernst, Br. Bachhoff having served here for eleven years as school-teacher and Reader.

In March the Foundation Stone<sup>2</sup> was laid for a new Gemein Haus, which is under roof, though not yet finished.

According to instructions from the last General Synod Br. and Sr. Christian Schmidt have been made Kinder-Eltern.<sup>3</sup> One of the Broad Bay families has settled in Bethania. One Single Sister has moved to Bethabara; one has been received into the congregation. One Sister living outside Bethania has been confirmed, and has partaken of the Communion for the first time; one has been re-admitted. Three children have been born and baptised in Bethania; six children of Members living outside Bethania have been brought thither for baptism. Our good friend and neighbor, Hans Schor, who in the beginning of Bethania lived there for a while as a refugee, and has

<sup>2</sup> At this period it was customary to lay a Foundation Stone at the very bottom of one of the walls, sometimes at a corner, but not always.

<sup>3</sup> In some Moravian communities at this period the Kinder-Eltern had charge of Nurseries which cared for the little children of the village, orphans, or others whose parents were at work. In Bethania it seems to have been more a position of general oversight and spiritual care.



since then attended services regularly there, was buried on the Bethania Graveyard, according to the earnest wish which he expressed shortly before his death.

The Bethania congregation now consists of 108 persons, 9 more than last year.

*Additional.*

Besides the inhabitants in our three towns there are eight families living in Wachovia, and eleven living on its borders, who attend the services in our congregations, some of them being communicants. There are also, as stated above, twelve Broad Bay families, who came this year and last, and intend to settle in Wachovia. Besides these there are the fifteen families belonging to the South Fork Society, and their pastor and his wife, Br. and Sr. Bachhoff.

*1770. Wachovia Diary.*

*The Weather.*

[Editorial summary.]

The year opened very cold, and Jan. 2nd there was sleet, which made walking difficult. On the 6th there was a north-east rain, then a few clear days, and another cold rain. With the 15th a big snow-storm set in, the heaviest in years, and it was only in the latter part of the month that a warm rain cleared the ground, on which more or less snow had been lying ever since New Year.

During February there were six rains, the temperature alternating between rather warm and freezing cold.

March opened clear and cold, but the 4th was an unpleasant day of rain and snow such as one has in Germany in April. A week of pleasant weather was followed by rain and snow, and everybody had a cold. March 21st Spring began windy and dry, turning very cold; then came a week of pleasantly mild weather.

This brought out the peach blossoms, but April 2nd and 3rd there were heavy frosts, which killed practically all the peaches, while rain and snow made the days disagreeable. Following the cold wave came several weeks of beautiful growing weather, with rain on the 25th.

May 1st a heavy frost badly injured the garden, the pumpkins, and the barley. Then came a dry spell, broken on the 24th by a heavy rain; there was also rain the last two days of the month.

The first half of June was clear and hot; with the 19th began a damp, showery week, so that the hay had to be hauled between showers, whenever it was sufficiently dry, but it was not seriously injured. The 25th was a pleasantly cool day for the beginning of wheat harvest, but the 27th there was a severe storm which overturned the shocks of wheat, and blew down the flax. The 30th was hot and damp, and there was a halo around the sun, but the flax harvest was successfully finished.

In July there was a week of cool, clear weather, followed by an oppressively hot spell, with showers or thunderstorms nearly every day, but the grain harvest was ended on the 16th with little harm to the crop though the reapers had been much inconvenienced. The same oppressive weather lasted throughout the month, and on the 28th, during a heavy storm, the lightning struck in Merkly's tobacco field.

These storms were largely local in character, and Salem was quite dry, but rain fell there on the 3rd and 4th of August. There were a few cool days, but in general it was very hot, and people in the neighborhood complained of drought, which was broken on the 20th by nine days of rain, not steady, but at least a shower every day.

The warm weather continued through September, with two or three rainy days, and much fever, not only in Bethabara and Bethania, but at other places in the Province.

Early in October it became cool, which helped the fever patients, there were several rains in the latter half of the month.

November was variable, with a mixture of good and bad weather, and was marked by the restored health of most of the fever patients.

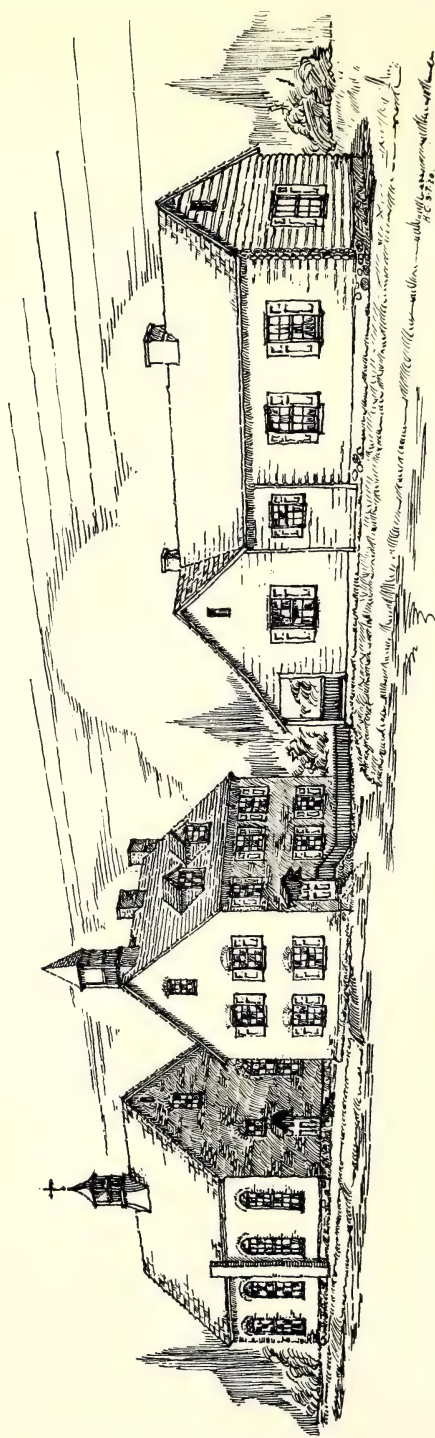
December was in some respects the most pleasant month of the year. The weather was clear and dry, with light frosts a few nights; and the only rain reported came on the 31st, New Year's Eve.

### *Bethania.*

#### [Items grouped.]

*Jan. 1.* Br. Jacob Ernst, hitherto cook in the Brothers' kitchen in Bethabara, accepted a call to go to Bethania as Reader and Schoolmaster in place of Br. Bachhoff, who had been called to the Schoolhouse below the Ens. On the 4th Ernst's betrothal to Sr. Juliana Carmel, hitherto in the general congregation kitchen at Bethabara, was announced in the evening service; the second publication of the





*Reproduced from sketch by Miss E. A. Lehman.*

CHURCH  
(Built in 1807)

GEMEIN HAUS  
(Built in 1770; removed to  
make way for present par-  
sonage)

BETHANIA

FIRST HOUSE IN BETHANIA  
(Built in 1759, by Gottfried  
Grabs. The portion with ga-  
ble to street was a later  
addition; now removed)



banns took place on Sunday morning, the 7<sup>th</sup>, in Bethania; and the third one week later in Bethabara. On the 15<sup>th</sup> Br. Bernhard Schille and Sr. Magdalene Blar took over the places in the two kitchens; and the next afternoon, in a meeting of communicants, at five o'clock, Br. Ernst and Sr. Carmel were married. Br. Graff spoke first on the Text for the day,—“The true Light now shineth,” [I John II, 8,] applying it to the congregation whose Lord and Master has set it as a light upon a hill, which shines clearly, He Himself being in its midst as the Light and Temple thereof; applying it also to the individual member, who each in his own way is set to be a little light in His house, and who through all life's changes must shine ever more and more clearly for Him and for the congregation. Then the words were spoken that united this pair, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and the Church's blessing was pronounced upon them. On *Feb. 8th* Br. and Sr. Ernst were presented to the congregation at Bethania, and they next day moved thither, Bachhoff and his wife coming to Bethabara for a few days before going to the Schoolhouse below the Ens.

The chief interest in Bethania for the rest of the year was the new Gemein Haus, the site for it being staked on *March 5th*, work on the cellar beginning on the 9<sup>th</sup>, and the Foundation Stone being laid on the 19<sup>th</sup>, by Br. Marshall, assisted by Br. Graff. The congregation of over two hundred members and friends, assembled at eleven o'clock in the garden at Bethania, where Br. Marshall read a brief sketch of the congregation from its beginning, also the Text for this day, the first being especially appropriate in its reminder of the troubled time in which Bethania was founded,—“God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my afflictions,” [Gen. XLI, 52]. The leaden box containing the papers to be placed in the Foundation Stone was then closed, the congregation marched in procession to the place of building, and the box was placed in the Stone by Br. Marshall and the master-mason, Br. Melchior Rasp. Br. Graff helped place the covering stone, and then, standing upon it, offered an earnest prayer. After a short interval the company re-assembled in the garden and united in a Lovefeast, bread and wine mixed with water being used. [The Ode used in the Lovefeast is filed with the Diary.] The walls of the Gemein Haus were raised on *March 29th*.

*Salem.*

[Items grouped.]

*Jan. 3.* The Schnepfs and George Holders moved to Salem; on *Jan. 26th* the Utleys went thither, Br. Utley being appointed to

conduct services for that little congregation. Thereafter the Salem Brethren very rarely attended services in Bethabara, but had their own in the Saal in the two-story house; Communion began *Jan. 28th*, and were held every four weeks, on Sunday, being often attended by members from the South Fork Society, who found it more convenient to go there than to travel the extra miles to Bethabara. Once a month a minister from Bethabara supplied for Br. Utley so that he could continue to preach, in English, near the Yadkin. Valentine Frey had joined the South Fork Society, so the English meetings were held at the house of McKnight.

*Jan. 8*, was the formal beginning of the separate house-keeping of the Single Brethren in their new Choir House in Salem; *March 27th* Br. Muschbach became their Vorsteher; and the Covenant Day of the Brethren's Choir was celebrated there for the first time on *Aug. 29th*, the Boys, Youths, and Single Brethren of Bethabara and Bethania going to Salem to join those resident there.

✓ In *February* the new road from Salem into the Salisbury Road was opened, and a road from Salem to the Shallow Ford was laid out. On the *15th* Marshall and Reuter went to Salem to lay out the path to the Graveyard, Lung, the gardener, taking along a load of trees to be set out to form an Avenue. They also staked off the site for the Gemein Haus. On the *19th* a conference was held in Bethabara, with leading Salem Brethren present, and the accounts for work so far done in Salem were carefully considered, the cost being divided between the houses now built, the farm lands, etc. The results were gratifying, it being found that the cost for the one-story family houses had averaged only £150 each.

The most important building enterprise of the year was the Gemein Haus. Work on the cellar was begun *Feb. 23rd*; *March 16th* a small building was put up in the rear, which should serve various purposes during the construction of the Gemein Haus, and could later be used as an ironing room by the residents.

*April 17*. The Foundation Stone of the Gemein Haus was solemnly laid, nearly all of the Bethabara and South Fork members, and about ten from Bethania, gathering at Salem for the services. The sleeping hall of the Single Brethren, the largest room in the village, was cleared out for the day, and there about 11 o'clock a Lovefeast was held, during which an Ode [filed with the Diary] was sung, and the following paper was read.—

“By the grace of God, Who hath called into being that which was not, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to Whom be praise for

evermore.— In the year of our Lord 1770, and in the 10th year of our sovereign George III, by the grace of God King of Great Britain France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. Under the happy rule of His Excellency the Governor of the Province of North Carolina.

“Twenty-one years after the Episcopal Church of the Brethren’s Unity had been recognised by His Majesty King George II and the most eminent committee of the British Nation, and by an Act of Parliament the Brethren, as an orderly, peaceful, and industrious people, had been encouraged to settle in His Majesty’s American Colonies, this settlement was begun at Bethabara in 1753, Bethania followed in 1759, and this town of Salem in 1766.

“Now, on the 17th of April, the cornerstone is to be laid of this building, which shall serve for all public and private gatherings of this congregation, and all divisions, officers, sexes, conditions, and ages thereof, according to the customs of the Brethren’s Unity, and for the present the living rooms are to be used half by the minister and his family, half by the Choir of Single Sisters.

“The Texts for the day are,—the *Watchword*,

“Sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise in the congregation of the saints.” Ps. CXLIX, 1.

“Oh that we, with gladness of spirit, for ever  
Adoréd and praised our crucified Saviour;  
Oh might each pulsation thanksgiving express.  
And each breath we draw be an anthem of praise.”

and the *Doctrinal Text*,—

“The pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hand,”  
Is. LIII, 10.

“May Thy precious Blood baptise God’s world unto salvation.”

“It is also declared and made known unto any who in future years may read this paper, that this little congregation of Jesus Christ, in Wachovia, in Dobbs Parish, belongs to the Church known as the Unity of Brethren, which keeps the word of His patience, and is grounded upon Him, the Rock, and will be preserved through the richness of His Merits. In its beginnings this was one of the oldest of Protestant Churches; but having been oppressed and hidden for about one hundred years, it has again been brought to the light in our day by the unending mercy of God, and through the blessed services of the now departed nobleman Nicholas Ludwig, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, Advocate and Ordinarius of the Unity of



Brethren; since then congregations of the Unity have arisen in most of the Protestant countries of Europe, and have spread into North and South America, into several of the West India Islands, yea, into Greenland, Africa, and East India, that they might make known to the white, black, and brown races the price paid for their eternal Redemption. This has been the sole object in the settlement of Wachovia, and of Salem in particular.

"We commit this whole enterprise to the Lord Who has bought us with His Blood, being assured of the blessing of the Elders' Conference elected by the second General Synod of the Unity held after the death of the aforesaid Ordinarius of the Brethren, that is the Synod held in Marienborn in 1769, (here were read the names of the members of the Unity's Elders' Conference), and assured also of the sympathetic interest of all our congregations, and all our Brethren and Sisters. In Bethabara and Salem there are (here were read the names of the officers and members living in Salem and Bethabara); and in Bethania 100; members and friends living in Wachovia but not in the towns, 59; outside Wachovia, 41; and 14 families belonging to the Society of Brethren at the Schoolhouse below the South Fork of Muddy Creek, otherwise called the Ens.

"May He, the Lord of His people, Who has promised to be with us even unto the end of the world, may He make of this town His dwelling; may His presence be felt in this house and in every company; and may the blessing of the grain of mustard seed rest upon this colony, for the growth of His kingdom, and the spreading of His Gospel. Amen!"

This paper was placed into a leaden box, and sealed.

After a short intermission the company re-assembled and marched to the building site. There a portion of the Lovefeast Ode was sung again:—

*Minister*,—"Behold, in Salem is His tabernacle, and His dwelling place in Salem," [Ps. LXXVI, 2.]

*Choir*,—"Thy Church's Cause, Creator,

\* \* \* \*

Foundation stones we lay,  
Lord, in Thy name, today,  
And humbly pray  
That Thou wilt say  
"Amen."



Meanwhile the Brn. Marshall and Utley laid the Foundation Stone in place, and put the box into the prepared opening; the Brn. Lorenz and Klein put the covering stone upon it; and Br. Graff, standing on the stone, offered an earnest prayer for the grace and blessing of the Holy Triune God, and closed the service with the Benediction. Then the masons walled in this first stone, which was at the east corner of the cellar. *Sept. 17th, and 18th*, the timbers for the roof were placed, and when finished the trombonists played several hymns from the top. Work on the interior continued the rest of the year.

*May 7.* Br. Utley baptised the child of Br. George Holder, the first baby born in Salem congregation.

*July 4.* Reuter staked the site for the Salem Graveyard,<sup>4</sup> the ground having previously been cleared. On the 18th Marshall and Bagge went to Salem to consider using the two-story house for the Store, when the Gemein Haus should be finished.

*Aug. 7.* Reuter staked the site for the Salem Tavern. Miksch's dwelling house was raised Nov. 30, and he and his wife and child moved to Salem two weeks later. Dec. 27th the site was staked for the mill near Salem.

#### *Broad Bay Families.*

[Items grouped.]

Linked with the history of Salem in this year is the story of the Broad Bay families, many of whom found temporary homes in the Salem family houses. In *March* Michael Seitz settled permanently in Bethania, with the approval of the Lord; and Schumacher and his family moved from Salem to the lot he had bought. The rest had trouble in making up their minds what they wanted to do, and even spoke of returning to Maine. By *October 22nd* George Hahns had decided to settle on the South Fork, and the Kröns on Muddy Creek.

*Nov. 5th*, news was received that more families from Broad Bay had reached Carolina, and that Br. Georg Soelle was with them; he arrived *Nov. 6th*. David Rominger's wife and the Vogler family came on the *12th*, except Mrs. Vogler, who had died in Cross Creek. Plans now took shape for a Broad Bay settlement, where they could live near together, taking 200 acres per family; the land finally selected was on the South Fork, and Reuter began measuring it for them *Nov.*

<sup>4</sup> A Reuter map of Salem, 1766, shows that the first site of the Graveyard was immediately south of what is now Cemetery Street. The Square of the town having been moved one block further south in 1768 it was decided, Feb. 1770, to move the Graveyard further south to correspond, as there had been no interments. The limits have been extended in recent years to include the original location.

20th. The Kiefler family reached Salem, *Dec. 14th*; and the remaining two families of the company—Künzly, and Jacob Reed, on *Dec. 31st*.

1770. *Diary of the Little Company on the Ens or South Fork.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 7.* This was Sr. Bachhoff's fifty-first birthday, and also the day on which Br. and Sr. Bachhoff were called to move from Bethania, and to take charge of the company on the Ens or South Fork.

*Feb. 4.* Br. Utley preached in the Schoolhouse, and at the close of the service Br. Marshall had a conference with all the house-fathers who are included in the little company here. They discussed the coming of Br. and Sr. Bachhoff; also the organization of a Society, in connection with the Brethren in Wachovia, and each gave in his name for membership, except Stauber, who did not seem to quite understand the matter. [This paragraph is taken from the Wachovia Diary.]

*Feb. 9.* Br. and Sr. Bachhoff went to Bethabara, and after a pleasant rest of eight days they were taken

*Feb. 17.* to the Schoolhouse, where they were warmly welcomed by the gathered friends from the neighborhood. Br. and Sr. Graff, Br. Utley, and Sr. A. M. Quest, accompanied the Bachhoffs to the South Fork, spending the night at Christian Frey's. The Text for the Day was: "Behold, I will gather them that are sorrowful; I will save them that halt; I will gather them that were driven out; and I will get them praise and fame in every land where they have been put to shame," Zeph. III, 18, 19.

*Feb. 18. Sunday.* Br. Graff preached at ten o'clock on the Gospel for the day. Br. Utley held the service for the children. In the afternoon there was a Lovefeast, at which Br. Graff spoke on the Text for the Day: "I shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live," Ez. XXXVII, 14, applying it to the congregation present. He presented Br. Bachhoff to them as their leader and school-teacher; and closed the service with an earnest and impressive prayer.

*Feb. 25. Sunday.* After the Sunday services,—preaching, children's hour, and Society Meeting,—Br. and Sr. Bachhoff and other communicants rode to Salem, where they shared in the Holy Communion.

*Feb. 27.* The school was begun, the little boys coming morning and afternoon, and the larger boys in the evening.

*Feb. 28.* The little girls came in the morning, and the larger girls in the afternoon. School will be held in this way four days each week.

*March 18.* The Society was notified that in response to their request a singstunde would be held each Thursday at noon. The first one was held March 22nd.

*April 8. Sunday.* After the preaching and children's hour the Society Meeting was omitted, and there was instead a general meeting, in which a beginning was made with the reading of the Passion Story.

*April 12. Maundy Thursday.* Br. and Sr. Bachhoff, and six other communicants, went to Bethabara, and shared in the service instituted by our Lord with His disciples, on the night in which He was betrayed.

*April 13. Good Friday.* The communicants returned to the South Fork Schoolhouse, and beginning at 11 o'clock the Passion Story was read in five installments, and appropriate hymns were sung.

*April 15. Easter Sunday.* The congregation here gathered at 9 o'clock for the first Easter Service on the Hutberg, stationed itself about the three graves, and prayed the Easter Litany. Preaching and the children's hour was followed by the Society Meeting, during which an invitation was given to the Society members to attend the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Salem Gemein Haus on the following Tuesday.

*April 16.* No announcement had been made of preaching for today, in view of the meeting in Bethabara for the election of a Vestry, but contrary to expectation a number of strangers and Society members came, and Br. Bachhoff preached for them on the Gospel for the day.

*June 7.* In the afternoon was the monthly Lovefeast, to which Br. Marshall, Br. and Sr. Graff, and Sr. Anna Maria Kraus, came from Bethabara.

*June 17.* There will be no school during harvest time.—It re-opened July 23rd.

*July 29 and Aug. 4.* The Banns were published for P. Fiedler and Elisabeth Grün.

*Nov. 18.* At a meeting of the Society Martin Walk was unanimously elected Steward, to succeed Adam Spach.

*Dec. 24.* In the evening the congregation, including the children, rejoiced over the Incarnation of our God. In the first service, at six o'clock, Christmas hymns were sung, and the Christmas Story was told to the children. After half an hour's intermission there was Lovefeast, the story of the Birth of the Saviour was read from the Bible, and hymns were sung to Br. Volk's violin accompaniment. Then honey-cakes and verses were distributed, and the service closed with earnest prayer. The children were full of wonder and joy, it being the first time they had attended such a service.



*Dec. 31.* At sunset the members gathered, with their grown children, and many guests. In the first session, from seven to eight o'clock, Br. Becker's diary was read. In the second session the Memorabilia of the Society was read, and hymns were sung. In the third there was an address on the last Text of the passing year; closing with earnest prayer. With the singing of the hymn:

Now thank we all our God  
With hearts and hands and voices,

and the reading of the first Text for 1771, we entered thankfully into the new year.

*1770, Wachovia Diary,*

*Bethabara.*

[Extracts translated.]

*Jan. 1,* Jacob Christman, Jr. of Stinking Quarter, returned to his home today.

*Jan. 10.* Guess, from Dan River, came with his son-in-law, Ben Young, and asked for a Deed to a piece of land on the Town Fork, which Br. Jacob Loesch took up for Br. Henry Van Vleck of New York. No one could give him any information about it, and his claim probably has no foundation, since he did not take up the matter when Br. Loesch was here.

*Jan. 15.* This afternoon there was an unpleasant occurrence in our Tavern. A man, Sam Moore, came in, and met Joseph Phelps, who is a Constable. Moore was angry, knowing that Phelps had a Warrant against him and wanted to arrest him, and although Phelps told him that he did not have the Warrant with him Moore cocked his gun and shot at Phelps, the ball passing through his clothing, though it fortunately did not hit him. Br. Jacob Bonn had Moore arrested, and having heard the case he ordered him bound and taken to jail at Salisbury by Constable Phelps and three other men. This is the same man that two years ago tried to kill our Br. Schille, and badly wounded Br. Joseph Müller, who was helping take him to Salisbury.

*Feb. 1.* A neighbor near Bethania, named Geiger, came to Br. Graff and asked for the baptism of his infant daughter. His wife is one of Fiddler's daughters, of whom four, with their husbands, live in this neighborhood.

*Feb. 12.* Br. Bonn rode to County Court at Salisbury, taking with him a written petition asking that the Court confirm the road from Salem to the Shallow Ford as a Public Road.



*Feb. 18.* Yesterday Br. Bonn returned from Salisbury. The new road from Salem to the Shallow Ford was granted, and the proposed Jury was appointed, and the nomination of Br. Jacob Steiner as Road Master for Dobbs Parish was confirmed. The road from Salem to Cross Creek has also been recorded.

*Feb. 21.* Br. Georg Renner has accepted the position of Night-watchman, and Br. Würtele has taken charge of the little boys, who will be with him day and night. The young Brother, Johann Nilson, will also sleep with them at night, and take his meals with them.

*Feb. 22.* The Herrman men were again in our Tavern, bringing a large number of deer-skins.

*Feb. 27.* John Doughted and Valentine Frey have run a new road from their settlement toward Salem, as far as the Salisbury Road.

*March 2.* The little Schober played the cabinet organ for the first time, for the singing of the liturgy "O Head so full of bruises". At the same service, March 9th, Br. Joseph Müller played for the first time.

*March 10.* The fence around the medicinal garden has been repaired.

*March 12.* The two Single Brethren, Johann Klein and Muschbach, have arrived from Europe by way of Charlestown. They brought the important Diary and Minutes of the last General Synod, also letters and Beilagen. Synod has combined the Directorial, Syndic, and Vorsteher Conferences into the Unitaets Aeltesten Collegium.\*

The boy, Gottlieb Schober, moved today from here to Salem. Br. Praezel will teach him to weave linen.

*March 16.* An English Minister, Forbes, came with recommendations from Mr. Chismuth at Pine Tree and Mr. John Frohock at Salisbury to Br. Bonn and Br. Bagge. He wishes to become acquainted with our settlement; would also like to see the Pilot Mountain, and Br. Miksch will take him there tomorrow.

*March 19.* Today Br. Lung has set a memorial stone on the site of the first hut, the existence of which led to the founding of Bethabara at this place. The stone bears the date *Nov. 17, 1753*.

*April 1.* The important Synod Minutes were communicated to the congregation in four morning and six afternoon sessions. Br. Marshall informed the congregation that the General Synod had appointed Br. Johann Klein to be Gemein Diener (Vorsteher) in Wachovia.

*April 2.* Br. Marshall audited the accounts of the master workmen; Br. Klein was present, and acquainted himself with this branch of his office.

---

\* Unity's Elders Conference.

*April 4.* Threshing is finished. Last year's harvest brought 498½ bushels of wheat, 243 bu. rye, 225 bu. barley, 224 bu. oats, 67½ bu. flax-seed, total 1258 bushels. There were about 60 bushels of corn.

*April 14.* In the morning the Aeltesten Conferenz met, partly to arrange for the Easter services, and partly to consider a matter presented by some men from the Town Fork, who will go to Salisbury to Election. They intend to send a Petition to the Assembly, looking toward the division of this County, and have incorporated in it a suggestion that the Court House shall be built in their settlement, in this they would like to have the approval of the Brethren. A provisional answer was given that since by law the district of Wachovia was a separate Parish so important a matter should first be laid before the Parishioners for their approval.

*April 16. Easter Monday.* In the afternoon there was a meeting of all the men who belong to Dobbs Parish,—from Bethabara, Salem, Bethania, the surrounding country, and from beyond the Ens. They gathered in the Bethabara Saal, and elected a Vestry, which in turn elected the Brn. Fockel and Heinrich Spoenhauer as Church Wardens, Br. Jacob Bonn as Parish Clerk, and the Brn. Jacob Ernst and Bachhoff as Readers. The Helfer Conferenz had prepared a Resolution requesting that if our County should be divided Dobbs Parish should not be cut in two (which was to be feared if the suggestions of the Town Fork men were adopted). This Resolution was signed by all the men present in the Parish meeting, and will be put into the hands of the two Representatives in the Assembly, Mr. Rutherford and Matthew Lock, for presentation to the House if need arises.

*May 12.* The wife of our friend and host from beyond Salisbury, Major Pfeiffer, came today, and will here await the arrival of her husband. He arrived on the 15th, and at once went with his wife and Br. Bonn to Bethania to visit his fellow-countrymen, especially Strub. They returned to Bethabara that evening, and left next morning by way of Salem. She was much pleased with her visit, and all that she had seen.

*May 21.* There was an unusual concourse of visitors, some coming sixty or eighty miles, to buy milk crocks and pans in our pottery. They bought the entire stock, not one piece was left; many could only get half they wanted, and others, who came too late, could find none. They were promised more next week.

*May 28.* For some days there have been a great many caterpillars in our bottom meadow, which have eaten off much of the young grass in the new part. Today we saw them moving in a mass across the long

ditch to the woods, many of them drowning in the water. The same thing was seen in Bethania. Next day it was found that the caterpillars were attacking the rye and barley. On the 30th it rained quite heavily, bringing hope that they would not do much more harm.

*May 31.* Eight families from Pennsylvania, 42 souls, with three wagons, stopped for several hours in our Tavern, then went on to the Catawba River.

*June 15.* Adam Loesch brought a package of letters, which had come from Europe by way of Charlestown and Salisbury. A letter from Br. Johannes [von Watteville], dated Hennersdorf, Jan. 7th this year, stated that Br. Loretz is to be the Wachovia correspondent in the Unitaets Aeltesten Collegium.

*Aug. 1.* This afternoon a gentleman from Virginia came with a Chief of the Cherokee Indians, Young Warrior some of the Brethren think he is. Twelve years ago he passed through here several times. An interpreter was with him. The Indian attended the evening service in the Saal. He is on the way to see the Governor of Virginia, presumably about land matters.

*Aug. 4.* The last leather was finished in the tannery, and the vats were filled, so bringing that industry to an end in this village.

*Aug. 18.* Br. Bonn returned from Court at Salisbury.

*Aug. 20.* Br. Klein left for Cross Creek to buy salt and other goods for our store, where the stock is much reduced.

*Aug. 23.* Mr. Owen, of Charlestown, a partner of Mr. Bamfield, came this morning, and will spend a couple of days.

*Aug. 25.* Mr. Owen left today, after a satisfactory visit of two days. The well-known Virginia minister, Mr. Harris, with two of his people, passed today, but could not stop as he has an engagement to preach at another place tomorrow. He preached today at the home of our neighbor, Banner. We thought he was to preach there Wednesday and had planned to invite him here, but it was too late.

*Sept. 2.* Just before bed-time Br. Meyer brought to the Gemein Haus our acquaintance Hans Lapp, from Abbots Creek. Lapp brought the very sorrowful news that our dear Br. Johann Klein had been drowned in Little River, while on his way to Cross Creek. In proof of this he brought to Br. Bonn a letter from Justice Seal, who lives five miles from Little River, and he also brought the horse Br. Klein had ridden. The details given in the letter were as follows. "Wednesday, Aug. 22nd, Br. Klein stopped at the house of Isaac Hill, on the 'new Cape Fear Road, about 100 miles from here, and hired a horse, 'as his was lame. Ten miles further on he stopped at the house of



Justice Seal, then rode on to Little River, and was drowned. There was a man at Hill's house, when Br. Klein called there, who wished to ride with him, but Br. Klein, perhaps distrusting him, rode on without him. Soon after, this man found Br. Klein's hired horse, with his saddlebags, on this side of the river, and left it with two other men, at the bridge above the ford, to be returned to the owner. Hans Lapp was returning with his wagon from New Bern, and reached there after the body had been buried, but from a letter found in the pocket-book of the deceased he was able to tell the people who the drowned man was, and so the horse was turned over to him."

That the body had been buried without inspection from a Jury was because the Justice was not at home, and the body, which was found caught in a tree, presumably two days after the drowning, required immediate burial.

Br. Klein had taken with him £30 Proc., besides some pocket-money, but the miller, who buried him, turned over only about £5, which he found in the trousers pocket.

This news gave those who knew it a hard, long, night.

*Sept. 3.* In the morning there was a further talk with Hans Lapp, and he was given a reward for his faithfulness in the affair. Then several Brethren had a conference, and it was decided to send two Brethren to Justice Seal, to secure further information as to Br. Klein's death, to pay whatever expense there might be, and to bring back his property. Directly after dinner the congregation met for a memorial service; after which there was a conference with Br. Jacob Steiner and Br. Charles Holder, who were given written and oral instructions for their journey. Br. Bonn wrote to Justice Seal, recommending these Brethren, and asking that Br. Klein's property be sent by them, after all legal forms had been observed. We have no hope of recovering the money, and consider that lost, but the main thing is to find out whether Br. Klein was simply drowned, or whether he was murdered.

*Sept. 10.* The Brn. Steiner and Holder returned, bringing further details concerning Br. Johann Klein's end, and also bringing his saddlebags, with the money he had taken with him. This relieves us from fear that he was murdered, and calms us with the thought that the event was of the Lord's ordering.

A little later we received from Salem the letters that the Brn. Toego Nissen and Andreas Broesing had brought. As we had learned that it was possible for a man to drown in a small river, when the Lord's hour for him had come, so now we learned from the wonderful escape of these two Brethren that the Lord could withhold the key to the grave



when he wished. They had hired a wagon in Salisbury, and when they reached the Yadkin, which is there as large as the River Elbe, they found that the ferry was out of order. In spite of the warnings of people near, the driver decided to drive across, as people were accustomed to do when the water was low. Scarcely were they into the river when the horses began to swim, and the wagon turned over twice. A boy who was with the driver was drowned, so were three of the horses, but each time the Brethren were able to climb on the side of the wagon that was up, and it finally reached the other side of the river, though they had to stay on it for nearly two hours before they were brought to land in a canoe, and were taken to a house, where they could dry themselves and the packages of letters they had saved. Meanwhile report of the accident had spread back the five miles to Salisbury, and a friend of the Brethren at once took horse, rode to the river, and along its bank until he found a canoe, in which he crossed, with his horse swimming alongside. He found the Brethren, acted as their interpreter, and guided them to Salem, lending his horse to Br. Nissen, who was ill, but was fortunately not made worse by his experience.

*Sept. 20.* A Col. Donaldson, of Virginia, and his party, spent the night here. He has been ordered to take a present, worth £2500 Sterling, to the Indians in South Carolina, according to Treaty, and then to run the new line between them and the Province of Virginia. According to this agreement the whole of New River, and half of Holston River, will belong to Virginia.

*Sept. 21.* There were unusually many strangers in our town today, especially a number who do not wish to be under the law, and are moving to Holston River.

*Sept. 23.* Mr. Temple Kole, Adjutant for the Regiment of this District, came here to select a suitable place for the coming Muster; the small field on the foot-path to Bethania was chosen.

*Sept. 30.* The two Staubers were here to learn whether they might move into one of our congregation villages. The answer was that we would make trial of them, and had planned that next spring they might move either to Bethabara or Bethania; meanwhile they should consider carefully whether they desired to observe the customs of a congregation, and to lead an industrious and orderly life, and so to order their household as to give no sorrow to the Saviour or to His Kingdom. They promised to do their best, and went home with thankful hearts.

*Oct. 2.* The adult communicants gathered to discuss the coming Muster, and the need for caution, not only on account of the large

number of persons who would be present, but especially because they would be opposed to us, and would make all kinds of disturbances and do damage if any chance were given.

*Oct. 8.* Nothing special happened, except that here and there preparations were made for the Muster.

*Oct. 9.* Several Brethren came from Salem and Bethania to help in the store and Tavern tomorrow during the Muster. Major Linsey, who was here six years ago and made many acquaintances, came for the Muster. He reported that not a great many would come, on account of the prevailing fever; that Mr. Temple Kole was down with it; whether Mr. Frohock would come he did not know. He promised to do all in his power to prevent disorder. Toward evening many people came to the Tavern; Mr. Martin Armstrong's Company camped in the meadow, and Anthony Hampton's Company by the Grassy Fork.

*Oct. 10.* Unrest in the town began early, as the Companies which had camped outside were drawn up. We soon heard that not nearly so many had gathered as were expected, for the Regiment numbers 1300 or 1400 men, but a great many were sick with fever. From Salisbury came the Adjutant, Mr. Temple Kole, Captain Little, etc. Col. Frohock did not dare to come. A peddler, Hughes, reported that he had heard that a strong party of Regulators would be here today; this report was confirmed by Mr. McNally, Esq. who told Br. Bagge that it was the intention to whip both of them, also George Holder,—Bagge because he had sent bread to the Governor at Salisbury last year, and Holder because he had tried to drive in the hogs belonging to a Regulator, and so on.

Meanwhile the Lord made the Text for the Day come true, "Let us now fear the Lord our God, that giveth rain, both the former and the latter in his season," for it rained until ten o'clock, which probably changed the plans of many. Henrich Herrman and his Company, mostly Regulators, only arrived in the afternoon, when the other Companies had finished the exercises on the meadow beside the path to Bethania. Little good was to be expected from them, for the Captain said he was becoming more and more of a Regulator; he did his best to excite them, and amused himself and them by marching and exercising in the town, and they finally fired their guns and shouted "Hurrah". Then evening came, and nearly everybody left except the Regulators, who however found no chance to start trouble. Two of them told Br. Blum good-naturedly that they had been so well served, and that everything had been so satisfactory, that they had no excuse for being unpleasant. So this day, which we had rather dreaded, passed safely.

Only the officers and a few of the men remained in the Tavern for the night. Thanks and praise be to God for His protection. The sing-stunde was omitted.

*Oct. 11.* During last night Henrich Herrman and his unruly associates left the Tavern. On the road Herrman slipped away from them and returned to the Tavern; but several of his companions saw it and followed him back, and they kept up a disturbance all night, and neither a Justice nor the officers could control them. Toward morning they left suddenly, as though they were alarmed. Herrman stayed until four o'clock in the afternoon, having his drum beaten constantly. Mr. Temple Kole and Major Linsey remained for tonight, as they were afraid of meeting the Regulators. From what we heard yesterday and today, a party of Regulators, who were not called to the Muster, planned to come here and join in the plans of the others, and then the store and Tavern would have suffered. But He Who sits above would not permit this.

*Oct. 17.* Early this morning the three Bethania wagons left for Charlestown. To make the shipment less conspicuous the other three wagons will not be loaded until tomorrow.

*Oct. 23.* Col. Frohock passed through, going from the Town Fork to the Yadkin. It is supposed that he is busy with his own relations to the Regulators, from whom he fears unpleasant treatment.

*Nov. 6.* Wagons have gone again to Cross Creek, or Tryon Town.

*Nov. 15.* After eleven o'clock at night the first three wagons from Charlestown came in quietly. They were detained at the Yadkin from Monday to Wednesday noon, by high water. One night fifteen Regulators camped by their fire; at Salisbury they had been in a fight with the opposite party, who had been summoned by the Governor to protect the Court, and they had been forced to retire, but they intended to go again in larger numbers, and avenge themselves.

*Nov. 26.* Br. Strub, of Bethania, started with his wagon for Cross Creek. By him we sent 40 lbs. of meal as a present to the man who buried our Br. Johann Klein, and neatly enclosed his grave with cedar clapboards.<sup>6</sup>

*Nov. 29.* Certain Regulators had driven 150 head of swine into Wachovia, this side of Walk's, without permission. Walk complained that they were injuring him; and the Regulators threatened to take the matter to a meeting of the Regulators. But today the threatened

<sup>6</sup>The remains of Br. Klein were later brought to Wachovia, and were re-interred in the Salem Graveyard.



trouble was peacefully solved, for bears attacked the swine, and most of them ran for home; the owners will drive the rest home also, as soon as they can stand the trip.

### *Church Services.*

#### [Editorial summary.]

Except when a severe storm interfered, or the presence of troublesome visitors made it impossible, the Brethren held daily services in the Saal. In the Diary of 1770 no mention is made of the early morning prayer, and the midday service, formerly customary, so it is probable that the first had been replaced by private devotions, and that the noon service had become impossible as widening farm lands separated the man during the day. Every evening, however, services were held, the form changing from day to day so that monotony was avoided. The following is the schedule followed in Bethabara, after the receipt of the Synod Minutes,—prior to that the periods allotted to Bible Reading were given to the reading of Nachrichten and Reden.

#### *Sunday.*

Three services in the morning,—Litany.

Sermon.

Reading of Nachrichten.

Afternoon,—Bible Reading.

Evening,—8 o'clock, Gemein Stunde, consisting of a discourse on the Texts for the day.

9 o'clock, Singstunde. Following this was Evening Prayer for the whole congregation.

#### *Monday.*

Twilight,—Rede, that is the reading of a sermon written by some leading minister living elsewhere.

Before retiring,—Singstunde.

Evening Prayer in the Choir Houses.

#### *Tuesday.*

Morning,—Meeting of Aeltesten Conferenz.

Afternoon,—Meeting of Diaconie Conference.

Twilight,—Liturgy.

Before retiring,—Singstunde.

Evening Prayer in the Choir Houses.



*Wednesday.*

Twilight,—Bible Reading.

Before retiring,—Singstunde.

Evening Prayer for all.

*Thursday.*

Twilight,—Liturgy.

Before retiring,—Singstunde.

Evening Prayer in the Choir Houses.

*Friday.*

Twilight,—Bible Reading.

Before retiring,—Liturgy, based on the Passion Hymn

“O Head so full of bruises,  
So full of pain and scorn,  
Midst other sore abuses  
Mocked with a crown of thorn.”

This was followed by Evening prayer in the Choir Houses.

*Saturday.*

Twilight,—Meeting of Stundebeter.

Before retiring,—Singstunde.

Evening Prayer for all.

During the summer only one service was held on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings, that one being before retiring. During harvest the first service on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday was also dropped. The summer and the harvest schedule went into effect June 18th; harvest schedule ended July 25th; winter schedule began again Nov. 5th.

In addition to this weekly schedule certain services were held every four weeks, that is Lovefeast, Communion, and the Gemein Tag. In Bethabara the monthly Communion was celebrated on Saturday, in Salem on Sunday. In harmony with the outline given above the Bethabara schedule follows.

*Saturday, every four weeks.*

Morning,—Conference about Communion.

5 P. M. —Communion Lovefeast and reading of Nachrichten.

8 P. M.—Communion.

*Sunday, following Communion Saturday.*

Morning,—Communion for Church Officers.

Communion Liturgy.

Reading of Nachrichten.

Afternoon,—Bible Reading.

Evening,—Liturgy.

*Sunday, Gemein Tag, every four weeks.*

Morning,—Three sessions for reading of Nachrichten.

Afternoon,—Three sessions for reading of Nachrichten.

Evening,—8 P.M. Gemein Stunde.

9 P. M. Liturgy.

In addition to the regular daily services the Brethren were in the habit of observing various special days, some being those celebrated by the Church Universal, others being memorial days connected with the history of the Brethren's Unity, or days designed to strengthen their religious life. The Diaries give these in detail year by year, frequently with an outline of the sermon or address. In addition to the services for the congregation the individual Choirs had their private meetings, Liturgies, Doctrinal Instruction, Prayer Meetings, etc. These private meetings are omitted in the following outline, which gives an idea of the services in which the entire congregation of Bethabara was more or less interested.

*Jan. 1. 1770, New Year's Day.* The congregation met at 10 A. M. and listened to the reading of a sermon preached by Bishop Spangenberg for the New Year of 1768. In the afternoon the Choirs in turn had Prayer Meeting.

*Jan. 6. Epiphany.* The evening service was devoted to the reading of reports from the Missions of the Brethren's Unity among the Heathen, closing with an appropriate portion of the Church Litany.

*Jan. 8. Festival or Covenant Day of the Boys and Youths.*

A Memoir filed with this Diary shows that boys were considered as "Children" from birth to about four years of age; then they became "Little Boys"; at twelve they entered the Choir of "Boys"; at eighteen became "Youths". The age at which they were received into the Choir of "Single Brethren" varied, sometimes the reception occurred at the Festival of the Single Brethren in the August following their becoming "Youths", sometimes it was postponed one or two years. The closing meeting of the Choir year of Boys and Youths was held on the evening of the 7th. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th

they had Morning Prayer, led by their Pfleger, Br. Lorenz. At 9 A. M. was the transfer of seven Boys into the Choir of Youths, with the reminder that they should strive, like the Youth Jesus, to grow in age, wisdom, and grace. Then the Boys and Youths met in groups with the Pastor; and at noon they dined together. At 2 P. M. was their Lovefeast, certain members of other Choirs being present as guests, and the Memorabilia, or history of the Choir for the past year, was read. This year two Little Boys from Bethania joined the Choir of Boys. At 4 P. M. Br. Marshall gave them an address, along the line of the Morning Prayer. In the evening service an appropriate sermon by Bishop John von Watteville was read, and the congregation sang several hymns of prayer for the Covenanting Choirs.

*Feb. 2. Covenant Day of the Choirs of Widows and Widowers.*

The services of the day were Morning Prayer; the reading of a discourse by Bishop von Watteville for the same festival in Zeist the preceding year; Lovefeast at noon, with several guests from other Choirs, the reading of the Choir Memorabilia, and the sharing of the Cup of Covenant; and several prayer hymns sung for these two Choirs at the evening service.

*Feb. 25, First Sunday in Lent.*

*March 1,* The evening services were in commemoration of the Founding of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, 1457.

*March 25. Covenant Day of the Girls, 12 to 18 years of age.* The services were the same as for the Boys in January, the discourse, etc. being suited to the Choir of Girls. The day was also celebrated by the entire congregation as a *Doctrinal Day*, with an address, etc. on Luke I, 28-38.

On Saturday evening, *April 7th*, a beginning was made in the reading of the story of the Lord during His last week. The reading continued from evening to evening until Maundy Thursday, when there was a reading meeting in the afternoon, the Pedalavium, and an evening reading followed by the Communion. On Good Friday, at 3 P. M. there was the reading of the account of the death of Jesus; about sunset the story of His burial was read; and in the evening there was a service of song. Great Sabbath there was a Lovefeast at noon, with the singing of a suitable liturgy; also a brief reading meeting in the evening. On Easter Sunday, at 5 A. M., the congregation assembled in the Saal, going from there to the Graveyard on the hill. The weather was not very favorable, but the sun peeped through the clouds for a few minutes, resting on the large concourse of members, friends, and curious neighbors. At 11 the sermon was preached by Br. Graff on

I Cor. V, 7 he emphasizing the fact that the true Easter celebration lies in recognising Christ as the Passover Lamb, offered for our sins, that through faith we might obtain eternal life, and become partakers in His resurrection. In the afternoon was read, from the Harmony of the Gospels, the story of His resurrection and appearance to the Disciples; in the evening the liturgy "Te Abba" was sung. On Easter Monday two morning sessions were devoted to the reading of Nachrichten; in the afternoon there was a Parish Meeting, for the election of a new Vestry for Dobbs Parish etc.

*May 4. Covenant Day of Single Sisters.* Services were,—Morning Prayer; meeting at 9 A. M. with an address by Br. Graff on the Text for the day, and the reception of several new members into the Choir; noon the Choir dined with Br. and Sr. Marshall and Br. and Sr. Graff; 2 P. M. Lovefeast, with a few guests present, with the reading of the Choir Memorabilia, and the singing of the Festal Ode; before the Liturgy in the evening the congregation sang several prayer hymns for the Single Sisters; and after the Liturgy the Single Sisters had Communion.

*May 12. Anniversary of May 12, 1724 and 1727.* Appropriate sermons read.

*May 24. Ascension Day.*

*June 3. Whitsuntide.*

*June 10. Trinity Sunday.*

*June 24. Festival of the Little Boys under 12 years of age.* Services were held in Bethania;—Morning Prayer; a meeting at eleven o'clock, in which Br. and Sr. Christoph Schmidt were introduced as Kinder Eltern; after noon the Brn. Graff, Lorenz and Ernst spoke with groups of boys; then followed the Lovefeast, with an address by Br. Graff on the second Text for the day.

*July 2.* Lovefeast and address for four married Sisters. (See Luke I, 39-44).

*Aug. 5.* Sr. Bonn, with her wee daughter in her arms, attended an afternoon meeting of the Married Choir, and was blessed for her new duty. (The baby was born June 28th, in the morning, and was baptised the same evening, as was customary.)

*Aug. 13. Anniversary of the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Herrnhut, in 1727.* Communion Conference in the morning; the Lord permitted the Confirmation of the Boy, Heinrich Blum, and that Ludwig Leinbach might become a Candidate for Confirmation. At 2 P. M. Br. Graff spoke on the Text for the day, and its relation to the events in Herrnhut forty-three years ago, and the duties and privileges



of the Unity today. At 3 P. M. was Lovefeast for members and children, and Zinzendorf's historical account of the day was read. In the evening was Communion, two Youths were confirmed, and partook for the first time of the Lord's Supper; Heinrich Blum attended as Confirmand. (A Confirmand, or Candidate, attended the Communion twice as an on-looker, and was confirmed the third time.) The Communion for the Church Officers followed that for the congregation.

*Aug. 17. Festival of the Little Girls* under twelve years of age. It was held in Bethania, the order of services being the same as for the Little Boys.

*Aug. 29. Festival of the Single Brethren.* Services held in Salem. Closing meeting of the Choir held on the evening of the 28th. Morning Prayer; at 10 A. M. address by Br. Marshall; later the meeting of Classes, or groups, of the Choir; 2 P. M. Lovefeast, with Choir Memorabilia and the Festal Ode; 4 P. M. Choir Communion. In the evening, in Bethabara, the congregation sang prayer hymns for the Choir of Single Brethren.

*Sept. 7.* Should have been *Covenant Day of the Married People*, but the services were postponed because so many were ill.

*Sept. 16.* Recognition of Christ as the Head and Chief Elder of the Unitas Fratrum, Sept. 16, 1741. Observed in Bethabara by the Stundenbeter with a special prayer meeting; in Salem with the Cup of Covenant.

*Oct. 31.* Anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation. Suitable sermon at evening service.

*Nov. 13. Anniversary of Nov. 13, 1741*, when the events of Sept. 16th, 1741, were made known simultaneously in all congregations of the Brethren's Unity, and were received with deep approbation and joy. At 9 A. M. there was a prayer meeting, and Br. Marshall spoke on the Texts for the day. Later he told the story of the day to the six little boys of Bethabara. At 2 P. M. there were two prayer meetings, one for the Brethren and one for the Sisters; at 4 P. M. the communicants shared in the Cup of Covenant. The day closed with a song service.

*Nov. 24.* The postponed Festival of the Married People was held, though not as elaborately as usual. At 2 P. M. was the Lovefeast, attended by the Bethabara members and a few from Salem; the Memorabilia of the Choir was read, and the Festal Ode sung. At 3 P. M. Br. Graff spoke on the Text for Sept 7th; in the evening, before the

Singstunde, the Choir had a brief meeting; after the Singstunde was the Choir Communion. The Married People of Bethania celebrated Nov. 25th.

*Dec. 2. First Sunday in Advent.*

*Dec. 24. Christmas Eve.* At 6 P. M. a Lovefeast was held for the children, appropriate hymns were sung, and small lighted candles<sup>7</sup> were distributed, which they joyfully carried home, still burning. At 9 P. M. the congregation met, heard the story of the day read from a Harmony of the Gospels, joined in appropriate hymns, Br. Graff spoke on the Texts for the day, and then all kneeling joined in earnest prayer and thanks to our Immanuel, for His unspeakable grace.

*Dec. 25. Christmas Day.* In the morning was a sermon on the Text,—“Great is the mystery of godliness, God was made manifest in the flesh.” Then there was a meeting for the children, and to them, as well as to the little ones in their mothers’ arms, there were given written Christmas verses. Afternoon there were prayer meetings for the Brethren and Sisters; and at the close of the day the Liturgy “Te Logos” was sung.

*Dec. 26. Second Christmas Day,* was observed as a Gemein Tag, and three sessions were devoted to the reading of Nachrichten. In the afternoon four boys were apprenticed to Master-workmen. At 1:30 P. M. there was a meeting, with an address on the Text for the day, and the Reception of four members into the Congregation.

*Dec. 31. New Year’s Eve.* Lovefeast at 8 P. M. At 9 P. M. the reading of the Memorabilia of the Unity’s Elders’ Conference for the year 1769. At 11:30 P. M. the Memorabilia of Wachovia for 1770 was read; Br. Graff spoke on the Texts for the day; and exactly at midnight the trombonists began to play

“Now thank we all our God,  
With heart and hand and voices,”

the congregation joining in. Then all knelt while the minister thanked the Holy Trinity for all the grace enjoyed during the year just ended, and asked His continuance thereof through all the hours of the coming days. The reading of the Texts for New Year’s Day, 1771, and the Benediction, closed the services of the old year.

<sup>7</sup> The lighted candles were to remind the congregation that the Christ Child came to be “the Light of the World,” and that Christians, even though they were only children, might shine for Him.

*Concerning the Division of Rowan County.*

[Copy filed in Wachovia Archives.]

To Griffith Rutherford & Matthew Lock Esquires  
Representatives for the County of Rowan in the Province  
of North Carolina.

Sirs

We suppose you will have received a Petition signed by a considerable Number of the Settlers of the Northern Part of our County, respecting the County Division, whereto they desired our Concurrence, but the Time being too short we were obliged to deferr the Consideration of this Subject to the Meeting of the Inhabitants of Wachovia or Dobbs Parish on Easter Munday, when it was unanimously agreed on, to lay before you the following Points as the joints Sentiments of the Inhabitants thereof, viz.

- 1) That we concur with all our Neighbours in thinking that a Division of the present County is highly necessary & that the Northern Part should be separated from the Southern.
- 2) As by an Act of Assembly, passed in the Year 1755, Wachovia and the several Surveys made for some of the United Brethren were erected into a separate Parish under the Name of Dobbs Parish, the Limits whereof extend Southward as far as the Mouth of Muddy Creek; It is humbly hoped that the Legislature will think it reasonable that the boundary line to be run from East to West between such a Northern & Southern County be laid out either at or lower than the Place where the sd Muddy Creek falleth into Atkins, so that the sd Dobbs Parish be not divided but left entire in the sd Northern County.
- 3) As to other Boundaries of this proposed County the Inhabitants of Dobbs Parish shall acquiesce in any Thing what their Neighbours may look upon as convenient for them, or the Wisdom of the Assembly shall think most suitable for public Benefit.
- 4) They think that at or near the Place where the Road coming from Virginia thro' the Townfork Settlement and the new Town of Salem to the Shallowford of Atkin intersects an other much frequented Road coming from the Hollow and the Towns of Bethany and Bethabara to Widow Simons & the New Garden as well as other Settlements would be a convenient Situation for a Courthouse, it being about 40 miles North of Salisbury & in the Center of some of the greatest Settlements in these Parts.

We therefore humbly request you, whenever the sd Division of the County shall come into Consideration, to lay these our Sentiments be-

fore the Honble House of Assembly. Your known Zeal for the public Interest, which hath inclined the Inhabitants of this extensive County to put so sacred a Trust as their Representation upon you, maketh us confident to believe that you will do your best Endeavors to promote an Affair of such Importance to the Wellbeing of many of His Majesty's Subjects, which is the hearty Wishes of

Sirs

Your humble Servants

[The draft preserved in the Archives has no signature, but the Bethabara Diary of April 16, 1770, says that on that day it was signed by all the men attending the Parish meeting.]

*Minutes of Dobbs Parish Vestry.*

[In the Salem Archives are a number of sheets giving at least a part of the Minutes of the Vestry of Dobbs Parish. From them the following extracts are taken, supplementing the references to the Vestry found in the Diaries of various years. The Minutes were kept in English.]

North Carolina

Rowan County

On Tuesday the first Day of June 1756 an Election was held at Salisbury to Elect Vestry men for the Parish of Dobbs, in the County afores'd where the following Persons were Duly Elected According to Law.

Jacob Loesch, Hans Peterson, Gottlieb Fockel, Carl Opiz, Christian Pfeiffer, Jacob Lung, Erich Ingebretzen, Jacob Kapp, Samuel Wutke, Lud. Gottlieb Bachhoff, Christoph Merkly, John Nagel.

Certified by me

David Jones Sheriff

North Carolina

Rowan County,

At a Vestry meeting held at Wachovia for the Parish of Dobbs in the County Afores'd, on Monday the 21st Day of June Ao. Do. 1756.

Present [the above elected Vestrymen].

The Vestry were fully Qualified and Subscribed the Test According to Law.

Jacob Loesch and Samuel Wutke appointed Church Wardens untill the next nomination by Law perscribed.



Ordered that the Rev. Mr. Christian Henry [Rauch] be accepted amongst us as a Divine untill Such time as one can be provided as a Parish Minister.

Ordered that Ludolph Gottlieb Bachhoff be appointed Clark of the Vestry.

[The Test, with autograph signatures of the twelve Vestrymen.]

I A B do declare, that i will conform to the Liturgy of the protestant Episcopal Church, known by the Name of United Brethren, granted by virtue of an Act of Parliament.

Vestry met the 30th of August 1756. Present [above named men].

As the Rev. Christian Henrich has been called to come to Jamaica to preach the Gospel there to the Negroes, it was agreed, that the Rev. Mr. Christian Seidel should be accepted amongst us as a Divine untill such Time as we can be provided with a Parish Minister.

The Vestry met the 20th of September.

After Consultation about a Minister for Dobbs Parish it was agreed that the Rev. Mr. Jacob Rogers should be called.

Ordered that the Vocation should be drawn, which was Signed Accordingly by the Vestry, and is to be Sent with the first Opportunity to England.

The Vestry met April 12, 1757.

After Consultation about the Electing of two new Church Wardens for Dobbs Parish, it was agreed to elect again our Br. Jacob Loesch and instead of Samuel Wutke our Br. Gottlieb Fockel, and they were pleased to take on that Office.

June 14th, 1757.

The former Church Wardens presented according to Law to the new elected Church Wardens instead of their Accounts following Relation. Because the Salary of our present Minister and his other Entertainment, likewise the Expenses for many ecclesiastical Things, and what other Expenses are made, viz. the Payment to our Ranger for bringing in three Wolf Scalps, for that Time ex Communi Cassa of the United Brethren are payd, therefore we think it to be not needfull to make some Accounts.

21st Day of May 1758.

After Consultation about Electing of two new Churchwardens for Dobbs Parish it was agreed to elect again the former Churchwardens

viz. Jacob Loesch and Gottlieb Fockel, because we were content with them and they with us.

21st Day of June 1758.

Our long expected English Minister for Dobbs Parish Mstr. Roger whom has befallen in his Journey a violent fever, arrived by us with his wife a fellow Traveller Mstr. Lisher. And after he very heartily was saluted from our Church Wardens and Vestrymen he was lodged in the Upper Room of our Baking House, till that new builded House for him was done.

Saturday the 14th of Oct. 1758.

Our English Minister Mstr. Roger, being presented today in the Congregation Hall at Bethabara to the People of Dobbs Parish from the Vestry betook the Upper Room in that new builded House.

Sunday the 22nd of Oct. 1758.

Our English Minister kept his first and Introductions Sermon in the Congregation Hall at Bethabara upon Matt. XI, 28, Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you Rest.

25th of Dec. Christmas.

Before the English Preaching the English Liturgy the first time was kept by our Minister when by him two little Children of our Neighbours viz. Michael Hauser's little Michael and Shouss's little daughter, were baptised.

May 1st. 1759.

I Do declare that I will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is by Law Established.

[Autograph signatures of twelve Vestrymen.]

North Carolina	at the Parish Church in the Parish of Dobbs
Rowan County	the above Vestrymen were qualified as by Law
May 1st, 1759	appointed and signed the Test.

Edward Hughes Sheriff.

Bethlehem in Pennsylvania

March 15th 1762

Gentlemen of the Vestry of Dobbs Parish in Wachovia North Carolina.

I hereby acquit you of all Claims & Demands to the Day of the Date hereof, for serving as Minister in said Dobbs Parish, a valuable Consideration for so serving being by me received, as witness my Hand  
Jacob Rogers.

## Dobs Parish the 23rd of April 1764

I A. B. do declare that I do believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever.

[Signed by seven autograph and five additional names.]

At a meeting of the Vestry for the Parish of Dobbs now met at the Worshipp Hall at Bethabara it was Resolved that Mr. Ludolph Bachhoff be again appointed to continue the office of a Publick Reader for & in said Parish of Dobbs as before and he is hereby appointed to continue accordingly.

Given under our hands this 27th Day of March 1769.

## North Carolina

## Rowan County

At the usual Place of Worship in the Parish of Dobbs. On Easter Monday the Sixteenth of April 1770 was held at Bethabara an Election, to elect Vestry Men for the Parish of Dobbs, in the County aforesaid, when and where the following Persons were duly elected; to Wit

Henry Spenhauer, Georg Holder, Christoph Merkle, Gottlieb Fockel, Gottfried Grabs, Henrich Herbst, Jacob Blum, Jacob Meyer, Gottfried Bretzel, Traugott Bagge, Jacob Steiner, Henry Shore.

## North Carolina

## Rowan County

April the 16th 1770 at the usual Place of Worship aforesaid the above Vestry Men were Qualified as by Law apointed and signed the Test, before me  
Jacob Bonn

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Vestry of Dobbs Parish in Rowan County, North Carolina.

At a meeting of the Vestry of the Parish of Dobbs held the 16th Day of April 1770, at Bethabara, the Vestry voted Gottlieb Fockel and Henry Spenhauer for Churchwardens for one year.

Also that whereas the Rev. Mr. Utley Minister of this Parish resideth at Salem the Vestry voted Mr. Jacob Ernst to be Public Reader at Bethany; likewise the Vestry voted Mr. Ludolph Gottlieb Bachhoff to be Public Reader at the Meetinghouse of the South Fork; and Jacob Bonn was chosen and apointed Clerk of the Vestry.

*Wachovia Memorabilia.*

[Translated in full.]

At the close of this year we wish to remind ourselves of the measureless grace and kindness of our Lord, bestowed upon us body and soul, and to bring Him due thanks for all, asking Him to overlook what we have forgotten, and what we have not rightly understood. He has given us richly of His blessed Word and Gospel in our public Bible Readings, while the use of the Daily Texts has nourished our souls, and has been a light upon our path. The reading of the *Gemein Nachrichten* has encouraged us, and has kept us in sympathetic touch with the great work of our Lord in the Unity of Brethren in all parts of the world, and has served to increase our understanding of the truth as it is in Jesus. And if now and then certain persons have seemed to be falling away His mercy and faithfulness have reclaimed the erring ones unless they were at heart false or of darkened understanding.

The Church and Congregation Festivals were days of true grace and blessing, and this was also true of the occasions when we partook of the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, the entire congregation celebrating the Communion twelve times this year, while each Choir [of adults] had it twice, on their special covenant days. The 23rd of June and the 13th of November were particularly blessed to all the Brethren in Wachovia, and will not be soon forgotten. On the former the new *Gemein Haus* in Bethania was consecrated; on the latter the *Saal* in the new *Gemein Haus* in Salem. During the services in Salem on the 13th our negro Sam was solemnly baptised, receiving the name Johannes Samuel. The Cup of Thanksgiving and Covenant was shared on the special Congregation Festivals in remembrance and renewal of the grace bestowed by our dear Head upon His little Church in this our day. During the last months of the year we received from Europe the revised Liturgies, which were at once distributed among the communicant members as far as they would go, and have since been used in the liturgical services of the congregation with much blessing.

The connection between this congregation and the Unity's Elders' Conference has been more real this year than ever before. The very



appropriate Texts drawn by this Conference, on Jan. 2nd, for the Wachovia towns and Diaspora for this year have strengthened our faith in the fulfillment of the thoughts of peace of our dear Lord concerning us. The Memorabilia of the Unity's Elders' Conference induced deep sorrow, and caused many penitent tears to flow, but our dear Lord comforted His children with the certain hope that He would heal the backslidings of His people, restore them to true singleness of purpose, and establish them according to His will. The nearness of the Unity's Elders' Conference, however, was particularly felt through the Visitation of the Deputies [John] Loretz, [Christian] Gregor, and [Hans Christian Alexander] von Schweinitz, who came to North America last year, and this year, from Sept. 15th to Nov. 9th visited the congregations and towns in Wachovia. This is the first official Visitation from Europe since the beginning of the settlement of the Brethren in this country. During their seven weeks' stay among us the Deputies met with the Choirs and with individuals, and acquainted themselves with the affairs of the congregation in general and in detail; they also held important conferences, in which definite plans were made for a general Diaconie for Wachovia, a Diaconie for Salem congregation, and one for Bethabara, distinct from the hitherto existing Oeconomie; the Lease to the land set aside for the Bethania congregation was also changed to a purchase of that land by that congregation, and a contract was made between the Unity and that congregation, whereby the management of the Bethania land was left to the Bethania members. In short the Visitation has left a manifold and abiding blessing in our congregations, for which we thank the Lord with all our hearts.

This year we have begun the definite instruction of our youth in the foundation principles of salvation, and blessing has attended our efforts.

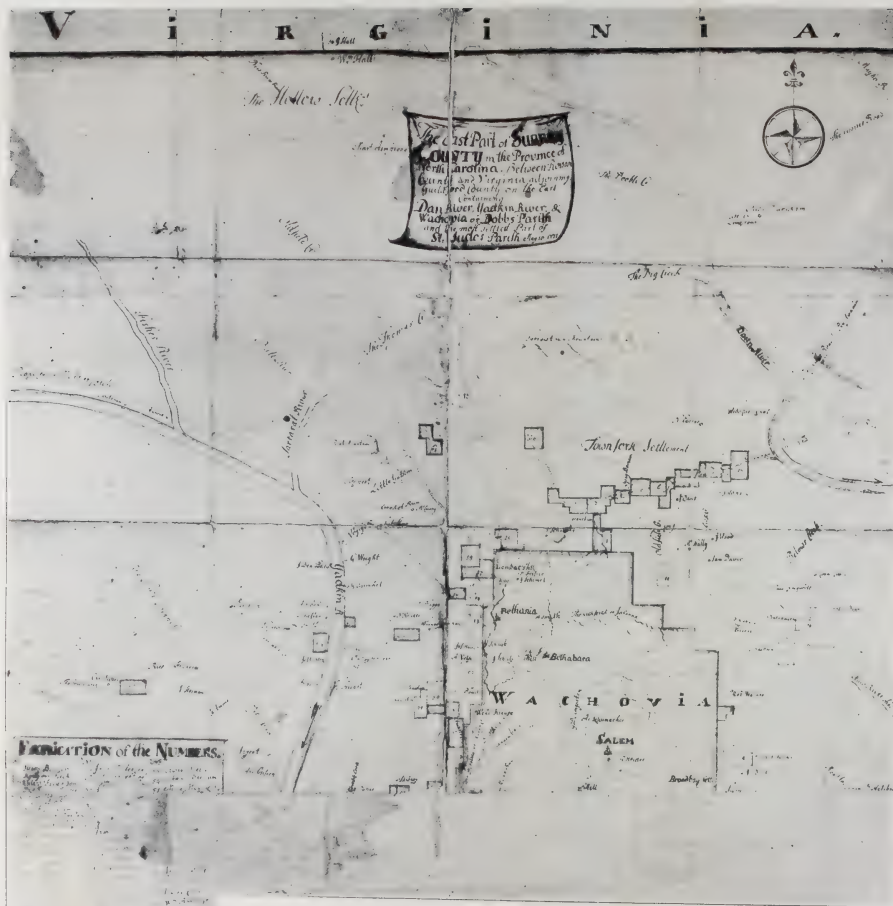
Our dear heavenly Father has also richly blessed our trade, and the industry of our workers. Although in the first half of the year nearly every month saw such high water that our bottom meadows were entirely flooded, and much damage was done, yet we gathered a fair supply of grain and hay for man and beast; and although the crop of wild grapes was very short there was compensation in the large yield of our fruit trees. Acorns and chestnuts were few this year, so in the fall a number of bears came from across the mountains into this neighborhood, and killed many pigs, but so far as we know no men were attacked.

The health of our members has been good, and we were spared any serious outbreak of fever, so that all our Choir Festivals could be held on the appointed days, and not one member was obliged to be absent on account of illness, which has not happened in many years.

Among the many instances of protection from accident and harm we will mention only the following.—Early one evening a Brother, his wife and little children rode across the old bridge over the Wach, and when they had reached the other side they discovered that recent high water had not only torn it loose from the bank but had also made a large hole in it, and had they not been guarded by an unseen hand they and their horses would certainly have fallen into the stream. A Brother who was hauling building logs was struck by a branch of a tree and thrown between the log and the horses; the horses stopped instantly, remaining perfectly quiet until he recovered consciousness and escaped from his perilous position. A country Sister and her two little children were protected from a large snake, which during the night, while they slept, fell upon her bare feet; she sprang up, and escaped with her children from the house and next morning the snake was found in her room and killed. At our sawmill a man was caught unawares between the water-wheel and the wall, and squeezed so tightly that he could not utter a sound; at last the wheel turned and he found breath enough to call for help, and the miller rescued him. Our wagons, returning from Charlestown last spring, just in the most disturbed time, were preserved from the robbery which others had suffered shortly before. We must give to our dear Lord the glory for so many escapes from danger and harm.

With the Saviour's help this year has been marked by the maintenance of our good name with those in authority, and their recognition of our loyalty to the existing Government during the tumult and uprising that has existed in almost all the counties of the Province, and they have acknowledged that we took no part whatever in this *insurrection*. Our position brought us into danger that our houses and towns would be destroyed; even our lives were threatened, especially in May, when threats were not only uttered here and there against us, but came also from the Government, to whom false reports of us had been taken; but even more evidently was the almighty hand of God held over us, and all their evil designs were brought to naught, neither did those in authority cease to trust us, but on the contrary His Excellency Gov. Tryon, and his whole army, of about 3000 men, spent June 4th to 10th here in Bethabara and the adjacent fields and meadows, with all their horses and cattle. The quiet





MAP OF EAST PART OF SURRY COUNTY. DRAWN MAY 10, 1771. INCLUDES THE WACHOVIA TRACT  
(Original in Salem Land Office)



period of rest and refreshment passed to the satisfaction of all concerned, and strict discipline was maintained among the soldiers. This visit gave an opportunity for the Brethren to express their loyalty to His Majesty and the Government of the land in a written address presented to Gov. Tryon, in the presence of his chief officers; late in the year another address was presented by the Brn. Utley and Muschbach to the new governor, Josiah Martin, in New Bern, together with the answer given by Tryon in Bethabara, and his assurance of protection for the Brethren's settlements in Wachovia. We beseech our Heavenly Father that he will cause those in authority to continue favorable toward us, and that He will graciously protect us from the murderous spirit and lies of evil men, and lead them to seek for His salvation; and we pray that in His own time He will bless with a rich harvest the preaching tours of Br. Soelle to the Yadkin, the Mulberry Fields, to Abbott's Creek, and the Hu Warrie.

By an Act passed at the last session of the Assembly the large County of Rowan was divided into three distinct Counties, the greater part of Wachovia falling into Surry County; but as an Act or Law of 1755 made the whole of Wachovia a separate Parish, a written petition has been presented to the Assembly now in session, asking that this Act of 1755 may remain in force, and that Dobbs Parish may be continued, and it is hoped that this will be done. Meanwhile the former Governor, Tryon, appointed the Brn. Jacob van der Merk and Charles Holder as Justices of the Peace in Surry County, and they have taken the oath of office.

Of the Unity land in Wachovia this year 2500 acres have been set apart for Bethania, 3200 for Salem, and more than 3000 acres have been sold to various families, partly to some from Broad Bay who came last year, and partly to others from Maryland and Pennsylvania who have come this year, so that this year the increase in population in Wachovia is 54.

Following the example of the Married Brethren in Bethlehem we tried to establish a Fund for the widows of members, but the numbers were not sufficient for the forming of an independent Society, so those interested were advised to join the Society in Pennsylvania, which they have done.

Concerning our individual towns the following special items may be noted.—

*Bethabara* has again been visited by an unusual number of friends and enemies, and has had an opportunity to show kindness to all of

them, and most of them have courteously acknowledged this. Bethabara has still been headquarters for the general affairs of Wachovia, but preparations are being made for the transfer of the offices to Salem next year.

In spring the Brn. Tiersch and von Schweinitz came from Bethlehem with their wives, one Single Sister, six Older Girls, and one Single Brother. In September came the Deputies from the Unity's Elders' Conference, Loretz and Gregor, escorted by Br. Ettwein, and three Single Brethren, of whom Br. Ludwig Meinung has remained here. After a pleasant stay of seven weeks this company, with Br. and Sr. von Schweinitz, returned to Bethlehem.

A journeyman tailor, Klockman, has received permission to remain in Bethabara; a boy from Bethania has come here to work. Two children have been born. On the other hand several families have moved to Salem, and two members have died.

Near the mill a house has been built for the Brother running the saw-mill.

Five Brethren have been married,—Jacob Steiner, Valentine Beck, Johann Ranke, Charles Holder, Johann Heinrich Herbst. Two have been received into the congregation. Four have partaken for the first time of the Lord's Supper.

At the close of this year there are in Bethabara

15 Married Couples.....	30
Widows .....	3
Single Sisters, 18; Girls, 8,.....	26
Single Brethren, 22; Boys, 7.....	29
Children .....	16
Total .....	104

In Salem this year building has been pushed as rapidly as possible: The Gemein Haus<sup>1</sup> was so nearly finished that on Nov. 13th the Saal could be consecrated, and thereafter used for services. A Tavern has been built, but is not yet ready for occupancy; the warehouse<sup>2</sup> and the remodeling of the first floor of the two-story house<sup>3</sup> for the store, have been almost but not quite completed. A couple of miles below Salem the building of a mill was begun, and has been continued in spite of many difficulties; the dwelling house was finished, so that in July Br. and Sr. Jacob Steiner could move in, later he will be the miller, and for the present they are boarding the workmen.

<sup>1</sup> It stood on part of the ground now covered by Main Hall of Salem College.

<sup>2</sup> At the north-east corner of Main and Bank Streets.

<sup>3</sup> At the north-west corner of Main and Bank Streets.

In March a good bridge was built across the Wach at Salem, but in May it was carried away by an unusually large flood; in view of the increasing travel through Salem it was decided to replace the bridge with a more permanent one, which was done this fall.

In June the new God's Acre was solemnly consecrated with the burial of Br. John Birkhead.

In pursuance of his call from the Unity's Elders' Conference, Br. Tierch has entered upon his duties as Preacher in Salem, Br. Utley becoming ad interim Congregation Vorsteher.

Work has been begun in the blacksmith shop and pottery, and in several smaller trades.

Two Single Brethren have partaken for the first time of the Lord's Supper. One child has been baptised.

The number of residents has been increased by the arrival of Br. Thomas Spisike from Europe, and the coming here of 24 from Bethabara.

On the other hand one Single Brother, Peter Stotz, has been called to Lititz; one Single Brother and one Boy have died; one widower and two Single Brethren have rendered their further residence in this town impossible, and have been dismissed.

At present there are in the town

12 Married Couples.....	24
Single Brethren, 23; Boys, 2,.....	25
Widower .....	1
Single Sister.....	1
Children .....	6
Total.....	<u>57</u>

*Bethania* has had a year of testing, temporal and spiritual, but the Saviour has turned it all to blessing, praised be His unchanging faithfulness. We also thank Him for the grace vouchsafed in the consecration of the new Gemein Haus<sup>4</sup> on June 23rd, the building being finished just in good time, for the very rainy weather made the old house uninhabitable. Br. and Sr. Ernst have moved into the new house, and he conducts a school for the little boys and girls.

The congregation has bought the land hitherto held on lease, and has taken over the management of it; has also enlarged its boundaries to the north by buying an additional piece of land. One new dwelling house has been built in the town.

<sup>4</sup> On the site now occupied by the Parsonage.

One Single Brother has partaken of Communion for the first time. Joseph Bullitschek, with his wife and four children, has come from Pennsylvania, and has settled here temporarily. Seven children have been born. Two families, Philip Schouse and Michael Seiz, have moved to farms outside of Wachovia. Four children have died. One Boy has moved to Bethabara.

The residents this year number

17 Married Couples.....	34
Widows .....	2
1 Single Sister; 9 Girls.....	10
1 Single Brother; 8 Boys.....	9
Children .....	45
Total.....	<u>100</u>

In the neighborhood of Bethania there are living 17 families, of which most of the adults are communicants; two other families have come this year, Jacob Müller, from Heidelberg, Pa., and Peter Pinkley from Maryland, making 19 families in connection with this congregation.

The *Society unter der Ens*, called *South Fork*, has been visited from Bethabara several times this year, and also by the Deputies from the Unity's Elders' Conference and Br. Ettwein. We have good ground for believing that the Saviour will be able to bring to pass His thoughts of peace concerning this company.

One married couple has partaken for the first time of the Holy Communion, going to Bethabara for the purpose.

The schoolhouse belonging to this Society has received the name *Friedberg*.

The Society has been increased this year by the arrival of four families from Pennsylvania,—Peter Pfaff, Peter Rothrock, Matthes Weesner, and Heinrich Tesch,— and now consists of 19 families, the children not being included.

The *Broad Bay Settlement*, now called *Friedland* was begun early in the year by 10 families who came last year from Broad Bay in New England, the settlement being located in Wachovia, on the South Fork, seven miles south-east of Salem. Each family bought a lot of 200 acres, the land being so laid out as to form a long village.

The Unity gave them about 30 acres for a school and meeting house, the site being selected during the visit of the Deputies. There have already been five interments in the Graveyard. Br. Soelle



has given them as much pastoral service as he could, and they have had preaching every two weeks, Br. Soelle and Br. Tiersch going in turn. At their request a set of Rules and Regulations was drawn up for them, which they have voluntarily signed. Together they have begun the building of a schoolhouse. One family, Jacob Reid, has joined them, the Society now consisting of 11 families.

*1771. Wachovia Diaries.*

*Bethania.*

[Extracts from Bethabara Diary.

Account of consecration of the  
Gemein Haus translated in full.]

[During the year the public church services were conducted by Br. Ernst as Reader, ministers coming from Bethabara for all the more important occasions,—Communions, baptisms, Festal days, etc.]

*March 25.* The Brn. and Srs. Marshall and Graff, and the Srs. Kraus and Quest, with three girls, went from Bethabara, the Festival for the Girls being in Bethania for the first time, as there are ten Girls living there. Two more were added to the Choir at the morning service.

*June 23, Sunday.* This was for the congregation of Bethania a festal day, a day of joy, on which the new Gemein Haus and its Saal were solemnly consecrated. The new Haus stands on the upper side of the street, higher than the other, which was built in a low place and without a foundation, and during the recent heavy rains it sank until the earth was above the sills, so that neither the Saal nor the living rooms could be used. It is providential that the new Haus is so nearly finished.

The building has taken a year and a half, for the Brethren have done most of the work with their own hands, being obliged to spend only a few pounds in cash, which is appropriate for such a small congregation, whose members are mostly poor, and need to live simply and practise economy.

To the consecration came the members of the Aeltesten Conferenz, and others from Bethabara and Salem, and also all the neighbors, friends, and Brethren who have been accustomed to attend preaching and other meetings here, and who have contributed to the building of the Gemein Haus.

In the morning at nine o'clock the congregation and guests assembled in front of the old *Gemein Haus*, and marched, to music, into the *Saal* of the new *Haus*, for the first service. Two hymns were sung,—“*Wir blicken nach der Höhe*,” [No. 453, in the *Gesangbuch* of 1824], and “*O wie sehr lieblich sind all deine Wohnung*,” [No. 941, as above]; then the two beautifully appropriate Texts for the Day were read and briefly commented on;— “Who is there among you of all his people? The Lord his God be with him, and let him go up”, [II Chron. XXXVI, 23,] and “This poor widow hath cast into the treasury more than they all,” [Luke XXI, 3]. Br. Graff and the congregation fell on their knees, and he offered an earnest and humble prayer, thanking the Holy Trinity for all the blessing and protection vouchsafed during the building, and commending this *Saal* and *Haus* to Their grace, love, blessed presence, and knowledge, that all smaller or larger gatherings herein might be held in the name of Jesus. Then the congregation sang,—

“Dies Haus soll werden,  
Und die drinnen wohnen,  
Dein Lob auf Erden.”

In the second service part of the Church Litany was prayed, and a sermon was preached on the Texts for the Day, already mentioned;— on the call of grace to souls, in view of Jesus’ death for them, to offer themselves body and soul to Him, to become His property alone; that His call is to all souls, but especially to those present, that they should live to His honor, and for the service of those around them, and of those further off. With this was associated the story of the widow’s gift, which was so important in the eyes of the Lord because it was given willingly and out of a true heart.

In the afternoon the little boys were seen in groups in the room in which their school will hereafter be held.

After one o'clock the congregation and their guests, about 220 in all, had the first Lovefeast in the new *Saal*. Extracts were read from letters recently received from Bethlehem, and especially the Texts drawn for the congregations and Diaspora in North Carolina by the *Unitaets Aeltesten Collegium* at its first session on Jan. 2nd. The Text for Bethania was;—“Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is mount Zion”, [Ps. XLVIII, 2]. Then the Festal Psalm was sung, which closed the public meetings for this day, and we felt that the peace of God and the presence of our Lord, the Head of the Unity, had been experienced by each person present, and that all hearts had been filled with the thankful, joyful, and believing hope that

the same blessing would rest upon all future gatherings in this place.

Then Br. Marshall made an address to the Little Boys, basing it on the Collect attached to the Text for June 24th, which was inscribed on the Lovefeast table. [Their festival had been advanced one day.]

At the closing service the communicants shared in the Holy Sacrament, which sealed the blessing of the day. Praise, honor, and thanks be unto the Lord from those whom He has redeemed. Amen, Hallelujah!

*July 7.* Br. and Sr. Marshall escorted Br. and Sr. Tiersch and Br. and Sr. von Schweinitz to Bethania, which they saw for the first time.

*Sept. 22.* The Brn. Gregor and Loretz, accompanied by several of the Conference members, went to Bethania and that congregation rejoiced in their visit. After the Litany, Br. Ettwein preached on the text:—"Blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it". The non-resident members and friends from the neighborhood were nearly all present. After dinner the visitors called on all the families in their homes. At two o'clock there was a Lovefeast for the congregation, including the children. Comment was made on the beginnings of Bethania, and there was special reference to the large number of children that have been added, the congregation being now  $\frac{2}{3}$  children and  $\frac{1}{3}$  adults, and also to the large number of neighbors who are connected with this congregation. Then an Ode was sung "In hearty greeting to the beloved Deputies of the Unitacts Aeltesten Conferenz", [filed with the Diary].

After the Lovefeast those who were present came, one family at a time, into the room to meet the Deputies, the last being old Mother Hauser and her sons and their families, forty persons, all belonging to the congregation,—the Deputies were much interested, for so large a family is somewhat unusual.

*Oct. 21.* Six Brethren from Bethania met with the Deputies and certain members of the Aeltesten Conferenz of Wachovia, to discuss the Bethania leases, and other matters. The Bethania Brethren stated that it was the unanimous opinion of that congregation that the purchase of the whole 2000 acres by the Bethania congregation would be the best way to avoid the troubles that would arise from long-time leases, and division of the land among individuals; the Deputies wished to do all that they could to satisfy the Bethania Brethren, so consented to the proposal, and agreed that the six Brethren should come to a definite agreement with the other members of that congregation, the price of the land being set at £32, N. C. per 100 acres.

*Oct. 25.* The Committee from Bethania, with Br. Ernst, met the Deputies, and gave them a final declaration, on the part of the members



of that congregation, that they wished to buy the 2000 acres set aside for Bethania, and also a few hundred acres between Bethania and Feiser, in order to prevent settlement there by any one they did not wish to have so close. The management and division of the land, the collection of rents and payment of interest, should be intrusted to two Brethren selected from their number; and they agreed to sell land only with the approval of the governing Board of Wachovia.

*Nov. 5* The Deputies, with the Brn. Marshall, Ettwein, Schweinitz, and Lorenz, went to Bethania, where all the house-holders signed the Contract for the purchase of their land. The Deputies also visited in each house to take their leave.

### *Salem.*

#### [Extracts from Salem and Bethabara Diaries.]

[The Salem Diary begins with this year. For the first ten months it was written in English by Br. Utley. With the organization of the congregation in November, the language returns to German. The following extracts are from the Salem Diary, except where marked (B) to indicate that the Bethabara Diary has been used to supplement the other.]

*Jan. 4.* George Smith [Schmid] and his family came here, and he went into his new house to reside there. In the evening we sung "O Head so full of bruises."

*Jan. 5.* We had the first departure in Salem, viz. Magdalena, the daughter of Jacob and Elis. Barbara Reed, who came here from Broad Bay.

*Jan. 7.* Br. Reuter came here yesterday and went with some of the Broadbayers and laid out the Burying Ground upon the lot given to that Settlement for a School-House, etc., and Br. Soelle interred the first corpse therein.

*Jan. 14.* (B) Several Brethren met in conference, and it was decided to make a bell for Salem, about the size of that in Bethlehem.

*Jan. 16.* (B) Br. Volz, from South Fork, was here, and an agreement was made whereby he is to prepare logs for the mill-house on the Wach, and to raise the house.

*Jan. 19.* The celebration of the Youths' and Boys' Festival was for the first time here in Salem. The Youths and Boys from Bethabara and Bethany [Bethania] came here for that purpose with their masters. Br. and Sr. Marshall, Br. and Sr. Graff, the Srs. Quest and Kraus, were also here, who by that opportunity viewed their apartments in the Congregation House, which gave them satisfaction, and



after the Agape of the Youths returned to Bethabara. In the singing hour the Choir which had their Festival was recommended to our Saviour's blessing with several verses.

*Feb. 2.* The Single Brethren raised their building near the spring-house.

*Feb. 25.* Young Adam Spach came with his father's team to haul stone for the Skin House.

*Feb. 28.* (B) Today Br. Steiner began to lay up the mill-house on the Wach; two Brethren from Bethabara and several from Salem helped with it. Br. Marshall visited them, and all present, including the seven from South Fork, agreed to make immediate preparation for a bridge over the Wach near the mill, which is much needed as high water makes the old bridge impassable, and leaves it dangerous.

*March 4.* Br. Reuter laid out the lot for the Congregation House and the Sisters' garden.

*March 7.* Planted peas, spinnage, lettuce and radish seeds, and John Ranke came here to haul wood for the garden fence.

*March 18.* The cornerstone was laid for the workshops for the Single Brothers House, after which Br. Lorenz, who had kept the meeting here, returned to Bethabara.

*March 25.* Br. Soelle preached at ten o'clock this morning on the subject matter of the day; and in the evening we had the Adoration in consideration of His participation of our flesh and bone, and our conclusion was,—His coming in the flesh so blest, oh may that keep His people in soul and body chaste.

*March 26 and 27.* We continued in the evening with the reading of the lessons for each day, which was interspersed with verses.

*March 28.* We had two lessons out of the Passion History, which was accompanied with many tears, and after these a blessed Pedalavium, first the Sisters and then the Brethren, and afterwards a blessed and happy Communion.

*March 29,* Being Good Friday, we read before noon the lesson of that which came to pass from morning until His Crucifixion; and afternoon till the opening of His side, when we sang the Pleurodie; and in the evening read of His interment.

*March 30.* On the Great Sabbath we had our Agape, and heart and mind was taken with the cold Corpse of Jesus, now resting in the grave.

*March 31.* On Easter Sunday we had our Easter Liturgy for the first time in Salem, which was in the Hall, 1st as no corpse has been

interred as yet upon our Burying Ground, and 2nd it was rainy weather. Our meeting afterwards was with hearing of our Saviour's showing of Himself unto His Disciples, etc.

*April 18.* Br. Matthew Micksch and family moved this day into their new house.

*April 27.* (B) All the Single Sisters from Bethabara went to Salem to plant their garden with beans, potatoes, corn, and the like, returning in the evening.

*May 9.* (B) Br. Lorenz and a number of Brethren went to Salem, where a beginning was today made in laying up the walls for the workshops near the Single Brothers House; it is on the upper side, opposite the garden.

*May 16.* Many Regulators passed through here in order to meet the Governor, which continued the *17th*; also they were in high spirits and said among other things that when they had done with the Governor they would let Bethabara feel their resentment. The *18th* news came that there had been a skirmish between the Governor and Regulators.

*May 23.* Sr. Anna Maria Quest, with some other Sisters, came here in order to hoe their Indian corn, potatoes, etc., but was hindered several days by the rain which fell.

*May 26.* (B) Sam, the negro, was sent to the new mill-place, where Br. Steiner feared for the bridge,—and behold, the high water, and a heavy tree which floated on it, had yesterday entirely swept away the fine new bridge, which had cost more than £30.

*June 4,* being the birthday of our most Gracious Sovereign King George, his Excellency, our Governor, William Tryon, came through here with his army, rested a while, took a little refreshment in the Brothers House, took a view of the Congregation House, and then proceeded to Bethabara. Many of the officers, as General Waddell, Col. Fanning, found their way into the Brothers' sleeping-hall, and were exceeding glad to lay down to rest themselves a little.

*June 6.* The day when His Majesty's Birthday was celebrated in Bethabara, it pleased our Saviour to take unto Himself our Br. John Birkhead out of the Choir House in Salem, as the first-fruits here.

*June 7.* Br. Graff came here from Bethabara to inter the corpse of our departed Brother. We came together upon the Hall, and Br. Graff first spoke upon the Watchword for the Day and with reference to our departure; mentioned the order of procession; and so went from the two-story-house to the Burying Ground. And Br. Graff

with a suitable and blessed Liturgy consecrated the spot of ground as a resting place for the corpses of our departed Brethren and Sisters, John Birkhead being the first.

*June 10.* Col. Rutherford, who is an Assemblyman and also one of the Council, set out this day for the camp, having been detained six days in the Brothers House by gout.

*June 16. Sunday.* In the morning Peter Glotz, who had been sick some time in the Brothers House, went home as the second [Brother] who had departed to our Saviour here in Salem.

In the forenoon was litany and preaching; and afternoon at two our Agape, Post Communion; and in the evening Communion Liturgy.

*July 2.* (B) Br. Heinrich Stöhr, who had recently come from Bethlehem, moved to Salem today. He will there begin the shoe-making business, being master of it.

*July 19.* (B) Br. and Sr. Steiner moved today to the Wach, into the new dwelling house near the mill. They will board the men who are working on the mill-house.

*July 31.* (B) With today Br. Aust severs his connection with the Oeconomie in Bethabara, and beginning with tomorrow he will carry on his profession for the benefit of the Diaconie of Salem, and will have his own house-keeping, receiving a certain sum annually.

*Aug. 13.* On the Festal Day at 10 o'clock we came together. Br. Lorenz first sang several verses,—we perceived our Saviour's presence among us very sensibly. Then in the same feeling he read Br. Joseph's Discourse upon the Thirteenth of August, preached last year in Nisky. At 2 o'clock we had our Agape, wherein the Watchword drawn by the Unity's Elders Conference was read; after which we came together to the Holy Communion, and having besought Him to grant us full absolution in all things, and He looking graciously upon us, with hearts cheered and comforted in a blessed manner we participated of His Body and Blood in the Holy Communion. The Youth, Beck, partook with us the first time, being blessed thereto by Br. Lorenz. He and I [Utley] administered by the Brethren, and I and my wife by the Sisters. The communicants were forty.

*Aug. 20.* The Brn. Marshall and Schweinitz came here, and in the morning read a Discourse of Br. Joseph's. After having spoken with Melchior [Rasp, the master mason,] what was necessary, and seeing the Tavern House raised, which was begun the 19th, they returned to Bethabara.



*Aug. 23.* Br. Tiersch came here and kept the Youths and Boys their weekly instruction.

*Aug. 28.* The Single Brethren from Bethabara came here to Salem and made a happy conclusion of their Choir year. The *29th* they celebrated their Festival, and many came from Bethabara, as the Marshalls, Graffs, von Schweinitz, Tiersches, Quest, Reuter, who were invited to the Lovefeast.

*Sept. 11.* (B) The Salem wagon has been loaded for the third time with peaches from Bethabara, and we have gathered in addition seventeen wagon-loads.

*Sept. 18.* (B) The Deputies [Gregor and Loretz] visited Salem, accompanied by the Brn. Marshall, Tiersch, Lorenz, and Ettwein; and in the afternoon took part in a welcoming Lovefeast.

*Sept. 26.* (B) There was an important conference with the Deputies, during which it was decided who should move to Salem from Bethabara, and who the congregation officers should be there and at Bethabara.

*Oct. 6. Sunday.* (B) In a conference yesterday it was decided that beginning today for the Communion in Salem should no longer be a Post Communion, but the Bread and Wine should be consecrated there as in Bethabara, as this will make this most important service more impressive to the Brethren and Sisters, especially to the South Forkers.

*Nov. 13.* This was the day which the Saviour had chosen for the consecration of the new Gemein Haus in Salem, while the Deputies from the Unitas Aeltesten Conferenz, Loretz, Gregor, and von Schweinitz, were here. All the Brethren and Sisters in Wachovia, belonging to our congregations and Societies, assembled on this important Festal Day of the Unity, to take part in the consecration of the Gemein Saal.

The first service was at ten o'clock in the morning. The members of the congregation assembled in the new Saal, and began with the singing of the hymn "Es segne uns Gott, unser Gott," [No. 1089 in Gesangbuch of 1824]; then knelt at the feet of their beloved Elder, and Br. Marshall led in prayer and besought Him as the Head of His church to forgive their sins, and to give them grace anew to become His property. He not only heard this prayer, and let His presence be deeply felt among them, but listened also to the fervent petitions that all future gatherings that should here be held in His name, should have His presence also, and that each heart which here should cry to Him in need should be graciously heard and richly blessed.



At twelve o'clock there was a Lovefeast, at which, including the children, there were more than three hundred present. Br. Graff opened it with the hymns "Da ist dein Gesinde," [No. 1078,] and "O wie sehr lieblich sind all deine Wohnung," [No. 941]; and during the Lovefeast he read the important Texts which concerned Wachovia in general, and Salem in particular.

*1752, Dec. 27.* When the survey of Wachovia was begun:—"Behold it is written before me." Is. LXV, 6.

*1753, Jan. 13.* When the survey of the land was finished:—"He helps us." Is. XXXIII, 22.

*1753, Nov. 17.* When the first Colony of twelve Single Brethren took possession of the old cabin at Bethabara:—"I know where thou dwellest." Rev. II, 13.

*1765, Feb. 14.* When the site for Salem was determined by lot:—"Let thine eye be opened toward this place day and night, even toward the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there." I Kings VIII, 15.

*1766, Feb. 19.* When the first eight Brethren moved to Salem;—"I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." Lev. X, 3.

*1766, Aug. 18.* When the first house was consecrated:—"Strong is thy dwelling, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock." Num. XXIV, 21.

*1768, Aug. 29 and 30.* When the Foundation-stone of the Single Brothers House was laid:—"Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: for lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord." Zech. II, 10. "When the Almighty scatters kings it will be clear where now it is dark." Ps. LXVIII, 14. [In this verse the German version differs from the Authorized English version.]

*1769, Dec. 27.* When the Single Brothers House was consecrated and occupied:—"They shall be safe in their land." Ez. XXXIV, 27.

*1770, April 17.* When the Foundation-stone of the Gemein Haus was laid:—"Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise in the congregation of saints." Ps. CXLIX, 1.

*1771, Feb. 2.* When the Unitæts Aeltesten Conferenz drew for Salem the Text:—"Thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemer; thy name is from everlasting." Is. LXIII, 16.

*1771, Nov. 13.* Today, when the new Gemein Saal here in Salem is consecrated:—"The Lord is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him." Hab. II, 20.

Then Br. Marshall announced the congregation officers for Salem, as they had been appointed by the Lord, namely

Br. and Sr. Marshall as Gemein Helfer [pastor and chief minister];

Br. and Sr. Graff as Helfer [Pfleger] of the Married People, and as they will live in Bethabara, and serve Bethabara and Bethania, Br. and Sr. Marshall will be assistant Helfer for the Married People in Salem;

Br. Tiersch as Prediger [Preacher];

Br. Utley as Gemein Diener [Vorsteher].

The other officers of the congregation and of the Choirs will remain as they are.

Then was sung the hymn:—

O du! dess Güte kein Mund ausspricht:

Erhebe täglich dein Angesicht

Ueber die Gemeinde und ihre Classen,

Dass unsre Häuser und unsre Gassen

Voll Friede seyn! [No. 1197, in Gesangbuch of 1824].

Then followed the Festal Psalm. [Given in full in the Diary; solo, minister, choir, and congregation singing in turn.]

In the afternoon at two o'clock there was a public meeting, in which Br. Graff spoke on the Text for the Day, in its bearing on this day as the Festival of the Chief Elder, and also in its reference to the consecration of this Gemein Saal, for which the Lord had given us a poor negro, whom He had brought into the congregation and into whose heart He had placed the longing to be washed from his sins in the blood of Jesus through Holy Baptism; which Sacrament was now to be administered, and with it the new Saal was to be consecrated. The baptismal water was brought in by two Brethren, Joseph Müller and Heinrich Spoenhauer, who had joined the church through adult baptism; then the candidate Sam was led into the Saal by the Brn. Herbst and Zillmann, and after he had answered the questions, and had received absolution in Jesus' name, he was baptised into the death of Jesus, receiving the name Johannes Samuel. The presence of the Saviour was deeply felt by the congregation, including the many friends and a few negroes; many said that the impression made upon them would never be forgotten. This closed the public services of the day.

Then the communicants, about 150, assembled, and partook of the Cup of Covenant, Br. Tiersch leading the litany. We covenanted together to abide by the Cross, and to show forth the merits of His Sacrifice till we shall see Him face to face. All rejoiced and were

thankful for His great grace; and several Brethren expressed the wish that all communicants in Wachovia might meet together at least once a year.

*Nov. 15.* Br. and Sr. Tiersch moved to Salem; they were lodged in the two-story house, until Dec. 12th, when the Gemein Haus was ready.

*Dec. 24.* At six o'clock in the evening was the Christmas Eve Love-feast for the children, the married people, and the officers of the Single Brothers' Choir. At eight there was a service for the congregation, in which the story of the human Incarnation and Birth of our Creator was presented in hymns and Christmas chorals. As we knelt in prayer we felt the presence of our Jesus, and saw Him so plainly with the eyes of our heart and soul, that as though He stood before us we sang "Ave" and "Hallelujah."

*Dec. 25.* At ten o'clock in the morning there was preaching on the Gospel for the day,—that God became man, taking part in our flesh and blood, was powerfully set forth as a truth from God. In the afternoon there was a prayer service for the children, then one for all the Sisters, then one for all the Brethren. In the Gemein Stunde an address of Count Zinzendorf's was read, the text being "Immanuel, God with us."

*Dec. 31.* The evening services were in three sections. In the first there was a Lovefeast, with the singing of hymns and chorals, and the reading of Memorabilia of certain European congregations. In the second, Memorabilia of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz for 1770 were read; and also the Memorabilia for the Wachovia congregations and Societies for the year just closing; and a verse of blessing was sung for each,—Bethabara, Salem, Bethania, Friedberg, and Friedland. At half past eleven the congregation met for the third time, sang the hymn "O du, dess Güte kein Mund ausspricht," and listened to an address on the last Daily Text for the year. When the coming of the new year was announced by the trombones, with the tune "Now thank we all our God," the congregation knelt before its gracious Lord and prayed: "Let Thy grace continue with us, and bless all that Thou hast in each of our villages." Then Br. Tiersch commended to the Saviour our dear Salem, and every soul therein; Wachovia, and all our congregations and the Diaspora. The service closed with the singing of two hymns, and the reading of the Daily Texts for New Year's Day.



*Broad Bay Settlement or Friedland.*

[Extracts from Salem (S) and Bethabara (B) Diaries.]

*Jan. 6.* (S) Br. Reuter laid out the Burying Ground upon the lot given to the Broad Bay Settlement for a School House, etc. and Br. Soelle interred the first corpse therein [Magdalena Reed, who died Jan. 5th in Salem.]

*Jan. 15.* (S) Schneider and family moved into their house on the Broad Bay Settlement.

*Jan. 23.* (B) Lauer, Sr. moved from Salem to his land on the Ens.

*Feb. 8.* (S) Between six and seven this evening the wife of David Rominger departed this life; and the 9th, in the morning, his son Philip departed also. The 10th there was the burial upon the Broad Bay Burying Ground. We had first the litany, and Br. Soelle preached, after which we accompanied the two corpses to the place of interment, which Br. Soelle performed.

*Feb. 19.* (S) George Michael, son of Jacob and Elisabeth Barbara Reed, was interred this day in the Broad Bay Burying Ground, as the 4th corpse, by Br. Richard Utley. [He died at Salem, Feb. 17th.]

*Feb. 20.* (S) Kinsleys moved from Salem into their house upon their land.

*Feb. 21.* (S) Kuebler and his family moved today to Vogler's, in order to be near his lot and carry on his building.

*March 1.* (S) Peter Kroehn moved with his family this day into their house upon their land.

*April 19.* (S) Jacob Reed with his family moved from Salem to their settlement.

*May 1.* (S) Br. Soelle went to the Broad Bay Settlement to keep meeting for them. The 9th he kept the Ascension Day services for them.

*June 16.* (B) Br. Soelle preached in the Broad Bay Settlement, and published the Banns for the third time for Peter Williard and Lauer's daughter.

*July 21.* (B) The Brn. Marshall, Schweinitz, and Tiersch were today in the Broad Bay Settlement, where the last named preached in Krön's house, and the first made known certain Regulations, which were adopted by the residents, and signed by them, as the Rules for the Settlement, and (S) the members then elected two of their number to supervise the carrying out of the Rules.

*Aug. 11, and Sept. 1.* (B) Br. Tiersch preached in Broad Bay Settlement.



*Sept. 30.* (B) The Deputies visited Broad Bay Settlement, and the families living there. They inspected the place designated for the School House, and as the house-holders there had agreed to give one day a week to the building of the house, and had already begun to cut the timber, at their request the site for the house was definitely selected, and during the singing of several stanzas a stake was driven into the middle of the house place.

*Nov. 13.* (B) To the important services of this day in Salem came Brethren and Sisters from \* \* \* and from Friedland (Broad Bay).

*South Fork, or Friedberg.*

[Extracts translated from the Diary of the Society on the South Fork.]

[The usual Sunday Services,—preaching, children's hour, and Society meeting,—and the noon service on Thursdays, were held by Br. Bachhoff, as Reader. Br. Soelle came from Salem to perform baptisms. The communicants went to Bethabara or Salem for the Lord's Supper. Br. and Sr. Bachhoff spent a great deal of time making pastoral visits in the homes of the Society members.]

*Jan. 3.* The little boys, and *Jan. 4th* the little girls, began school again. *Jan. 8th*, evening school for the larger boys was again commenced.

*Feb. 18.* Until now the school children have each day learned one of their Christmas verses. Having finished with those they begin today with hymns concerning the Lord's Passion, about which I speak to them, and it makes an impression on them. I showed them a picture of the Crucifixion, which many of them had never seen, and they were much touched.

*April 7.* By a majority vote of the Society members, Br. George Hartmann was elected Steward, to succeed Br. Peter Volz.

*June 3.* We heard that our Governor and General Waddel, with 3500 men, had camped near here, and would march to Bethabara tomorrow, the *4th*; which came to pass, and from morning until night they were moving through this Settlement. Requisition was made on the settlers here for 1000 lbs. meal and 7 head of cattle, which were sent to Bethabara on the *5th*.

*June 9.* The people who came to service were much afraid that their horses would be seized, so only the preaching was held.

*July 4.* The Brn. Marshall, Graff, Tiersch and Schweinitz met the Society members in the School House. Br. Graff held the first service,

speaking on the Text for the Day. Then a Lovefeast was held; after which Br. Marshall had a conference with the house-fathers.

*Aug. 5.* Harvest being over the school for little boys began again, and next day the school for the little and larger girls.

*Sept. 21.* At the request of the Society I had asked Br. Bonn to come here, and this morning in the School House he bled about fifteen persons.

*Sept. 29.* The Brn. Gregor and Loretz, with the Brn Marshall and Graff, came to the School House, and were heartily welcomed, first personally, and then with special hymns in the Lovefeast which followed the Litany and Preaching. The Brethren rejoiced over the gathered congregation, which consisted of the Society members,—nineteen married couples and one married woman,—and their children, of whom there are about ninety-four; nearly all were present, only a few being absent on account of sickness. And as most of the Society members came from the Pennsylvania congregation of Heidelberg it was suggested that this neighborhood be called by that name.

*Dec. 19.* In a meeting of communicants Br. Marshall announced that according to the decision of the Deputies from the Unitas Aeltesten Conferenz and the Bethabara Aeltesten Conferenz hereafter Communion would be held in the School House here every eight weeks, beginning with Jan. 19, 1772. In the Lovefeast Br. Marshall made public announcement that as the name of Heidelberg did not meet with the approval of the settlers here the Deputies and the Bethabara Conference had agreed [Oct. 21, see Bethabara Diary] that the name of this Settlement should be *Friedberg*, and the Broad Bay Settlement should be *Friedland*. Peter Pfaff was elected Steward in place of Martin Walk.

### *Bethabara.*

[Extracts from Bethabara Diary translated, especially those relating to Regulators, and other public events.]

*Jan. 20.* One hears in these days all sorts of reports about the Regulators again. Last Friday our neighbor Henry Banner left his home and went to Salem for the night, because he feared they would come and whip him, and he led the Brn. Bagge and Meyer here to fear the same. A party really did go to Mr. Mac Nally's house to *regulate* him, and after he had replied to their various accusations he raised a loaded pistol, which, with a loaded gun, he had ready, and threatened to shoot the first man who attacked him, which frightened the whole party, and they left without molesting him.

*Feb. 24.* Mr. Martin, the lawyer, stopped at our Tavern on his return to Dan River. From him we heard the particulars of the division of our County. According to the order which the Commissioners received from the Assembly it seems likely that the line will cut through our Parish from east to west; it was probably not the intention of the Assembly to divide the Parish, and if we address a Petition to the Assembly at its next session the matter will doubtless be readjusted.

*March 8.* Mr. Gideon Wright, Esq. returned from Salisbury. General Court should have been held there this week, but as neither the Chief Judge nor the King's Attorney came the Court could not be held. The reason for their non-appearance doubtless was that since the last County Court the Regulators have openly declared that at this General Court they were going to *regulate* the officers, etc. Indeed, they gathered 700 strong on this side of the Yadkin, and stopped all who were going to Court, among them the Clerk, John Frohock, whom they forced to give a Bond that on a certain day and at a certain place he would give back the excess Fees that he had taken. Then they went in crowds to Salisbury, and forced the lawyers to sign Bonds of the same tenor, but beyond this they were guilty of no excesses.

*March 9.* Joseph Harris, a Regulator, returned from Salisbury, and brought notice to the Brn. Marshall, Bonn and Bagge, in the name of the Regulators, that a company of them would come here in eight days to see about a piece of land on which the Loesches live, which they claimed Jacob Loesch had taken away from the elder Steward, although he had paid money on it in the office, and they would insist on satisfaction or restitution. The Brethren told Harris the land had been taken up long before they came here, indeed thirteen years ago, and that if Steward had any claim on it he should have applied to Jacob Loesch.

Harris brought letters to Br. Marshall, also, that had been written last September by the Brn. Gregor and Loretz before they left London. In one of them was the interesting information that My Lord Granville had prepared the Deed for the purchase of the Wachovia Quit Rents; that his Agent, Mr. Childs, had given them a Release for the £50 Sterl. annually which had been granted to him; and that the sale of land, and the payment of Quit Rents by the purchasers, should be carried on through James Hutton or his legal representative.

*March 11.* Mr. Gideon Wright was here today, wishing to borrow £20, in order to secure from the Governor a Charter for the new Court House to be erected for Surry County; Mr. Martin Armstrong will also soon go thither to try to get a Charter for a Market. It is



evident that certain people are very active in looking out for their own interests in the impending County changes.

*March 13.* Yesterday the Brn. Meyer, Bonn and Bagge heard various reports about County matters. This morning the Aeltesten Conferenz met, and resolved to send two Brethren to Salisbury, to secure from our Assemblymen, Rutherford and Matthew Lock, more definite information as to what the last Assembly really did about the division of the County, etc. especially as they had been entrusted with our wishes, in writing.

*March 16.* Last night a large wolf was caught in the trap near the brewery; the night before wolves came into the lane behind the shed, and would probably have broken into the sheep-fold had not the baying of the dogs brought people to drive them away. This seemed almost a prophecy of the events of the day, for this afternoon the party of Regulators from the Yadkin appeared as they had said, and summoned the Brn. Marshall, Bonn and Bagge to the Tavern. They were told if they had any thing to say they might come to Br. Marshall's room, so a dozen of them came, with Edward Hughes, who acted as spokesman. His first complaint was that the Stewards had been unjustly treated, in that Br. Jacob Loesch had measured for himself a piece of land on which their father had paid a sum of money,—the amount not stated,—to Carter, at that time County Clerk; and that Br. Jacob Loesch had then sold the land to his brothers, George and Adam,—of whom the former was present,—and that they had settled on it. As all these transactions took place before the arrival in Wachovia of the three Brethren above mentioned, they answered that the only thing to be done would be to summon Jacob Loesch to North Carolina to meet and settle with the Stewards, and that they would have to send the call themselves. The other complaint Hughes made on his own account, saying that he had paid a certain sum of money to Mr. Corbin for the land on which Bethabara stands; he could show no written proof of this, but demanded £30, saying many harsh and untrue things about Br. Joseph, who had taken this land from him, etc. In short, the trumped-up complaint of these people was only groundless babbling, but they were answered politely and seriously, and they and their unfounded pretensions were referred to the persons concerned, and with that they left. They may have wanted to try whether the terrifying name of Regulator would not frighten us into giving them what they wanted.

*March 18.* A gentleman, Mr. Nox, spent the night in our Tavern. During the last Assembly, of which he was a member, he and another man were appointed to ride among the Regulators and show them a



summary of the Treasurer's book. His intention in coming here was to see our oil-mill, as he wishes to build one.

*March 20.* The Brn. Steiner and Charles Holder returned from Salisbury. They had seen the two Representatives, Matthew Lock and Rutherford, about the division of our County, and had learned from them that the Assembly had intended that our Parish should be all in the new County; also that the five Commissioners,—of whom three were from the old County, they two and Mr. Dunn, and two from the new, whose names they did not know,—would be governed by this intention. The Commissioners were also instructed to select the site for the new Court House. The two gentlemen had treated our Brethren kindly.

*March 22.* Br. Lorenz returned from Bethania. He stated that yesterday a man from the Yadkin reported that at three places on the Yadkin notice was posted that the Indians would invade this Province this spring, especially to attack the Old Town, or Bethabara, which they had not been able to capture in the last war. Edward Hughes is probably the author of these notices, for he would gladly spread a report to frighten us.

*March 26.* Mr. John Armstrong rode through here on his way to New Bern to get a Charter for the Court House for the new County.

*April 1. Easter Monday.* At one o'clock there was a meeting of Dobbs Parish Vestry in our Tavern, and they elected the Brn. Fockel and Grabs as Church Wardens. Br. Fockel held the office last year, but was re-elected.

*April 4.* A King's Coroner from Salisbury served a Special Warrant on Br. Bagge, who had to go with him, and also on Br. Herbst from Salem. The reason was that some weeks ago two fellows were here selling goods so cheap that it was doubtful whether they had not been stolen. The Brn. Bagge and Herbst had bought from him, and must now give up the things, which probably had been stolen from Montgomery, in Salisbury.

*April 7.* The Brethren returned. They were treated with reasonable courtesy, but had to give bond that they would appear at the next term of General Court. The two thieves are in prison and in irons. They had stolen many things from Mr. Montgomery, and many people are involved.

*April 9.* In Salisbury Br. Bagge heard in confidence from Mr. Martin, the lawyer, that the last session of the Assembly passed an Act that there should be only one Parish in the new County, and that

there was not a word about Dobbs Parish, which was practically wiped out, but that a Petition to the Assembly would probably lead to a revision.

*April 13.* Joseph Harris and five other Regulators were at our mill. They accused Br. Kapp of having taken double toll on grain brought to the mill by one man, and of having returned too little meal from grain sent to the mill by another. Br. Kapp replied that it was most unlikely that he could have taken double toll when the owner was standing by, and he not have objected; that in the second case the man had sent the grain to the mill by his children, that he noticed the children feed their horse with the meal, and that one of them had sold part of the grain in Bethabara, buying sugar, etc., at the store, and he was not responsible for either of those acts. Then the men went away,—they may have planned to injure Br. Kapp, but there were several Brethren from Bethabara at the mill who had remained to watch; thanks to the Saviour that He has again brought to naught the cunning and malice of these people.

*April 15.* Mr. John Armstrong returned from New Bern. He had spoken with the Governor, and reported from him that the new Governor, Josiah Martin, destined for North Carolina, had landed in New York with 2000 Regulars from England, which he intended to bring to this Province; that the present Governor would enlist many more soldiers, who would join the others, and together they would march against the Regulators in Orange. Gov. Tryon had published a Manifesto, citing some sixty of the Regulators to appear before him in May, and any who do not answer are declared to be Traitors. The Governor will send one Company from Orange to Hillsborough, and one to Salisbury, to protect the General Court at those places. He also intends to come with a Company to Bethabara, and remain here until the division of the County takes place. Moreover he has summoned all former Sheriffs, and ordered them to collect all back taxes with an armed hand. In short he does not wish to give up his office until peace has been restored, and he can so deliver it to his successor. Mr. Armstrong told this confidentially to the Brn. Marshall and Bagge, but it was evident that it was known also to Sam Wagner, who was here today, and behaved very badly, threatening to strike Br. Meyer, but not daring to do it, knowing that he would be seized by others in the Tavern.

Mr. Armstrong also had a copy of the Act of the last Assembly dividing this County; from it we saw that the Inferior Courts are to be held constantly at Gideon Wright's, but the General Court for the

new County will be held at Salisbury. Further, that there will be only one Parish, St. Luke's, in this, Surry, County; and there is not one word about Dobbs Parish.

*April 20.* Mr. Sparks came this afternoon, accompanied by John Doughted, Jr. He wanted Br. Marshall to pay him for his Improvements on a piece of land on Muddy Creek, where he once lived, and then moved away. He was told that he should have attended to this while Jacob Loesch was here, for Br. Loesch had taken up the land and then sold it to Nathaniel Seidel, but if he wished to write a letter to Br. Seidel we would forward it for him. Doughted tried to assert that we had no Deed to the land, but being assured that we did have a Deed they went away.

*April 23 and 24.* The Brn. Lorenz, Ernst and Reuter went to the Lot belonging to von Bibra,<sup>5</sup> to select a suitable place for a Court House, which we could recommend to the Commissioners for the division of the County.

*April 30.* Gideon Wright sent a note to Br. Marshall saying that he and the 25 men he had enlisted, would be here next Monday on their way to join the Governor at Hillsborough, and he hoped to secure guns and provisions here.

*May 1.* We hear that Gen. Waddel has gone to Salisbury to enlist men for the Governor; it appears that the Governor has not received regular soldiers from England, and if not he will be able to do little with those enlisted here. We also hear that the Regulators on the Yadkin have resolved that if the Governor tries in earnest to suppress them they will meet him with force; also that they have threatened to attack Gideon Wright if he attempts to march with his enlisted men. The development of this critical situation can not be long delayed.

*May 6.* Monday. A man from the Yadkin, this side of Salisbury, brought a letter from Adam Spach, saying that our wagons were detained there by high water, and they could not cross in the ferry. Further that from Thursday until ten o'clock yesterday General Waddel and his 5000 or 6000 men and 18 provision wagons had been crossing at the ford, and as the water had fallen our wagons hoped to be able to cross today. This march of the General to Hillsborough to join the Governor, who is supposed to have 1600 men with him, has stirred up the Regulators everywhere, and they plan to meet and attack the Governor. A large party of Regulators was in our Tavern today; also Mr. Gideon Wright, who plans to take his fifteen men secretly to join the Governor. It seems sure now that the two parties will face

<sup>5</sup> "Etablissement," Lot No. 2.



each other. We most earnestly pray our Lord to restrain the murderous spirit of evil men, and to shelter His little flock under His wings.

*May 7.* Thirty Regulators were here and bought bread and other things in the store, then marched in good order to join the rest of their party. Mr. Gideon Wright and his fifteen men also came in quietly for provisions; they left rather timidly, especially the drivers, as they fear attack on the road.

*May 8.* Mr. Walker came, and reported among other things that Gen. Waddel is in Salisbury, and his troops camped three miles this side of the Yadkin; also that the Regulators from New Garden Settlement were going thither and trying to seize horses and provisions.

*May 9.* Br. Bonn returned from Court in Salisbury. Last Wednesday afternoon our wagons at last crossed the river by ferry. Col. Waddel's force is still in camp this side of the Yadkin. Last Monday the people in Hillsborough had had no news of the approach of the Governor; this may be because the Regulators are gathering here and there, to march against Waddel.

*May 11.* Several Regulators passed through, and reported that their party and Gen. Waddel had signed an agreement, in accordance with which the General had withdrawn his troops across the Yadkin, and the Regulators were going home. We hear that Mr. Gideon Wright and his company evaded the Regulators, and reached the Governor.

*May 14.* Two Regulators, Schwim and Booler, passed on their way to the Yadkin to call out men against the Governor, as they believe he and his troops are at Hillsborough, and that he has captured some of their leaders. These men were friendly with us. From a man whom Mr. Gideon Wright sent back to watch the Regulators, Br. Meyer heard that the Regulators were threatening Bethabara, and planning to gather here next Thursday.

*May 16.* A number of Regulators marched through Bethabara, toward New Garden, to oppose the Governor.

*May 17.* Again a number of Regulators came through. Some were friendly, and said they were going because forced to do so by their neighbors, and one man, Allen, gave Sr. Bagge a guinea to keep for him, asking that it should be sent to his wife if he did not return. Others showed enmity toward us, and threatened to revenge themselves on us if they succeeded in their undertaking.

In the evening two men, coming from Salisbury, brought the unpleasant news that there had been a hot skirmish between the Governor's troops and the Regulators, and that many had been killed on both sides;



that the Governor had granted an armistice for the burial of the dead; that the Governor himself was wounded, etc.

*May 18.* Late last evening two Regulators came to our Tavern, and today others came at intervals. Some had been in the skirmish, others had been near by, and had been told of it. The most important point seemed to be that the terrible cannonading of the Governor's troops had badly frightened the Regulators, who had thrown down their arms and run, even leaving the hats and coats which they had taken off before the engagement,—especially the men from Abbotts Creek.

*May 19.* The one-handed Mr. Hughs came this afternoon from the Governor's camp on the Alamance, where the recent battle was fought. He reported that the Regulators had fled after the first fire from the cannon; that one party, especially the Germans from Abbotts Creek, had stacked their arms and had been pardoned by the Governor; that the Governor was not wounded, but was marching toward Salisbury. That a considerable number of the Regulators are still together seems evident from the fact that this afternoon an unknown man (possibly Herman Husband) came to Br. Bonn, and in the name of James Hunter,—the chief of the Regulators,—invited him to come to his house and attend to the wounded there, as the surgeon who was with them did not have the necessary instruments. (There were about twenty wounded men there.) Br. Bonn excused himself, as there were patients in the neighborhood who needed him. The elder Borg returned from the Regulators; he had written a shamefully untrue letter to Mr. Abraham Krishan a Klann on the Yadkin, which he read in our Tavern. Among other lies about the Governor was that he lorded it over everything, and had sold the whole land to the French, etc., all intended to foment trouble. Mr. Martin Armstrong and Billy Hall passed on their way to the Governor. The former had much to say against Gideon Wright, probably because he had shown more loyalty and courage than Armstrong, and had become a Colonel while Armstrong was only a Captain. Hall's wife and children, and Giery Wright's wife and child, came in great distress, for they feared that the Regulators would burn their houses,—we comforted them as well as we could.

*May 20.* There were many people here today, some coming from the Regulator camp, others going thither to prove their courage. A Mr. Linair, who knows Herrman Husband, and met him yesterday beyond Bethania, confirmed the suspicion that it was he who was here yesterday to call Br. Bonn to Hunter's. A man boasted in our Tavern yesterday that if he could get help he would capture Husband and take him to the Governor, who has set a large reward on his head. Some

miles beyond Bethania this man met five Regulators, and one of them shot at him (very likely it was Husband who did it), but the ball passed through his waistcoat, which was open, barely scratching him. The man came at full gallop to Bethania weeping like a child, and pale as a corpse. Br. Ernst hurried to see whether the Regulators had carried out their threats against this town. Mr. Armstrong and Linear came again; they had only been into the nearest settlements beyond Salem, but were turned back by their fears. The new Clerk for Surry County, Mr. Bandon, also arrived. He is the son of the Colonel of that name, who was here with the Governor in 1767. Tomorrow he and Br. Bonn will go to the opening of the new Court at the home of Gideon Wright.

*May 21.* A small company of Regulators passed this morning, probably many went by during the night, ashamed to be seen. One of them, a friend, gave Br. Blum a report of the first battle last Thursday;—they had stood the first two rounds from the Governor's troops, during which many of their people had fled, and then they also had retired some distance; at a spring they had seen many hats and guns lying, but only three men, who were nearly dead. One, the lower part of whose body was shot away, begged him for God's sake to give him a drink, and he had brought him water in his hat. Another had part of his skull shot away.

Among others came the three Shrittsfields. They said that yesterday they, with some twenty others, went from James Hunter's house, where the Regulators lay, to the battlefield, five miles away, to see the place. They met the Governor's advance guard, who fired on them, and as they retired the Regulators fired at them from the woods, yet no one was hurt, so they had escaped in spite of the dangers. The elder Borg was here, and jeered at them, but they paid him back, for he had not gone to the skirmish, indeed they would have beaten him had he not left. They said that the Captains of the Regulators had taken to their heels, and the common folk after them; that the Governor had had a couple hanged, and that his line of march was toward Salisbury, where Gen. Waddel and his people were still encamped, though they would be ordered to move to this neighborhood. The Governor would remain in Orange until all was quiet there, then go to Salisbury, and on in this direction.

*May 22.* Br. Bonn and Mr. Bandon, new Clerk of the County Court, returned about noon. Yesterday, in Gideon Wright's house, the first Court of Surry County was opened, the Charter was read, and Br. Bonn was the first Justice sworn in. McNally wished to omit the oath of loyalty to the King, as he did not know whether the people would

approve him and the others as Justices; after the Clerk had consulted with the people present, twenty in number, the oath of loyalty to the King was omitted, and then the other Justices did the same, after which certain Court business was transacted, and all went without disturbance.

*May 24.* It began to rain last night, and continued harder and harder until the bottom meadow is like a sea. In spite of warnings Kasner and his family remained in the former tannery house, moving to the garret, but by half past ten at night water was so high in the room that it ran out at the window, and he and his family had to be rescued in the canoe. \* \* \* In short the water is higher than it has ever been since the Brethren have lived in Wachovia.

Today a man brought a letter from the Governor to Martin Armstrong and Lineer, but they went to him several days ago, and the man missed them on the road. The man said that the Governor was still in the neighborhood of the homes of Herrman Husband and Hunter, whose houses and fields he had had ruined, and also those of certain others who are outlawed. He will stay there a while and then return to New Bern, and not come hither. He has set a time for the Regulators, and those who come to him and ask for pardon will receive it, if they will swear and sign to three things, 1st, to be loyal subjects; 2nd, to pay all back taxes; 3rd, to give up their arms. He has two wagon-loads of weapons which he has sent to New Bern, and at a certain time the owners may go there for them. One Regulator was captured just before the battle, a young man; the Governor twice offered him pardon, when the rope was about his neck, but he preferred to die, and the Governor turned aside weeping, and let him be hanged,—it was unnatural obstinacy\*. On the Governor's side three men had been killed, and eight of the Regulators fell at the place [of battle], not counting those found in the fields.

*May 27.* Through two men coming from Cape Fear we heard that the Governor, day before yesterday, was still in camp, and intended, as soon as the water fell, to march to Salisbury.

*May 30.* There is a rumor that the Regulators have had a battle with Gen. Waddel's troop, and several are named as having been killed on the General's side, but when one inquired the source of this information one heard "Gilbert." On the contrary, it is probably true that the two Borgs came from the Yadkin expecting to meet the Governor here, and to sue for pardon; they told Br. Reuter, confidentially, that the Regulators dared not trust each other, as some of them had asked the Governor for pardon, and others had not done so, so their

\* This phrase has been interpreted as a criticism of Tryon, but it is quite evidently a criticism of the obstinate youth who chose to die rather than yield to lawful authority.



lives were not safe from each other. Toward evening Merell, from Abbots Creek, came in much distress, seeking his father, who is outlawed. The Governor has given until the 7th of next month, June, promising pardon to all who submit, outlaws excepted. Merell had been pardoned, and had begged for his father.

*June 1.* Two deserters from Gen. Waddel's army were brought here, and were sent on to the General at Salisbury by Friedrich and Joseph Müller. Two men came running in great consternation; they had brought a wagon-load of store goods from Virginia for the one-handed Mr. Hughs, and ten miles from here, last night, by their little camp fire, they had been robbed by highwaymen, who had also taken one of their wagon horses. Br. Bonn offered to give them a Press Warrant, but they did not want it, and went on to Hughs, leaving the wagon where it stood. A company from Dan River came through, looking for the same highwaymen. At noon three men arrived who had left the Governor's camp just as he was passing the HuWarrie, on his way to join Gen. Waddel, namely Gideon Wright's brother Giery, Kalklocher, and [blurred]. The first brought the Governor's Proclamation to us, with his greetings *To his good Friends the Moravians*, with the request that as much as we could we should persuade the people against the frightful idea of him which the Regulators had spread in this neighborhood. He had inquired of Gideon Wright concerning our conduct under existing circumstances, who had given him a favorable account of us, telling him that lodgings here were already prepared for him, which gave him much satisfaction. Among other things he said that of all the Denominations in this Province, the Moravians were the only ones who had shown themselves loyal subjects; that if there were only such people in the land there would be no rebellion. He asked for a quantity of meal from here. His army now consists of about 3000, among them 100 gentlemen of distinction. As soon as he had met Gen. Waddell he would go to Hillsborough, to try a number of prisoners.

Mr. Martin Armstrong and his brother also came; he had not been to the Governor, and appears not to be in much favor with him. He told us a few particulars about the battle on the 16th of last month. He had counted 13 dead Regulators at the place of battle, and others had been found later, half burned, in the woods which the Governor had had fired. They probably had about thirty wounded. On the Governor's side there were three killed and about twelve wounded.

*June 2.* A copy of the Governor's Proclamation was posted in Bethania. In it Abraham Greson from the Yadkin, and Sam Wagner from the Town Fork, were excepted from the offer of pardon.



*June. 3.* Joseph and Friedrich Müller returned, having delivered their prisoners at the Governor's camp;—the troops are now at the above mentioned Merrel's plantation, which has been laid waste. The Governor had talked for two hours with Friedrich, asking about the visit of Herrman Husband to Bethabara, and when he heard that no one here had recognized him, the Governor told him confidentially, that it had been proposed that he should send a company of light horse to Bethabara and burn it, but he had not consented, for he had not found the Moravians disloyal in any respect; and he was delighted to learn that the matter had been just as he had believed. God be thanked for his good opinion of us!

He sent two letters here. One was to Br. Marshall, saying "that he heard that Herrman Husband had been seen in our town, and if one of our Brethren would capture him and bring him to camp he would receive £100 and 1000 acres of land as a reward." The other was to Br. Bonn, and asked him to send 10,000 lbs. flour from our settlement to his camp at Pugh's Place.

Christian Frey came for advice as to whether they should appear before the Governor;—it will be sufficient for him to state to the Governor, in the name of the Society [South Fork] that they had taken no part with the Regulators, except Adam Hartman, of whom we have recently heard that he had been connected with them, but he can now ask pardon for himself alone. Br. Bonn gave Christian an order for that Settlement to furnish 60 bushels toward the Governor's requisition, and the same order will be sent to Bethania.

Friedrich related that several wives had knelt at the Governor's feet pleading for their husbands and children, but he had turned them away saying that it was no longer in his power to pardon them and they would have to stand trial.

Just before the singstunde our anxiety for the Brethren on journey to Charlestown was relieved by the arrival of Traugott Bagge and Michael Hauser, who left the wagons last Friday at Pinetree. They had had a difficult and dangerous trip on account of high water. The Regulators blew up 150 lbs of powder, and other store goods, belonging to Mr. Alexander, near Pinetree, and this had given rise to a rumor that Gen. Waddel's ammunition had been blown up. Several of the men who did it had been captured. At Pinetree a noble old man came to Br. Bagge and offered that if he had powder in his wagon it should be deposited with him, but fortunately there was none this time. This side of the Yadkin Br. Bagge passed Col. Fanning's Corps; the Colonel treated him courteously, but did not say where they were going.

*June 4.* In the morning Adam Loesch, who left the Governor's camp at Reedy Creek yesterday, brought the Order and the news to Salem and here that His Excellency would arrive this evening. The Brn. Muschbach and Charles Holder rode out from Salem to meet the Governor, who stopped in Salem for a short time so that Charles Holder could give notice here of his arrival. The Brn. Marshall and Bonn rode to meet him and to welcome him, and about twelve o'clock they arrived, and the Governor was escorted to his former lodging in the tailor's house. Soon after, he, his officers, and several Brethren, rode out to the open field on the Bethania road, to see whether it would serve for a camp for his troops, and it pleased him. He plans to stay here four days, and that tomorrow the birthday of His Majesty King George III shall be celebrated, (the birthday is really today).

Already today a considerable number of Regulators have come to beg for pardon, and Abraham Creson and Tiery Klann were brought in as prisoners.

After resting, His Excellency dined in the Single Brothers Saal, having only his Counselor and Secretary, and the Brn. Marshall and Bonn at table with him. His suite consists of about thirty officers and men.

Toward evening company after company arrived, under command of Gen. Waddel, and camped in the above mentioned field. The horses, about 300, had to be turned into the large Bottom-meadow, and watchmen were stationed about them. The forty prisoners were bound two and two, and were a pitiful sight as they marched in. The troops had hardly arranged their camp when there was a heavy rain storm, but they are not unaccustomed to being wet.

Our town was full of soldiers, and guards were set at the Tavern, and next day at the bakery, kitchens, and wash-houses. The men complained much of hunger, and soon not a bit of bread remained in the bakery nor in any house.

*June 5.* Many people came here from the neighborhood, part on account of Regulator matters, part not. About 135 took the oath of loyalty to the King, among them our South Forkers, who also brought the 800 lbs. flour and the six oxen required of them. The men from Bethania brought bread and ham, and so the great hunger of the soldiers was satisfied.

Br. Utley came from Salem to call on the Governor, who conversed with him in friendly fashion. At every opportunity His Excellency showed his kindly feeling for the Brethren; he said indeed that he could do no more for us in the Parish matter, etc., but that he had

recommended us to an elderly, honorable man, (probably Counselor De Rossete, Speaker of the Assembly, who was with him), a Swiss, to whom we might confidently address ourselves.

Today again about thirty Regulators were brought in as prisoners, among them our neighbor from the Yadkin, Sam Jones, who was listed as an outlaw in the Governor's Proclamation. His Excellency had heard that he was really a good, simple, man, who had had little to do with the Regulators, and this Br. Marshall was able to confirm when given the opportunity. Many came to Marshall and other Brethren begging for our good word, but we must move carefully in the matter, as we neither have nor dare claim such influence over His Excellency.

In the evening the Governor came to the singstunde, having let it be known in advance that he wished to hear the beautiful singing of the Sisters, and there was a pleasant sense of harmony and respect. A number of officers also came in, although a sentinel was posted before the Gemein Haus. At ten o'clock there was a hard thunderstorm, with heavy rain, and there were several very sharp crashes of thunder. By twelve o'clock the storm was over.

*June 6. Thursday.* In the early morning we had a conference to decide whether we should present an Address to the Governor, during the celebration of the Birthday of His Majesty, King George III, since the Governor did not demand the oath of allegiance from us as he had done from others. The Saviour approved, and Br. Marshall spoke to the Governor's Secretary, Mr. Edwards, about it, and gave him a copy of the Address. This pleased His Excellency, and he said it should be presented to him when he returned from the army exercises.

At ten o'clock the army left the camp, company by company, with all their equipment, and passed through our town to the field behind the sheds, our musicians leading and playing on the trombones and violins. The troops were then exercised for about two hours, going through all the maneuvers they used in the battle with the Regulators; and they saluted with guns and cannon until everything trembled. After two o'clock they marched back to the camp.

Meanwhile the Governor's tent had been set up in the Square, into which His Excellency went, accompanied by his chief officers. Then the four Brn. Marshall, Graff, Utley, and Bagge, appeared before His Excellency, and Marshall read the following Address, in the name of



the Unity of Brethren in Wachovia. At each mention of *His Majesty*, or *His Excellency*, the four Brethren bowed profoundly.

“To His Excellency William Tryon Esqur. Captain General and Governor in Chief and over the Province of North Carolina.

The humble Address of the Ministers and Congregations of the United Brethren in Wachovia.

May it please your Excellency

Upon this solemn Occasion the Celebration of the Birthday of our most gracious King the United Brethren in Wachovia inviolably attached to His Majesty's Government, esteem themselves particularly favored by the presence of this Representative to this province in the person of your Excellency. With hearts full of the warmest Sentiments of Allegiance give us leave Sir, to lay before your Excellency our most fervant Wishes to the Lord, by whom princes rule to pour down his choicest Blessings upon the sacred person of our souverain King George the III, and all his Royal Family, & to establish his Kingdom to the latest posterity over the Brittish Empire.

May the Troubles which have of late unhappily torn this Province, be the last, that shall ever give any Uneasiness to the paternal Breast of the best of princes, & may this very Day be the very period from which this Province shall date the future Happiness through the good Success of your Excellencys measures, as well as in Reward of the Dangers your precious life was eminently exposed to in his Majestys Service. The kind protection this Settlement has enjoyed during your Excellencys happy administration will ever leave the deepest Impression of gratitude in the minds of the thankful people & combine their prayers with those of all wellwishers to this Province for your Excellencys prosperity in your future Government.”

After this Address was presented to His Excellency he condescended himself to read the following answer and to hand it to Br. Marshall.

“To the Ministers and Congregations of the United Brethren in Wachovia

Gentlemen

I return you thanks for your Loyal and Dutiful Address. I have already had the Pleasure to acquaint His Majesty of the zeal and attachment which his subjects of Wachovia have in all occasion shewn to His Government & the Laws of this Province.

I am obliged to you for your Congratulation on the Success with which it has pleased allmighty God to bless the Army under my Com-



mand and cordially wish with you it may lay the Foundations of Peace and Stability to this Country.

Your affectionate Regard for my Particular Wellfare I gratefully receive

Wm Tryon

Moravian Camp

Bethabara June 6th 1771."

These proceedings were followed with great attention and tender sympathy which was noticed by the officers present, and they commented on it. The four Brethren were invited to dine, but Br. Utley was not well and excused himself. During the meals several Healths were drunk, each being answered with a loud *Hurra* and the playing of a verse on the trombones by our musicians. The last was for the *Prosperity of the United Brethren in Wachovia*, answered in the same manner. His Excellency was very friendly at table, speaking confidentially with Br. Marshall, who was seated at his right, with Br. Graff next.

The rest of the day was spent brightly and happily, and when it was quite dark His Excellency set off rockets in front of his tent. The windows looking on the Square were illuminated.

June 7. His Excellency and his chief officers spent almost the entire morning in conference in the Saal in the Single Brothers House; and when it was ended dinner was prepared and served to him in his tent.

Meanwhile the speaking with, examining of, and administering the Oath to Regulators and others continued. Some prisoners were released, among them James Klann, but Abraham Creson remained in chains. He wept like a child whenever a Brother went near him, and begged that we would intercede for him; we replied that we had already done all that we could, and advised him to apply, through some of his neighbors, to the venerable Counselor, De Rossete; he had already served many well.

The day closed with a singstunde, which was attended by many officers and men.

June 8. At noon General Waddel and the greater part of the Army marched toward the Shallow Ford, probably going to Tryon County, where the Regulators are still under arms, and desirous of doing something. It was a joy to hear how pleased and thankful and satisfied officers and men were over the kindness shown to them. Some of the officers lost articles that the Sisters were washing for them, but the

best of it was that they did not blame us, but their own people. Some had delivered it carelessly; and when it was to be returned there were so many present that some took what was not theirs; but they all paid fully for the washing. Mugs, glasses, and the like were taken from the Tavern.

Br. Bagge gave the bill to the Secretary, who was not satisfied with it, saying that it was too low, for no charge was made for the Governor's supplies, except what he had ordered for the road; so the cost to us proves to be quite bearable.

It was a special sign of the Governor's favor that before coming here he issued a sharp order to the Army that the slightest insolence, or damage done to our town, would be severely punished, and this was reasonably well obeyed.

At three in the afternoon His Excellency dined in his tent, then walked to God's Acre; also visited the Sisters who were cleaning salad, and chatted merrily with them. Indeed the Sisters have had to listen to a good deal of frivolous talk, for many of the officers had had queer ideas, as though they were shut up like nuns, and so on, but these ideas were fully abandoned.

Yesterday a man brought a report to Salem that our wagons, returning from Charlestown, had been halted and searched by the Regulators; so early this morning Br. Joseph Müller was sent to them with a Pass from the Governor.

*June 9, Sunday.* Quite early Br. Müller returned with the Brn. George and Michael Hauser. They had been stopped at North Carolina boundary by ten Regulators, but the Brethren had requested to be allowed to go on to the night camp, where the Regulators might come and search them, and this had been granted. The men had taken certain tools, augers, hammers, and the like, but had yielded to remonstrance and had not opened the boxes. Then they permitted the Brethren to proceed, and gave them a Pass to other Regulators. George Hauser was taken to the Governor, and gave him an account of the whole matter. Then a new Proclamation was written, and will be posted here next Thursday, as the period covered by the first ends on the 10th. Our wagoners heard, the morning after they had been searched, that during the night the men who had robbed Gen. Waddel's wagons had been captured by a scouting party of government troops, and this greatly frightened the Regulators, who had not heard what happened on the Alamance on the 16th of May.

After nine o'clock this morning His Excellency took his departure, having first sent off the rest of his troops, and the prisoners, who had been guarded over night in our shed. He took tender leave of all who

were present, and went to speak to the Sisters, who were standing beyond Merk's shop. The cook said his face showed as much emotion as though he were bidding farewell to his own family. The Governor wanted to pay for what had been furnished to him, but this was not allowed, and he accepted it as a token of regard for him, and gave most courteous thanks, and sent greetings to our whole Society. He also asked Br. Bonn, as he had set his march for today, not realising that it was Sunday, that we would say a prayer for him. We thanked our faithful and merciful Lord from our hearts, that He had not only helped us through all the difficult circumstances, but had given us such favor with our Government, indeed with all who have been here this time, some of whom had not been here before.

Soon after the departure a very sick man, Captain Walker, was brought back. Counselor De Rossete, his brother-in-law, came with him and asked that Br. Bonn would take care of him, and he was lodged in Bonn's upper room, and his own brother remained with him.

The Brn. Marshall, Bonn, and Charles Holder accompanied His Excellency one mile, he would not let them go further, since this was Sunday. Br. Marshall then rode to Salem, and visited the Councillor, Col. Rutherford, who lay there ill.

At the close of this day, and of all the events of the past few days in Bethabara, there was a meeting in which Br. Marshall told the congregation of the presentation of the Address to the Governor, and his gracious answer, which Br. Marshall translated into German; and then the congregation, with touched hearts, sang

Now thank we all our God,  
With hearts and hands and voices;

which is the only return we can make to our faithful and good Lord for all the kindness He has shown us.

The Brn. Jacob van der Merk and Charles Holder were told that His Excellency has appointed them as Justices for the new County.

*June 10.* Today Col. Rutherford left Salem, his painful attack of gout being better. He is an affable man, and showed a friendly spirit toward us. He told Br. Utley confidentially that Lord Granville's part of North Carolina had probably been handed over to the King, and that the Office would soon be opened. Next day Captain Walker, who had recovered, left Bethabara with his brother; a common soldier remained in Br. Bonn's care, and is lodged in the day-laborers' house.

*June 11.* Today hay-making began in Bethabara, and first the remaining grass was cut in the large Bottom-meadow, as otherwise the new grass would not grow. £75 was paid for its use as pasturage



[for the Army horses], and this was enough. His Excellency paid in cash for all that we furnished to the Army, while at other places tickets were issued. The people of the neighborhood speak evil of us, saying that we induced the Governor to come here, but they do us wrong, and it is quite probable that the Governor at first meant to spare us, but possibly his officers insisted, and finally he consented, and decided on our town as the best place for a solemn celebration, but gave strict orders about it.

This morning Peter Pfaff and his family arrived, and wish to settle in Wachovia. He is a communicant Brother from the congregation of Yorktown in Pennsylvania.

Today the new Proclamation of the Governor was posted, as yesterday the time set for the asking of pardon expired. A new limit is set for July 10th, and a free pardon promised, but to those excepted from pardon in the first Proclamation are added the men who blew up Gen. Waddel's powder in Mecklenberg County.

After the evening singstunde there was a good rain, which was very welcome, as it will lessen the bad odors from the refuse meat, etc, at the place where the soldiers camped.

*June 17.* Br. Aust took down the addition to the potter's shop, in order to move the woodwork to Salem this week.

At ten in the evening there came up several storms from the north, with such wind and rain as there has not been in many years. The Sisters' sleeping-hall in the Gemein Haus and nearly all the rooms were flooded, and water was carried out in buckets, lest everything be covered. The wind roared and it lightened, until one might almost think that the end of the world had come. Yet in an hour's time the rain ceased, and the sky cleared.

*June 19.* Mr. Martin Armstrong came to our Tavern, and brought the news that he met the commissioners who had run the line for the new Guilford County, and tomorrow the Commissioners would run the Surry County line. The south corner, between it and Rowan, will come between Bethabara and Salem; and in conversation Br. Reuter told him that this would put barely sixty freeholders in Surry County. Another gentleman, who had been present when the Guilford line was run, said that this mistake would be new to the Commissioners, and they would not like it,—that Col. Rutherford had insisted that the division of the Counties was not well planned, and that the Assembly ought to make another arrangement of them, and that Surry County ought to begin at the mouth of Muddy Creek, that was the proposal that had been made to the Assembly.



*June 20.* Mr. Griffin Rutherford and Anthony Hampton, two Commissioners for Surry County, spent a few hours at our Tavern. Br. Marshall called on them, and the former began at once to talk about our Parish, and seemed to be a bit jealous that the Brethren were the only ones to have a separate Parish, while they, the Presbyterians, had none, though they were most numerous in North Carolina. Br. Marshall explained to him that it had come more through the favor of the elder Lord Granville, who wished the Brethren to settle on his land, than through the efforts of the Brethren, and suggested that if the Presbyterians wished they might appeal to England, and could probably secure the same. The complaint did not seem to be really seriously intended, but at the present moment our Parish is proving an obstacle in the County matter, which naturally makes much talk. Otherwise he was an affable man, and quite friendly. He said little about the County affair, but intended to help in the running of the line tomorrow. The matter has become so confused that only time can show what will be done.

*June 22.* This afternoon Lieutenant-Colonel Gideon Wright passed, with the men whom he had enrolled for the service of the Governor against the Regulators, and who have been honorably discharged. At Hillsborough no one took any notice of His Excellency, so he did not go into the town, and after being in camp a while he left for New Bern, his troops escorting him half way. He should have reached New Bern on the 20th, where a ship lay ready to take him to New York. The trial of the prisoners had taken place, and five had been hanged, and six pardoned, among the latter being Sam Jones and Abraham Creson, though the latter must still stand trial at Salisbury. Of Gen. Waddel it is said that his march to the heads of the Catawba River was without opposition; and the people everywhere in the lower Counties had submitted and had taken the oath of allegiance.

*June 27.* Br. Hans Christian von Schweinitz arrived unexpectedly, having left Lancaster on May 30th, instead of June 6th as a traveler had reported to us.

*June 28.* The rest of the party arrived, Sr. von Schweinitz, Br. and Sr. Tiersch, one Single Sister, and six older girls.

*June 29.* Yesterday and today many neighbors came and urgently begged Br. Bagge and Br. Marshall that they, or one of them, would run for office as Assemblyman, as many believed that they would be able to serve this land.

*June 30.* In the afternoon there was a congregation Council, attended not only by delegates from Bethania and Salem but by as

many communicant Brethren as would and could come. The matter for discussion was that from all sides requests have come that a Brother shall run for Assemblyman from this County, in order to look after its interests there, and that would also seem best in the critical situation of our Parish. The members present approved of this, and nominated the Brn. Marshall and Bagge, the former declined to serve, as he is not really a Freeholder, so the choice fell on Bagge, who can qualify as a Freeholder; and it was thought wise that he and Mr. Martin should jointly sign an Advertisement offering themselves to the public.

*July 3.* A man returning from Gen. Waddel's army reported that he had disbanded his troops and sent them home. He had found no opposition in Mecklenberg or Tryon Counties. Two of those who had robbed his wagons and burned the powder had been hanged.

*July 4.* Br. Reuter visited the Commissioners for the division of the County. The line runs one mile south of Bethabara.

*July 13.* Early this morning various neighbors passed, on their way to the election at Gideon Wright's, and with them went Br. Bagge and various Brethren from here and from Bethania. But Lanier and his party, probably those who recently held with the Regulators, influenced the rabble, so it came to pass that substantial men, who cared for the best interest of the County, voted for Br. Bagge, but the rest,—the majority,—voted for Lanier and an unknown man, Richard Good, from Town Fork. Mr. Walker was there, but could not vote, as he is not a Freeholder. He came to Br. Marshall this evening in great distress, and begged that the Brethren would not petition the Assembly to remain in the old County, in which two-thirds of our Parish lies according to the recent division, for without us Surry County could not support itself. Others who were not pleased with the Election said that the Brethren should elect one of their own number without consulting any one else,—which may come later.

*July 16.* Mr. Temple Kole, former Sheriff, came to collect the back taxes of 1769, due from Rowan County.

*July 17.* People came, in response to the Advertisement Mr. Kole posted at various places last week, and this is strong proof that the rebellious spirit is so far suppressed that they will show respect to the laws, which they would not have dared to do two months ago.

*Aug. 20.* The Brn. Bonn, Bagge, Jacob van der Merk and Charles Holder went to Court. The latter two qualified as Justices of the Peace.

*Aug. 22.* Mr. Anthony Hampton, one of the Surry County Commissioners, was here. He said that three of the five Commissioners

were at Court today and discussed another place for the Court House, as Gideon Wright's was very inconvenient, but they had been unable to agree. Mr. Dunn stood for Wright's, the others, especially Mr. Martin, were opposed, and Mr. Martin said he would not come to Court again for four years.

*Sept. 9.* The Brn. Charles Holder and Herbst, went to the General Court at Salisbury. Br. Bagge also should have gone, but was not well.

Justice Sporgen was in Salem, and said no Court would be held at Salisbury, as the Chief Justice had not come. We also heard that the new Governor, Mr. Henry Martin, had arrived; that he was expected to come to Salisbury to make acquaintance; and that all officers were to be retained in their present positions. Now a new election of Assemblymen must be held; the recent Election in this County was only pro forma, and in order to establish the right to elect.

*Sept. 15.* The Deputies from the Unitas Aeltesten Conferenz, the Brn. Gregor and Loretz, accompanied by Br. Ettwein, arrived today in a stage. With them came Br. Ludwig Meinung, and two other Single Brethren. In the evening the Congregation welcomed them with a Lovefeast.

*Sept. 16.* The Aeltesten Conferenz met with the Deputies, Loretz, Gregor, and Schweinitz. A man sent by Lanier, the recently elected Representative from this County, brought a petition to the Assembly asking that the Surry line<sup>7</sup> be moved seven miles south, which we were asked to sign. This gave occasion for the discussion of Wachovia affairs, but no decision was reached.

*Sept. 24.* The Aeltesten Conferenz considered a journey to New Bern, to welcome the Governor, Josiah Martin, and selected two Brethren who should go. But Br. Bagge returned from Little Yadkin, bringing a newspaper, from which we learned, just *a propos*, that the Governor has prorogued the Assembly from Oct. 10th to Nov. 15th, and has retired with his family to the country for the sake of his health; this was done because of a bad fever in New Bern, from which many people have died, the Governor has lost a child, and his Secretary has been critically ill. This led to the postponement of the trip.

*Sept. 25.* The Brn. Ettwein and Bagge returned from Little Yadkin, the Commissioners have not yet arrived. The people seem to have their hearts set on a County Town and have offered ten acres for the purpose. They do not wish it to be on our land, and prefer to have

<sup>7</sup> In Feb. 1773, the Surry line was moved south, and made to correspond to the Wachovia, and therefore also the Dobbs Parish, line.



it on a piece of land belonging to Mr. Armstrong, although we hear that it is a poor site for a town.

*Oct. 26.* The Deputies again had a conference, and considered the settlement of several married couples on the two or three farms into which the large Bethabara farm will be divided.

*Oct. 31.* Mr. Matthew Lock, one of the Commissioners for Surry County, was at our Tavern today. He had been to Mr. Martin Armstrong, to see about selecting a site for the Court House, but none of the other Commissioners had come, and Mr. Lock had decided that it would be better to do nothing until after the next session of the Assembly, when a new division of the County would be made.

*Nov. 4.* The Deputies were again in conference about Bethabara, as Br. Jacob van der Merk had expressed a wish to build a house there, and have several acres of ground with it. The field toward the brick yard was inspected as a possible site of a future little village.

*Nov. 6.* There was an eclipse of the sun to-day, but the sky was partly cloudy.

*Nov. 8.* Our dear Deputies have been uncertain about their return trip, as the weather has been unfavorable, but tonight it looked more promising, so they brought the matter once more before the Lord, and were instructed to leave before the 13th.

*Nov. 9.* This morning the Deputies visited all the Brethren and Sisters in their houses; then the party left for Pennsylvania, after a blessed and profitable stay of seven weeks. The company consisted of the Brn. Loretz, Gregor and Ettwein, Br. and Sr. von Schweinitz, the two Single Brethren who came with the Deputies, and Br. Peter Stotz, who goes to take charge of the pottery at Lititz.

Today the Brn. Utley and Muschbach received their instructions for the visit to New Bern, to the Governor and the Assembly.

*Nov. 27.* Next week the wagons will return with store goods from Charlestown, and in Salem neither the sales room in the two-story house, nor the warehouse,—or skin house,—is ready for the unpacking of the goods, so it was resolved that the store should not be moved until the end of January, 1772, and the new goods should meanwhile be unpacked here.

*Nov. 28.* The Brn. Utley and Muschbach returned from their successful trip to New Bern, and Br. Utley came this afternoon to make his report. He said that everywhere they had been most kindly treated, as soon as it was known from whence they came, especially by those who had been here with the Army last spring. Mr. Edwards, who is at present all powerful with the new Governor, Josiah Martin,



arranged for them to meet the Governor on the 21st; they presented to him a written address of welcome to this Province, and received a written answer couched in most favorable terms. Their mission to the Assembly in regard to Dobbs Parish was taken in hand by Col. How, who promised that he would do everything in the best way, and they need not be further troubled about it, nor be detained. In regard to becoming incorporated Mr. Edwards advised that we wait until we hear the Governor's opinion. From our hearts we thank our dear Lord that He has prospered this expedition.

*Relation of the Battle fought at Alimance the 16th May.*

[This MS. is marked "Copy," and there is nothing to indicate the author.]

On Wednesday Evening the 15 Instant His Excellency received certain Information that the Insurgents were assembled at about 6 miles from the Camp at great Alimance. A Council of War being called, it was unanimously resolved to march the next Morning against them. Accordingly on Thursday the Sixteenth the Army leaving the Tents standing and all the Baggage & Provisions in Camp, under the Guard of a Field Officer and about fifty Men, began to march at about 8 o'clock in the Morning and advanced to an old Field within half a Mile of the Rebels, when His Excellency formed the Order of Battle in two Lines, part of the Artillery on each Wing, and the Remainder in the Center of the first Line. His Excellency then sent one of His Aids du Camps, and the Sheriff of Orange, with a Letter to the Rebels, requiring them to lay down their Arms, surrender their outlawed Ringleaders, and submit themselves to the Laws of their Country, Allowing them One Hour to accept of the Terms to prevent the effusion of Blood which might ensue, as they were at that Time in a State of War and Rebellion against their King their Country and their Laws.

In the mean Time the Army kept advancing nearer to the Enemy. The Messengers soon afterwards returned and reported to His Excellency that the Rebels had received His Offer with Disdain, and the general Cry among them was Battle Battle. Immediately after a considerable Body of them appeared in Sight & waved their Hatts, daring the Men to advance, upon which the Army continued moving towards them, until they were within Thirty Yards of the Enemy, when His Excellency sent an Aid du Camps to inform them that the Hour was elapsed & that He should immediately fire. They called out that he might fire & be damned. Upon the return of the Aid du Camps the Action began,

and a hot Fire was kept up on both Sides for about an Hour and a Quarter, when it abated a little from the Enemy. The Cannon was ordered to cease firing, and the whole Army to advance, then the First Line after engaging three Quarters of an hour longer drove the Enemy out of the Field, and gained a complete Victory. Their Camp was taken with many Horses, Arms, Ammunition, Clothes and Provisions.

The Army after having Care taken of their wounded got back to their Camp by Sunsett. It is computed that the Rebels must have had killed in the Battle about one Hundred Men, Two hundred more wounded, and upwards of twenty taken Prisoner. The Loss of the Loyalists was Nine killed and about Sixty wounded. The number of the Rebels in the Battle from the best Information could not be less than Two Thousand Three Hundred were engaged. The Artillery was well served and did great Execution. The Behaviour of the Officers and Men on this Occasion will appear by what the Governor gave in Orders the next Day.

*The humble Address of the Congregation of the United Brethren in Wachovia.*

[See Bethabara Diary, Sept. 24th and Nov. 28th.]

To His Excellency *Josiah Martin* Esq. Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of North Carolina, etc.

May it please Your Excellency,

The United Brethren conscientiously attached to His Majesty's Person and Government, by the most sacred Ties of Loyalty, with deep Submission present Your Excellency their most cordial & sincere Congratulations, on Your & Your respected Family's safe Arrival in this Province.

Impressed with a grateful Sense of His Majesty's paternal Care in appointing Your Excellency to the Government of this Province, we pray God the Giver of all good Things to bless Your Excellency and Family with all desirable Felicity both of public and private Life. May Your Excellency's own worthy Example be copied by many, may Your Councils meet with the wished for Success, the Approbation of Your Royal Master, and the affections of a thankful People. May Peace & Prosperity which have begun to spread again in this Province, be long continued unto us, and may Your Excellency's Administration be ever distinguished with the Blessing thereof.

The United Brethren encouraged by His Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain to settle in this Country, and favoured by the former Governors and Assemblies beg Leave to recommend the future Success of their Settlements to Your Excellency's kind Protection.

Signed in behalf of the said Brethren by

Bethabara

the 9th of November

1771.

*Gov. Josiah Martin's Reply*

[Original]

To the United Brethren in Wachovia,

Gentlemen

I receive with great pleasure this very obliging Address of the united Brethren in Wachovia, and I sincerely thank them for their cordial Congratulations on my arrival with my Family in this Province, and for their pious and kind wishes for my public and domestic felicity.

It will be my earnest endeavor Gentlemen, by a faithful discharge of my duty, to deserve the honor that my Royal Master has conferred upon me, in appointing me His Chief Governor of this Province, and as I am confident I can obtain His Royal Approbation, only by promoting the Peace and Happiness of His People committed to my care, I shall to those ends diligently apply my Mind; happy to become, under divine Providence an Instrument of Good to this Country.

The steady Loyalty and Attachment of the United Brethren to His Majesty's most sacred Person and Government, will always intitle them to my utmost Protection and favour, while the Virtue of their Community will as constantly engage my Esteem, and my ardent Wishes for their happiness and the prosperity of their Settlement.

L. S.

Jo. Martin

*Petition delivered to the Assembly at Newbern, in Nov. 1771, by the Brn. Utley & Muschbach.*

To His Excellency Josiah Martin Esq. Captain General & Governor in Chief in & over the Province of North Carolina, and the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Council and Representatives in the House of Assembly.

*The Petition* of the Inhabitants of Wachovia or Dobbs Parish humbly sheweth, *That* in Consequence of an Act of Parliament of the Twenty-



second year of His late Majesty's Reign, entitled an Act for encouraging the People known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America (in which they were acknowledged to be an ancient protestant Episcopal Church, and that it would be beneficial to the Colonies to encourage them moving thither in greater Numbers) the District of Wachovia was first settled by them, and their Improvements meeting with the Approbation of this Government in the Year 1755 they were further favored with an Act of Assembly of this Province, intitl'd, An Act for erecting that Part of Rowan County called Wachovia into a distinct Parish, in which several Surveys of Land adjoining thereto were included, under the Name of *Dobbs Parish*, And that in Consequence of this Act the Towns of Bethabara, Bethany, and of late Years also that of Salem, together with other Settlements in the said Parish have been begun, whereof they are in Hopes that they will be of Benefit to the Country adjacent to encourage Trade and Industry.

But a late Act of Assembly made & passed at Newbern the 15th Day of January in the Year of Our Lord 1771, for dividing the County of Rowan, fixing the Boundary in such a Manner that the partition Line cuts the said Parish into two Parts, whereof one is in Rowan and the other in Surry County, which Division would bind them to different Courts & Magistrates & would be attended with many Inconveniences to the said Settlements.

And whereas the County of Surry in General, as well as the Northern Part of Rowan County, finding themselves equally distressed by the Smallness of the County of Surry, have petitioned for an Addition to be made thereto, Therefore the Inhabitants of Wachovia hoping that it will be of public Benefit to the County as well as their own Interest humbly pray that in fixing the Boundaries of Surry County their whole Parish may be included.

That the Premises may pass into a Law, and that their Parish Act of the Year 1755 be confirmed is the Prayer of Your humble Petitioners who as in Duty bound shall ever pray

signed by Order of the Vestry of Dobbs Parish by  
Churchwardens.

[The copy of this Petition filed in the Archives is not signed, but Gottfried Grabs and Gottlieb Fockel were the Church Wardens in 1771,—see Bethabara Diary, April 1st. Fockel's name is erroneously spelled Tocket in the Colonial Records, where this Petition is printed also.]



## THE SURVEYOR

[Perhaps the most interesting man living in Bethabara from 1759 to 1771 was the surveyor, Christian Gottlieb Reuter. His numerous, carefully drawn maps meant much to the Brethren, and mean much to the historian of today, and as architect and "building inspector" he had more real influence than many of the Brethren more frequently mentioned in the Diary.

It happens also that he was the second husband of Anna Catharina Antes Kalberlahn, so as a second chapter in her life, and as a second glimpse into the intimate experiences of the men and women of that day, his story is given, as it has been taken from his autobiography and other records.]

Two years had passed since the typhus epidemic in Bethabara. The Indians, defeated in North Carolina and Virginia, had withdrawn beyond the reach of the colonists. Refugees had returned to their homes, coming back to Bethabara now and then to attend service, or to obtain baptism for their children. Gaps in the official ranks had been filled by the coming of Bishop Ettwein from Pennsylvania to take Christian Seidel's place as pastor, and the appointment of Bonn as village doctor,—a good man, but never so generally beloved as Dr. Kalberlahn.

For Anna Catharina they were quiet years, spent in caring for little Salome Rogers, and in teaching two somewhat older girls who also made their home with her.

For Christian Gottlieb Reuter they were busy years, during which he traversed Wachovia from end to end, carefully surveying and plotting the one-hundred-thousand acres which he loved to think of as "the Lord's land." Four large wall maps showed the results of his labors, and gave the Brethren a very clear idea of their possessions.

He was an interesting man, this sun-browned surveyor, with his keen eyes, square chin, and friendly smile, and he brought to Wachovia a varied store of experience.

He was born in Steinbach, Germany, Sept. 5, 1717, the son of a surgeon who by a series of mischances fell from comparative wealth to extreme poverty. He, however, accepted the loss of his fortune without repining, having been warned of God in a dream that it was for his soul's salvation. The manner of the warning was this:—The surgeon went once into the Odenwald Mts. where he had a tin forge, taking with him a considerable amount of money. There he dreamed that it was

night and he was riding along a mountain road when, somewhat to one side, there appeared a gleam of light. His companions turned toward it and he followed them, finding that the gleam came through a narrow cleft in the rock. His companions passed on into the radiance, but he could not enter, for he was riding a golden ass and was bound to it by golden chains. The struggle to free himself from his golden fetters waked him, and for days he pondered on the meaning of the dream. Then losses came, and believing that he had read the riddle he made no effort to regain his wealth, but accepted poverty as sent of God, and with his family wandered from city to city, from village to town, seeking to support them by the day's labor. It was a precarious existence and often they fell into dire want, which was sometimes the occasion of striking Providential help. One evening for instance, when for forty-eight hours they had not tasted bread, the surgeon gathered his wife and children about him and prayed most earnestly that God would aid him, since in spite of all his efforts he could not find food for his hungry little ones. A knock at the door interrupted the petitions, and he opened it to find an attendant of the richest lady in the district, bringing a basket of provisions. Elijah was no more surprised when fed by ravens, for Herr Reuter had never spoken a word to the lady Ixel, who was moreover accounted by the villagers to be as stingy as she was rich, but he accepted the food as an answer to his prayer and gave fervent thanks therefor.

Their wandering life gave little opportunity for schooling, but the parents carefully taught their children all that the schools would have afforded, and felt that it was better so since "in the schools they would have learned more evil than good,"—so said the surgeon, though with what truth this generation may not say. But if from his father Gottlieb gained skill in figures, a belief in the prevailing power in prayer, and a conviction that God sometimes still spoke to men through dreams, the father somehow failed to win his son's confidence and love, perhaps because the boy was one of those luckless lads to whom something was always happening. And yet he was endowed with a power of self control that should have won a surgeon's heart, and even as an infant rarely cried, bearing even the pain of a broken arm with remarkable fortitude. But the father's harshness hurt the boy worse than the oft-recurring accidents, and he longed for the day when he should be old enough to take up life alone.

When Gottlieb was fourteen years old the family drifted into Breidthard, where Christian Seidel's father was pastor of a Lutheran congregation. The two boys soon became fast friends, and Herr Seidel was very kind, admitting Gottlieb into church membership,

and gathering a little group of younger boys to whom Gottlieb taught arithmetic, thereby adding something to the family income. But he broke his left arm for the third time, much to his father's disgust, and when a horse stepped on his foot, badly injuring the toe, he bore the pain in silence, rather than endure the reproaches that would accompany assistance. This increased the feeling of estrangement, and when his elder brother was about to start to Fürstenau to become an apprentice to the court tailor there, he begged permission to accompany him to Steinbach and visit a cousin who was in the service of Count Erpach. This was granted, and though it wrung his heart to think of leaving his mother, whom he dearly loved, the lad planned not to return. To this end he told the whole story to his cousin Held, who sought advice of the count, who suggested that he be apprenticed to the surveyor Franz, it being the count's idea that when the boy's apprentice years were over he would employ him on his estates.

With this arrangement Herr Reuter did not interfere, and in September, 1732, Gottlieb entered upon his duties, praying earnestly that God would let him live undisturbed until he had mastered his profession.

At first the life was far from pleasant. Another apprentice, a cousin of his master's wife, Grim by name, took a dislike to him, and persuaded Frau Franz to induce her husband to discharge him. The master did not like to do this without excuse, but in order to have a plausible reason he one day gave the lad a rough sketch, a pair of compasses, and told him to draw a map and have it ready for him within an hour. The boy protested that he did not know how, that he had never seen a map drawn, but no pleas availed, the door closed, and he was face to face with his crucial task. With one quick memory of his father's prayers he fell on the floor, and begged for insight and for aid, then compass in hand he seated himself at the table, and as he looked the map seemed to spread itself before him and he saw just what needed to be done, and when the master returned the task was finished.. Greatly pleased Herr Franz gave him a little present of money, and thereafter resolutely refused to listen to Grim's complaints against him, while Gottlieb diligently cultivated his newly-discovered gift, and became the most expert map-drawer among the apprentices.

Franz, however, was a consumptive, and a year later passed away, leaving with Gottlieb a warm letter of recommendation to his brother, who was also a surveyor. To this Count Erpach added a personal note, and the lad hoped to finish his apprenticeship in one more year, but Grim went also to the second Franz, and pursuing his former tactics



succeeded in persuading the new master that Gottlieb's talents had been much over-rated, so that he refused to receive the boy unless he would sign a contract for a full three-year term. Grievously disappointed, Gottlieb saw nothing to do except yield, and with resolute cheerfulness went about his duties, winning friends wherever he worked both by his industry and the patience with which he bore the pain from his injured foot, which made the daily tramps a daily torture from which he returned with his boot soaked in blood.

Then came another disappointment. Count Erpach, not knowing the terms of the new contract, sent for him to come and enter his service and Franz refused to release him and secured the place for Grim. As Grim was no draughtsman Gottlieb was sent along as assistant, and obliged to draw all the plots for him, he calmly taking the credit,—a situation fraught with chance for discord, but thanks to Gottlieb's forbearance all went smoothly; and here at last the injured foot received proper medical treatment and was healed.

Finally there came the day when Gottlieb could "lay down the compasses before his master," and leave his service, though Franz would gladly have kept him in his employ. This offer Gottlieb refused, partly because of the unfair treatment he had received, but principally because he knew Franz wanted to marry him to a relative who made her home there. He much preferred his freedom, and having stood his examinations and received his certificate as a surveyor he successfully undertook and executed various large contracts in the surveying and plotting of estates. At the age of twenty-one he took the oath of allegiance to Prince Hanau, and soon after received his commission as a Royal Surveyor, which led to the offer of more contracts for work than he could accept.

His acquaintance with the Moravian Brethren began casually and developed slowly as his work took him near one and another of their settlements. He felt that their religious life was truer and more vital than he had seen elsewhere, but for some reason he thought that should he join them he would have to renounce his profession, and for a long time he hesitated, torn between a reluctance to yield his life-work and a fear that his salvation would be lost if he did not. In this troubled state of mind he was much comforted by a dream. He thought he was attending a meeting of the Moravians when suddenly the Saviour entered the room. The Brethren with one accord pressed around Him, covering His hands with kisses of homage and devotion, but he, not being one of them, feared to go. Presently the Lord turned and came toward him, gently reproved him for his hesitation, and held out the pierced hands that he also might salute them.



So assured that he was the Lord's own, whether in or out of the Moravian fold, Gottlieb let matters rest until fully convinced as to what he wished to do, then he applied for admission to the Brethren's Unity, and received permission to join the congregation at Neusalz, into which he was received by "Christel," as the Brethren affectionately called Christian Renatus, Count Zinzendorf's son.

True to his preconceived idea he insisted on giving up his work as a surveyor, and it was with difficulty that the Brethren persuaded him to store his instruments instead of throwing them away. At Neusalz he labored at spooling yarn, but the confinement told on his health, and he expected and longed for death. Then another dream was given him. The Saviour stood beside him and said earnestly, "You can not yet go home, I need you here." He asked, "Where, Lord?" and was shown a great forest, and a man chopping wood, to whom he was to give the message of the Saviour's love, and several other similar scenes. Then with another earnest look the Lord left him, and Gottlieb cheerfully took up life anew, yielding to the advice of the Brethren, who fully believed in using, not hiding, God-given talents, and who therefore commissioned him to survey and plot various estates belonging to the Unity, and encouraged him to accept several contracts with neighboring noblemen.

One of these contracts prevented his acceptance of a first call to America, but in 1756 a second call came, and with Zinzendorf's blessing he journeyed to Zeist and London, and thence to Bethlehem with Peter Boehler's company.

He found the New World in the throes of Indian warfare, which hindered for a time his further journey to Wachovia, his ultimate destination. The Bethlehem Brethren took advantage of his presence to secure the survey and plotting of the Nazareth Tract, and with Nathanael Seidel he visited the country congregation in Pennsylvania, and laid out the town of Lititz.

But all was very new and very strange, and Reuter became desperately homesick. He felt that he could not go to Wachovia, that in that wilderness he would lose his hold on God and all hope of salvation. He even resolved to leave the Unity rather than longer endure the strain. And then again God spoke to him in a dream. He found himself standing by a cross, whereon the Saviour of men was being crucified. Horror-struck he sought to turn away, to flee from the dread sight, but he could not move, and the agony wakened him. Trembling from head to foot he rose and went out of doors, striving to shake off the feeling of oppression, but when his nerves grew quiet and he once more lay down to rest the dream, as dreams will, began again.

Now the scene was slightly changed, for they were taking the Saviour's body from the cross, and he was helping them. Presently the pierced hand was laid on his arm, the wounded head rested on his shoulder, and the pallid lips spake gently, sweetly;—"Gottlieb, you may find salvation for your soul even though you leave the Unity, but I have none other to send to Wachovia, and without your service there the Brethren will be sore distressed. Will you not go for love of Me? Surely I will go with you." Who could resist such an appeal? Not Gottlieb Reuter, and as soon as the way was open he made his way south to the "Lord's Land."

Three fears he had, sickness, thunder-storms, and snakes, but the bravest man is not he who knows no fear, but he who goes straight on in spite of fear, so Gottlieb said "What my Brethren can bear that can I," and despite mid-summer storms, danger hidden in the tall grass, and the lurking Red Man, he quietly took up his work.

This was the surveyor whose four huge maps spoke of his work well done, and who now, in 1762, asked the hand of Anna Catharina Kalberlahn in marriage. What wonder that she assented, glad of the comradeship of the strong, gentle man, of whom his Brethren said that "he was loving and beloved".

The wedding was a notable event in the annals of Wachovia, for seven couples plighted their troth at one and the self-same service! Then Anna Catharina threw herself heartily into the life of Church and village, bringing to it the devotion and tact that had made her an acceptable leader among the unmarried women of Pennsylvania. She and her husband were elected "Saal Dieners",—ushers,—and served respectively on the women's and men's sides of the meeting hall; they were also put in charge of the Bethabara Store.

Reuter prepared the monthly statements of the various businesses, and taught arithmetic to the boys of the community; while Anna Catharina cared for the home and little Johanna Rogers until the child was old enough to be sent to the girls' boarding school in Pennsylvania.

A severe illness prostrated Sr. Reuter for some months, but otherwise the years passed quietly until 1766, when everybody's interest was aroused by the decision to found a new town directly in the centre of Wachovia. This had been planned at the time of the purchase of the hundred-thousand-acre tract, but only now seemed feasible, when, taking advantage of the presence of Frederick William Marshall, Gottlieb Reuter was bidden to select several appropriate sites, from which one was chosen by lot.

Reuter's own house was diagonally across the main street from the south-west corner of the second Square, and Anna Catharina listened

4. 2te Hölz. Quers 6080 Buhl 270 f. d.  
5. Hölz. Bred. 180' Buhl 620' - andere 4430'.  
MARSDIAB von 200 Kuitzen

MAP OF SALEM, 1766  
(Original in Salem Land Office)

SALEM, ANNO MDCCLXVI

### EXPLANATION

1. The first house, built January 6th of the current year. It was the intention that the workmen should be lodged in it.
2. A small house for the non-Moravian day-laborers.
3. The first [dwelling] house in Salem, of which the corner-stone was solemnly laid on June 6th.
4. The chief Square, 380 ft. x 270 ft.
5. Main Street, 60 ft. wide, other streets 33 ft.





with keen interest to the story of its building, occasionally travelling the six miles to Salem to watch its progress. It was not finished in Nov. 1771, when the Salem congregation was organized, but early in the next year the Reuters decided to wait no longer and moved to Salem to push the work to completion.

Now various new duties was assigned to Reuter, and as ever he responded readily to the calls for service. He was made a member of the "Grosse Helfer Conferenz," one of the most important Church Boards, was elected road-master, and appointed chief forester, which meant much responsibility, for some of the houses were built of logs, and all of the timber for logs, planks and every other use, was cut on Salem land, and needed to be carefully selected and accounted for. He made several beautifully drawn small plots of Wachovia and of Salem; and when a new line was run between Surry and Rowan Counties in 1773 the Act of Assembly designated Reuter as the surveyor.

The spirit in which he faced all duty appears in a few lines written in 1776, when he was asked to serve temporarily as Vorsteher of Salem Congregation,—and the world would be a better place if all Church and State officials felt as did he;

The chief command is, Love the Lord;

The second, Serve His people here;

What I can do I gladly do,

With thanks to Thee, my Saviour dear.

But willing as was his heart his failing health became more and more evident, and Anna Catharina trembled as she saw the shadow creeping toward her happy home. For two years already a painful eruption on his limbs had made walking difficult, and as it became almost impossible to go out surveying he offered to teach Ludwig Meinung, the Congregation book-keeper, the rudiments of the art, so that the Brethren might not be left without a man who could run lines when needed. By degrees the eruption spread to other parts of his body; then came two slight strokes of apoplexy, which left him with impaired speech. The thought of losing him was doubly hard for Anna Catharina, for war had broken out between the Colonies and England and no man knew what the end might be. "What shall I do without you in these terrible times?" she moaned, but gently he answered, "The Lord has taken care of you from childhood on, and He will not desert you now." Then came a third stroke, dimming mind and hearing, and after a few weeks they laid him to rest in the Salem "God's Acre," while Anna Catharina, widowed for the second time, turned back to their little home, and was again entrusted with the care of two little girls.

*From the Wachovia Church Book*

*Register of those who came here [to Wachovia] from other  
Congregations. [The remarks are added by the Editor.]*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>1753.</i>		
Nov. 17.	Nathaniel Seidel, Ordinarius.	Visitor.
	Gottlob Konigsdörffer, Diaconus.	Visitor.
	Joseph Haberland.	Visitor.
	Bernhard Adam Grube, Diaconus.	Died in Bethlehem, Pa., 1808.
	Jacob Loesch,	Died in Nazareth, Pa., 1782.
	Jacob Lung,	Died, Bethabara, 1778.
	Herman Loesch,	Died, Bethlehem, 1791.
	Christoph Merkly,	Died, Salem, 1798.
	Erich Ingebretsen,	Died, Bethabara, 1759.
	Hans Petersen,	Died, Bethabara, 1763.
	Hans Martin Kalberlahn, Doctor.	Died in Bethabara, 1759.
	Johannes Beroth,	Moved to farm outside Beth- ania.
	Friedrich Jacob Pfeil,	Died, Salem, 1786.
	Johannes Lischer,	Visitor.
	Henrich Feldhausen,	Left before 1771.
<i>1754.</i>		
April 15.	Jacob Friis, Diaconus.	Died, Bethlehem, 1793.
Sept. 10.	Peter Boehler, Episcopus.	Visitor.
	Andreas Höger,	Visitor.
Oct. 26.	Hans Chr. Christensen,	Recalled to Bethlehem, 1756.
	Jacobus van der Merk,	Died, Bethabara, 1773.
	George Schmid,	Died, Salem, 1791.
	Jacob Kapp,	Died, Bethabara, 1807.
	Andreas Betz,	Moved to Salisbury, N. C.
	George Holder,	Died, Bethabara, 1804.
	Johannes Ranke,	Died, near Bethabara, 1798.
	Johannes Nagel,	Died, Bethabara, 1759.

1755.

- April 28. David Nitschmann, Episcopus. Visitor.  
 Christian Thomas Benzien, Visitor.  
 Diaconus.  
 Stauber, Visitor.
- June 13. Michael Ranke, Died, Bethania, 1813.  
 Jacob Steiner, Died, Salem, 1801.  
 Joh. Georg Baumgarten, Died, Salem, 1779.
- Aug. 3. Joh. Mich. Sauter, Died, 1765, Bethabara.  
 Keiter, Visitor.  
 Joseph Miller, Settled on farm in Wachovia.
- Sept. 15. Samuel Wutke, Died, Bethabara, 1759.  
 Andreas Gros, Died, Bethabara, 1768.  
 Johann Richter, Died, Bethabara, 1780.  
 George Göpfert, Died, Salem, 1798.
- Oct. 11. Christian Triebel, Died, Salem, 1798.  
 Christoph Kirschner, Died, Bethania, 1787.  
 William Angel, Died, 1767, Bethlehem.  
 Christian Pfeiffer, Died, Bethabara, 1772.
- Nov. 4. Gottlob Hoffman, Diaconus. Called to Lititz, 1764.  
 Ludwig Gottlieb Bachhoff, Died, Friedberg, 1776.  
 Gottlieb Fockel, Died, Bethabara, 1778.  
 Adam Kremer, Died, Bethania, 1789.  
 Gottfried Aust, Died in Lititz, Pa., while there on visit.  
 Stephan Meyer, Died, 1762, Bethabara.  
 Melchior Rasp, Died, Salem, 1785.  
 Joh. Georg Renner, Died, Bethabara, 1800.  
 Melchior Münster, Died, Bethabara, 1762.  
 Christian Henrich [Rauch], Called as Missionary to Jamaica, 1756.
- Anna Henrich [Rauch], m. n. To Jamaica, 1756.  
 Roberts,  
 Christoph Kühnast, Died, Bethabara, 1799.  
 Rosina Kühnast, m.n. Arndt, Died, Bethabara, 1792.  
 Carl Opitz, Died, Bethania, 1763.  
 Anna Maria Opitz, m.n. Married (2) Joh. Christoph Kirschner, died, Bethania, 1804.  
 Hammer,  
 Matthaëus Kraus, Died, Bethabara, 1762.  
 C. Barbara Kraus, m.n. Died, Bethabara, 1761.  
 Bohner,

Henrich Biefel,	Died, Bethabara, 1759.
Rosina Biefel, m. n. Kaske,	Married, (2) L. G. Bachhoff; (3) George Schmid; died, Salem, 1781.
Christoph Schmid,	Died, Bethabara, 1799.
Helena Schmid, m.n. Gründling,	Died, Bethabara, 1790
Joh. Fr. Schaub,	Died, Bethania, 1801.
Maria Schaub, m.n. Schumaker,	Died, Bethabara, 1783.

*1756.*

May 28. David Zeisberger,	Visitor.
Aug. 22. Matthaues Hehl, Episcopus, Christian Seidel, Diaconus,	Visitor. Died, Bethabara, 1759.
Sept. 12. David Bishoff, Diaconus, Anna Bishoff, m. n. Pech, Magdalena Schmid, m.n. Hecke- dorn (wife of George Schmid)	Died, Bethania, 1763. Died, Bethlehem, 1778. Died, Salem, 1778.
Oct. 29. Gottfried Grabs, A. Maria Grabs, m.n. Wolson, William Grabs, (a child) Abraham Strauss, Jeremiah Schaaf, Erhard Heckedorn, Thomas Hofmann, Nicol. Anspach,	Died, Bethania, 1793. Died, Bethania, 1786. Died, Bethania, 1825. Died, Bethabara, 1762. Died, Salem, 1800. Died, Bethabara, 1763. Died, Bethlehem, 1770. Moved away.
Dec. 31. Martin Mack, Ordinarius, Nicolaus Garrison,	Visitor. Visitor.

*1757.*

June 28. Carl Friedrich Pitzmann,	Visitor.
Nov. 17. And. Anton Lawatsh, Ordinarius, Anna Maria Lawatsh, m.n. Demuth, Martin Lück, Barbara Lück, m. n. Steiner	Visitor. Visitor. Died, Bethabara, 1760. Married, (2) George Holder; died, Bethabara, 1765.
Magdalena Lück, (a child) Balthasar Hege, Juliana Hege, m.n. Frey, Anna Loesch, m.n. Blum,	Married Johannes Reuz. Died, Bethania, 1785. Died, Bethania, 1814. Died, 1817, Bethlehem.



1758.

- July 22. Johannes Ettwein, Diaconus, Died, Bethlehem, 1802.  
 Jacob Rogers, Ordinarius, Returned to England, 1762.  
 Mary Rogers, m.n. Parson, Died, Bethabara, 1759.  
 Jonas Nilson, Died, Bethabara, 1779.  
 Rosina Nilson, m.n. Gruner, Died, Bethabara, 1775.  
 Chr. Gottlieb Reuter, Died, Salem, 1777.  
 Henrich Lentzner, Died, Bethabara, 1759.  
 Johannes Würtele, Died, Salem, 1772.  
 Jacob Blum, Died, Salem, 1802.  
 George Loesch, Settled on farm in Wachovia.  
 Nov. 11. Jacob Bonn, Died, Salem, 1781.

1759.

- May 30. Catharina Seidel, m.n. Binder, Died, Bethabara, 1759.  
 (wife of Christian Seidel),  
 Anna Cathar. Kalberlahn, m.n. Married (2) Ch. Gott. Reuter;  
 Antes, (wife of Dr. Kalber- (3) Johann Heintzman;  
 lahn), (4) Johann Jacob Ernst;  
 died, Salem, 1816.  
 Barbara Loesch, m.n. Beroth, Died, Bethabara, 1759.  
 (wife of Herman Loesch)  
 Elisabeth Ranke, m.n. Leinbach, Lived on farm outside Beth-  
 (wife of John Ranke) abara.  
 Mar. Elis. Beroth, m. n. Neu- Moved to farm outside Beth-  
 mann, (wife of Johannes ania.  
 Beroth)  
 Barbara Kramer, m.n. Eirich, Died, Bethania, 1782.  
 (wife of Adam Kremer)  
 June 5. Aug. Gottlieb Spangenberg, Visitor.  
 Vicar General,  
 Mar. Elis. Spangenberg, Visitor.  
 Johannes Bürstler, Died, Bethlehem, 1790.  
 June 25. Andreas Schoute, Visitor.  
 Oct. 4. Johanna Maria Ettwein, m.n. Died, Bethlehem, 1789.  
 Kymbel, (wife of Rev. Jo-  
 hannes Ettwein)  
 Dec. 31. Mich. Odenwald, Left before 1771.

1760.

- July 23. Christina van der Merk, m.n. Married (2) Johann Christian  
Loesch, (wife of Jacob v. d. Fritz.  
Merk)  
William Dixon, Died, Bethabara, 1764.  
Christiana Dixon, m.n. Orchard, Married (2) Gottfried Aust;  
died, Salem, 1779.  
Johann August Shubert, Returned to Pa. 1765.  
William Edwards, Left before 1771.

1761.

- Feb. 15. Joh. Fr. Post, Visitor.  
Dec. 20. Johannes Bonn, Visitor.

1762.

- June 8. Joh. Mich. Graff, Ordinarius, Died, Salem, 1782.  
Gertraud Graff, m.n. Jacke, Died, Salem, 1784.  
Abraham von Gammern, Died, Bethabara, 1765.  
Juliana von Gammern, m.n. Returned to Bethlehem, 1768.  
Mauersberg,  
Philip Transou, Died, Bethania, 1793.  
Magdalena Transou, m.n. Died, Salem, 1803.  
Ganter,  
Abraham Transou, (a child) Died, Bethania, 1833.  
Philip Transou, (a child) Died, Salem, 1795.  
Maria Transou, (a child)  
Johann Heinrich Herbst, Died, Salem, 1821.  
Elisabeth Witke, m.n. Schmid, Married Matthaus Kraus.  
Maria Leibert, Married (1) Gottlieb Fockel;  
(2) Nicholas Lorenz Bagge;  
died, 1782, Bethabara.  
Felicitas Grosh, Married (1) Erhard Hecke-  
dorn; (2) Gottfried Aust;  
died, Salem, 1777.  
Elisabeth Holder, Married William Angel;  
died, Bethabara, 1764.  
Elisabeth Palmer, Married Hans Petersen;  
died, Bethabara, 1764.  
Nov. 14. Adam Koffler, Died, Salem, 1797.  
Peter Stotz, Called to Lititz, Pa., 1771.

1763.

- Dec. 23. Heinrich Zillmann, Died, Salem, 1787.

1764.

- June 23. Peter Sehnert, (Sr.) Died, Bethania, 1782.  
 Magdalena Sehnert, m. n. Born,  
 J. Matth. Miksch, Died, Salem, 1810.  
 Henrietta Miksch, m.n. Peter- Died, Salem, 1811.  
 mann,  
 A. Maria Born, Married Jacob Blum;  
 died, Bethabara, 1778.  
 Enert Enerson, Died, Bethabara, 1777.  
 Abraham Bloese, Died, Bethabara, 1764.  
 Michael Zigler, Moved to South Carolina,  
 1768.
- Oct. Frederic William Marshall, Visitor.  
 Oeconomus of the Wachau,  
 Johannes Fromelt, Oeconomus Visitor.  
 of the Single Brethren,
- Nov. 1. Lorenz Bagge, Recalled to Pa. 1784.  
 Valentine Beck, Died, Bethania, 1791.  
 Matth. Reitz, Left Salem, 1771.  
 Peter Sehnert, Left Salem, 1771.  
 Joh. Nilson,  
 Peter Micke, Died, Bethabara, 1807.  
 Rudolph Straehle, Died, Bethlehem, 1785.  
 Rudolph Christ, Died, Salem, 1833.  
 Ludwig Möller, Moved away about 1775.  
 Joh. Miller, Returned to Pennsylvania,  
 1775.  
 Nath. Kaske, Died, Bethabara, 1767.  
 Nath. Bibighaus, Died, Bethabara, 1770.  
 Stotz, Visitor.  
 Johannes Lanius, Died, Friedland, 1837.

1765.

- Jacob Ernst, Died, Salem, 1802.

1766.

- Jan. 30. Susanna Mar. Schnepf, Died, Salem, 1789.  
 Daniel Schnepf, Died, Salem, 1795.  
 Niels Petersen, Died, Salem, 1804.  
 Gottfried Praezel, Died, Salem, 1788.  
 Joh. Fr. Priem, Died, Salem, 1799.  
 Joh. Geo. Stockburger, Died, Salem, 1803.

Jens Schmid,	Died, Salem, 1781.
Bernhard Christoph Schille,	Died, Bethabara, 1770.
John Birkhead,	Died, Salem, 1771.
James Hurst,	Died, Salem, 1794.
July 11. Matthaeus Schropp,	Died, Bethabara, 1767.
Oct. 11. Joh. Scheffler,	Visitor.
Joh. Heinr. Beroth,	Moved away.
Charles Holder,	Died, Salem, 1808.
Johann Deling,	Went to Pa. 1768.
Franz Steup,	Died, Bethabara, 1782.
Christ. Renatus Heckewälder,	
Joh. Fr. Beck,	Died, Bethlehem, 1788.
Joh. Sam. Mau,	Returned to Pennsylvania, 1774.
Matthes Oesterlein,	Died, Bethabara, 1798.
Joh. Heinr. Blum,	Went to Bethlehem, 1775.
Joh. Andr. Cremser,	Died, Salem, 1786.
Johannes Flex,	
Joh. Geo. Bibighausen,	Died, Salem, 1806.
Oct. 31. Richard Utley, English Minister,	Died, Salem, 1775.
Sally Utley,	Died, Salem, 1791.
A. Mar. Schropp, (wife of Matthaeus Schropp)	Returned to Bethlehem, 1768.
Nov. 1. A. Maria Kraus,	Died, Salem, 1798.
A. Mar. Brendel,	Married Jacob Bonn; died, Salem, 1815.
Elisabeth Biehler,	Married George Holder; died, Bethabara, 1815.
Catharine Beroth,	Married Jacob Steiner; died, Salem, 1810.
Salome Meurer,	Married (1) Toego Nissen; (2) Abraham Hessler; died, Salem, 1821.
Elisabeth Oesterlein,	Married Rudolph Christ; died, Salem, 1802.
Johanna Elisabeth Colver,	Died, Salem, 1797.
Dorothea Schütz,	Married Joh. Heinr. Stöhr; died, Bethabara, 1816.
Mar. Elis. Engel,	Married Gottfried Praezel; died, Salem, 1821.



Magdalena Hirt,	Married Johannes Micke; died, Bethabara, 1801.
M. Magd. Höpfner,	Married Ludwig Meinung; died, Salem, 1803.
A. Elis. Werner,	Died, Salem, 1818.
A. Ros. Böckel,	Married Peter Rose; died, Bethlehem, 1817.
Mar. Elis. Kraus,	Married Peter Goetje; died, Salem, 1788.
Maria Schneider,	Married Jacob Beroth; died, Salem, 1801.
Mar. Christina Jorde,	Married Carl Gottlieb Opitz; died, Salem, 1838.

1767.

June 2. Jacob Meyer, Catharina Meyer,	Died, Salem, 1800.
------------------------------------------	--------------------

1768.

Feb. 14. Frederic William Marshall,	Died, Salem, 1802.
Elisabeth Marshall,	Died, Salem, 1795.
Traugott Bagge,	Died, Salem, 1800.
Rahel Bagge,	Died, Salem, 1799.
Anna Maria Quest,	Died, Salem, 1798.
Juliana Carmel,	Married Jacob Ernst; died, Bethabara, 1785.
Magdalena Blar,	Died, Salem, 1814.
Anna Münster,	Died, Salem, 1777.
Mar. Magdalena Nattermann,	Married Johann Heinr. Herbst; died, Salem, 1819.
Oct. 31. Johanna Eschenbach,	Married Charles Holder; died, Salem, 1803.
Elisabeth Jacke,	Married Johann Ranke; died, Bethabara, 1817.
Elisabeth Everitt,	Married Johann Jacob Kapp; died, Bethabara, 1782.

1769.

June 24. Abraham Jorde,	Died, Bethabara, 1770.
Samuel Stotz,	Died, Salem, 1820.
Petrus Glotz,	Died, Salem, 1771.
Martin Schneider,	Died, Friedberg, 1806.
Gottlieb Schober,	Died, Salem, 1838.

	Gottlieb Straele,	Died, Bethabara, 1816.
Oct. 15.	Joh. Heinr. Walther, Johannes Steinman,	Died, Bethabara, 1775.
1770.		
Mar. 12.	Johann Klein,	Drowned Aug. 22, 1770, while on a journey to Cross Creek; remains brought to Salem, 1772.
	Johann Ulrich Muschbach,	Returned to Pennsylvania, 1772.
Sept. 11.	Andreas Broesing, Toego Niessen,	Died, Salem, 1827. Died, Salem, 1789.
Nov. 6.	George Soelle,	Died, Salem, 1773.
1771.		
June 20.	Reinhard Peter Klockmann,	Went to Pennsylvania, 1775.
June 28.	Paul Tiersch,	Died, Salem, 1774.
	Polly Tiersch,	Died, Bethlehem, 1783.
	Hans Christian von Schweinitz,	Visitor.
	Mar. Theres. von Schweinitz,	Visitor.
	Heinrich Stöhr,	Died, Bethabara, 1812.
	Anna Leinbach,	Married Joh. Valentine Beck; died, Friedberg, 1782.
	A. Johanna Graff,	Married Joh. Fr. Kuschke; died, Salem, 1827.
	A. Johanna Steup,	Married Andreas Broesing; died, Salem, 1834.
	Marie Enerson,	Married Joh. Peter Yarrell; died, Salem, 1804.
	Christine Dixon,	Married George Biwighausen; died, Salem, 1835.
	Elisabeth Dixon,	Married Martin Schneider; died, Salem, 1805.
	Marie Catharina Sehner,	
Sept. 15.	Ludwig Meinung,	Died, Salem, 1817.
Dec. 8.	Thomas Spisike,	Died, Salem, 1787.

*Receptions into Wachovia Congregations from among Neighbors.  
Bethabara.*

1759.

Maria Elisabeth Spoenhauer, Married George Peter Haus-  
er; died, Bethania, 1829.

1760.

Sarah Frey,

1762.

Gerhard Zynn, Died, Bethabara, 1765.

Margareth Zynn, Died, Bethabara, 1773.

1764.

George Frederic Hartmann, Died, Friedberg, 1788.

Maria Hartmann, Died, Friedberg, 1809.

1769.

Johann Heinrich Spoenhauer, Died, Bethania, 1825.  
Jr.

1770.

Maria Margarethe Strub,  
Johann Nicholas Böckel, Died, Bethania, 1822.*Bethania.*

1760.

George Hauser, Died, Bethania, 1801.

Margaretha Hauser, Died, Bethania, 1775.

Martin Hauser, Sr. Died, Bethania, 1761.

Heinrich Schor, Died, Bethania, 1819.

Barbara Schor, Died, Bethania, 1810.

Margareth Hauser, Died, Bethania, 1775.

Michael Hauser, Died, Bethania, 1789.

Anna C. Hauser, Died, Bethania, 1804.

Johannes Strub, Died, Bethania, 1789.

Elisabeth Strub, Died, Bethania, 1811.

1762.

Margareth Schor, Married Johann Jacob Kapp  
died, Bethabara, 1777.

Elisabeth Spoenhauer, (wife of Died, Bethania, 1788.

Joh. Heinr. Spoenhauer, Sr.)

George Peter Hauser, Died, Bethania, 1802.

Maria Fiscus. Married, (1) George Baum-  
garten; (2) Joh. Peter  
Schryer; died, Salem, 1786.

1764.

Joh. Heinrich Spoenhauer, Sr. Died, Bethania, 1787.

Adam Sell, Died, in Maryland, 1767.

Philip Schauss, Moved away, 1772.

Catharina Schauss, Moved away, 1772.

1765.

Martin Hauser,	Died, Bethania, 1794.
Susanna Maria Hauser,	Died, Salem, 1817.

1769.

Ludwig Leinbach,	Died, Bethabara, 1800.
Anna Barbara Leinbach,	Lived on farm outside Bethania.

1770.

Anna Johanna Leinbach,	Married Johannes Schaub; died, Bethania, 1833.
------------------------	---------------------------------------------------

*Members of South Fork, or Friedberg, Society. 1771.*

Peter Pfaff	and wife.
George Hartman	and Maria, m.n. Hofly,
Adam Spach	and Mar. Elisabeth, m. n. Hüter,
Matthew Weesner	and Anna Barbara, m.n. Giesy,
Johan Nic. Böckel	and Barbara, m.n. Moll,
Valentine Frey	and Elizabeth, m.n. Binkel, widow Meyer,
Peter Frey	and Catharina, m.n. Walk,
Christian Frey	and Sarah, m.n. Schneider,
George Frey	and Catharina, m.n. Lerch,
Martin Walk	and Elisabeth, m.n. Fiscus,
Heinrich Tesch	and Margareth, m.n. Jäger,
Adam Hartman	and Mar. Franzina, m.n. Frey,
John Müller	and Mar. Magdal., m. n. Faber,
Jacob Greter	and Catharina, m.n. Moll,
Peter Rothrock	and Catharina, m. n. Müller,
George Hahns	and wife.
Fr. Böckel	and wife.
Volz,	and wife.
Sarah Faber.	

*Members of Broadbay, or Friedland, Society, 1771.*

[The names are taken from the "Brotherly Agreement," signed July 21, 1771. The wives of the men were also members of the Society.]

Peter Kröhn,	Jacob Reed,
Philip Vogler,	Jacob Lauer,
Johann Friedrich Küntzel,	Anders Lauer,
Micel Rominger,	George Wiliard,
Jacob Rominger,	Melchoir Schneider.
Peter Fiedler,	



## GLOSSARY

German words used by the Diarists with a special meaning, and for which there is no exact English equivalent, and a few additional special terms.

*Aeltesten Conferenz*: Board of Elders, that is the Board charged with the oversight of the spiritual affairs of the Congregation.

*Akoluthe*: a layman or woman formally set apart for Church service, but not ranking with the regularly ordained Ministry.

*Arbeiter*: literally "the workers," that is the Ministers and their wives.

*Aufseher Collegium*: Supervising Board, that is the Board that cared for the material, the financial, interests of the congregation.

*Choir*: a division of the Congregation, which consisted of the Choirs of Married People, Single Brethren, Single Sisters, Widowers, Widows, Older Boys, Older Girls, and Children. Also used in the modern sense for a company of singers, and for a group of players on wind instruments.

*Choir Festival*: a special day of prayer and re-consecration set apart annually for each of the Choirs of the Congregation.

*Covenant Day*: same as Choir Festival.

*Daily Word*: Old Testament Text for each day of the year.

*Deaconess*: the wife of a minister (Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop) sometimes was ordained a Deaconess, and assisted in the spiritual work among the women of the Congregation.

*Diaconie*: the business organization of a Congregation or Choir.

*Diaspora*: a Greek word meaning "the dispersed,"—compare John VII, 35. Used to signify members living outside of Moravian towns.

*Doctrinal Text*: the New Testament Text for each day.

*Fremden*: a general term for visitors not connected with the Brethren's Church.

*Fremden Diener*: a man appointed to look after visitors, make them comfortable, and see that they behaved with due propriety while in the Moravian town.

*Fremden Stunde*: a religious service held in English, or in some other way especially planned for visitors.

*Gemeine*: used either for the Unity of Brethren as a whole, or for a Congregation of the Brethren.

*Gemein Haus*: a house belonging to the Congregation, containing a meeting hall, living rooms for the minister, etc.

*Gemein Nachrichten*: Unity News, the manuscript Moravian Church Newspaper of the period.

*Gemein Saal*: the meeting hall in the Gemein Haus, used for Church services.

*Gemein Tag*: Unity Day, the day on which a Congregation met in several sessions for the public reading of the Gemein Nachrichten.

*Helfer*: same as *Pfleger*, the latter term being more generally used, except for the leading minister of a Congregation.

*Helfer Conferenz*: Ministers' Conference.

*Jünger*: "the Disciple," a term frequently applied to Count Zinzendorf, doubtless suggested by his fervent love of the Saviour.

*Lovefeast*: *Liebesmahl*—a religious service, founded on the "Agape," the "meal in common" of the early Christians. It is largely a song service, during which the members share a simple meal, usually bread and tea or coffee.

*Oeconomie*: the common housekeeping and community of interest that made possible the remarkable achievements of the pioneer days in Wachovia.

*Oeconomus*: the chief officer of the Wachovia Settlement, especially on its material side.

*Ordinariarius*: generally used as the equivalent of *Presbyter* or *Priest*, the second rank in the ordained Ministry. Sometimes applied specifically to Count Zinzendorf.

*Pfleger*, (feminine *Pflegerin*): literally "one who takes care of" another, therefore the Pastor of a Congregation, or the leader of a Choir.

*Saal*: a hall in which religious services were held, either in a Choir House, Gemein Haus, or Church.

*Saal Diener*: Church Sextons or Ushers; both men and women served, as the sexes sat on opposite sides of the Saal.

*Senior Civilis*: a Moravian minister, ranking as a Bishop, but especially charged with the oversight of material interests of the Unity.

*Singstunde*: a Church service largely of singing, in contradistinction to the preaching services, or those in which the Nachrichten were read.

*Society*: an association affiliated with the Brethren, and served by a Moravian Minister, but not fully organized as a Moravian Congregation.

*Stundenbeter*: the organization of men and women which maintained the Hourly Intercession.

*Texts*: see Daily Word, and Doctrinal Text, which together made up the Texts for the Day.

*Vorsteher*, (feminine *Vorsteherin*): the business manager and treasurer of a Congregation or Choir.

## INDEX





# INDEX

## A

Abbott's Creek, 243, 282, 352, 433, 457, 460, 461.  
 Acts of North Carolina Assembly, 31, 32, 38, 42, 53, 147, 150, 152, 164, 290, 433, 453, 454.  
 Act of Parliament of 1749, 23, 66, 75, 152, 170, 294, 340, 353, 427, 475.  
 Address to Governor Dobbs, 182.  
 Address to Governor Martin, 474.  
 Addresses to Governor Tryon, 342, 464.  
 Advocatus et Ordinarius Fratrum, see Zinzendorf, Count.  
 Aeltesten Conferenz, 324, 372, 380, 391, 394, 412, 418, 452, 471, 495.  
 Affirmation, 23, 24, 152.  
 Alamance, Battle of, 442, 456-8, 460, 466, 473, 474.  
 Allen, David, 360, 373, 377, 389.  
 Allen, Rev., 336.  
 Altem, 78, 81, 82, 86, 92, 94, 98, 104, 120, 133, 135, 136, 151, 165, 166, 167, 171, 172.  
 Angels, 154, 240, 250, 256, 267, 268, 281, 349, 369, 382, 383, 398.  
 Anson County, 26, 44, 54, 214, 215, 390.  
 Antes, Henry, 28, 29, 31, 43, 45, 57, 58, 109, 216, 217.  
 Apprentices, 386, 387.  
 Armstrong, 285, 299, 306.  
 Armstrong, John, 308, 380, 390, 453, 454.  
 Armstrong, Martin, 380, 389, 416, 451, 457, 458, 459, 460, 468, 472.  
 Arrivals of Brethren in Wachovia, 484-92.  
 Ashburn, Colonel, 266, 272.  
 Assembly of North Carolina, 137, 184, 205, 214, 229, 451, 453.  
 Atkin, see Yadkin.  
 August Thirteenth, 155, 190, 351, 422, 443.  
 Aust, Gottfried, 148, 179, 301, 343, 381, 443, 468, 485, 488.

## B

Bachhoff, Ludolph Gottlieb, 140, 147, 184, 211, 234, 241, 242, 282, 285, 345, 376, 389, 394, 398, 400, 408, 412, 426, 427, 429, 449, 485, 486.  
 Bagge, Lorenz, 282, 291, 298, 324, 344, 351, 374, 394, 441, 488, 489.  
 Bagge, Traugott, 68, 363, 364, 368, 372, 373, 380, 416, 429, 450, 452, 453, 461, 466, 469, 470, 491.  
 Bagley, Capt., 232.  
 Bamfield (merchant), 388, 413.  
 Bandon (1st Clerk of Surry County), 458.  
 Banner, Henry, 87, 95, 98, 120, 132, 134, 135, 158, 165, 166, 236, 288, 335, 360, 376, 389, 450.  
 Banns, 301.  
 Banton, Col., 353.  
 Baptisms, 181, 186, 193, 207, 209, 231, 242, 248, 249, 250, 266, 273, 286, 384, 407, 428, 446.  
 Baptists, 266, 269, 270, 272, 274, 321, 376, 390.  
 Barbice, 22, 272, 277.  
 Barker, Dr., 82, 171, 174.  
 Baumgarten, Johann Georg, 121, 132, 296, 378, 384, 485.  
 Bears, 60, 101, 104, 113, 128, 139, 161, 173, 233, 276, 288, 418, 431.  
 Beaver, 86.  
 Beck, Valentine, 282, 328, 344, 351, 434, 489, 492.  
 Becker, William, 358.  
 Bees, 228, 288, 360.  
 Behringer, Paul, 331.  
 Beilagen, 19, 369.  
 Bells, 227, 231, 232, 233, 241, 251, 333, 440.  
 Benezet, Daniel, 28, 63, 64.  
 Benner, see Banner.  
 Benzien, Rev. Christian Thomas, 131, 136, 160, 167, 172, 183, 485.  
 Berlin Sermons, 82, 86, 133, 149, 202, 355.  
 Bernard, Rev., 339, 341.  
 Beroth, Johannes, 74, 75, 130, 206, 277, 345, 381, 484, 487.

- Bethabara, 19, 73-297, 331-8, 353-62, 376-81, 384, 385, 395, 410-24, 433, 434, 450-73.
- Bethabara Diaconie, 293, 306, 431.
- Bethabara, List of residents, 343.
- Bethabara Stockade, 156, 159, 170, 171, 181, 182, 184, 185, 188, 189, 191, 210, 220, 227, 229, 230, 233, 273.
- Bethania, 203, 206, 208, 211-12, 214, 220, 227, 228, 229, 230, 233, 234, 236, 246, 248, 250, 251, 252, 267, 282, 293, 294, 328, 329, 351, 354, 356, 375, 376, 385, 392, 400, 402, 403, 429, 431, 433, 435, 436, 437-40, 462.
- Bethania Leases, 300, 338, 431, 435, 439.
- Bethania, List of residents, 345.
- Bethlehem, Pa., 22, 27, 75, 138, 160, 162, 163, 164, 171, 231, 291, 320, 348.
- Betz, Andreas, 131, 305, 344, 351, 357, 381, 484.
- Bible Reading, 94, 95, 97, 397, 417.
- Birkhead, John, 325, 344, 435, 442, 490.
- Bird, Col., 189, 195, 272.
- Bishoff, Anna, 159, 172, 192, 214, 267, 275, 486.
- Bishoff, Rev. David, 159, 172, 179, 214, 246, 267, 275, 486.
- Blackborn, James, 274, 289, 352.
- Blacksmith shop, Bethabara, 126, 131, 132, 147.
- Blacksmith shop, Salem, 374, 435, 440.
- Black Walnut Bottom, 82, 112, 128, 140, 211.
- Blickensdorffer, Johann, 359.
- Blum, Jacob, 390, 392, 429, 487, 489.
- Böckel, Friedrich, 303, 352, 494.
- Boehler, Bishop Peter, 107, 108, 154, 194, 237, 484.
- Bohemia, 11, 12, 20.
- Bonn, Dr. Jacob, 192, 206, 208, 212, 220, 230, 232, 333, 334, 353, 375, 384, 389, 390, 392, 393, 410, 412, 429, 452, 457, 458, 460, 462, 467, 487, 490.
- Boon, 136, 137.
- Brethren, The, 20.
- Bretzel, see Praezel.
- Brickyard, Bethabara, 148, 156, 160, 173.
- Brickyard, Salem, 328, 351.
- Bridges, 126, 156, 160, 435, 441, 442.
- Broadbay Settlers, 383, 392, 394, 398, 400, 401, 407, 408, 433, 436, 494.
- Broesing, Andreas, 398, 414, 492.
- Br. Joseph, 45, also see Spangenberg.
- Brothers House, Bethabara, 107, 112, 123, 128, 129, 130, 132, 139, 146, 147, 148, 150, 154, 160, 163, 268.
- Brothers House, Salem, 368, 374, 383, 384, 390, 394, 400, 404, 441, 442, 443, 445.
- Brown, Col., 260.
- Brunswick, 257, 260, 299, 338, 345, 356, 377.
- Bryant, Morgan, 57, 58, 164, 287.
- Bryant's Settlement, 289.
- Bullitschek, Joseph, 436.

## C

- Cabin for Strangers, 94, 95, 97, 147.
- Campeltown, 307, 389.
- Cape Fear, see Springhill and Cross Creek.
- Catawba Indians, 29, 36, 41, 48, 49, 166, 331.
- Catawba River, 27, 30, 43, 49, 233.
- Caterpillars, 303, 397, 412.
- Cattle raising, 39, 86, 92, 100, 102, 103, 104, 111, 112, 124, 125, 136, 138, 180, 250, 369, 376.
- Carguels Creek, see Muddy Creek.
- Carter (Assemblyman), 126, 167.
- Carteret, see Granville.
- Charlestown, S. C., 44, 234, 235, 237, 241, 245, 250, 251, 267, 269, 272, 285, 290, 301, 331, 339, 358, 373, 389, 417, 432, 461.
- Cherokee Indians, 15, 36, 48, 49, 51, 158, 163, 165, 166, 170, 173, 177, 180, 181, 184, 186, 189, 191, 195, 196, 209, 210, 213, 214, 227, 229, 232, 234, 237, 271, 274, 281, 284, 289, 304, 331, 337, 358, 359, 399, 413.
- Chief Elder, 423, see November Thirteenth.
- Children, 203, 237, 420.
- Chiswell, Col., 249, 276.
- Chiswell's mine on New River, 249, 288, 302, 304, 307.
- Choir System, 112, 155, 203, 275, 299, 300, 302, 350, 370, 371, 375, 418, 420, 421, 422, 423, 495.
- Chowan Indians, 36.

Christel, see Zinzendorf, Christian Renatus.

Christensen, Hans Christoph, 107, 130, 157, 160, 484.

Christiansbrunn, 73, 138.

Christman, Jacob, 410.

Christmas, 86, 113, 150, 174, 193, 233, 252, 409, 424, 447.

Chune, Esq., 274.

Church Registers, 19.

Churton, William, 27, 30, 46, 47, 62, 63, 109, 129, 131, 171, 179, 191, 192, 213, 250, 287, 305.

Civili, Henry, 289, 303.

Clock at Bethabara, 137, 160.

Coblon, Mr., 270.

Coin values, 263, 365.

Collet, Capt., 379.

Comenius, Bishop John Amos, 21.

Commerce, 179, 209, 211, 212, 214, 234, 397, see also Springhill, Charlestown, Pinetree, Cross Creek.

Committee for Outward Affairs, Bethabara, 213.

Committee of Arbitrators, 241, 248, 250.

Communion, 81, 90, 108, 129, 140, 149, 177, 192, 201, 228, 239, 266, 347, 419, 444.

Community life, 13, 14, 15, 203, 241, 243, 293, 313, 339, 384.

Confirmations, 242, 397, 422, 443.

Congregation Council, 129, 148, 160, 164, 180, 185, 212.

Congregation House, see Gemein Haus.

Congregation Town, 22.

Conrad, Christian, 391.

Corbin, Sir Francis, 28, 30, 32, 33, 47, 52, 62, 205.

Corbintown, 274, 353.

Cossart land, 66, 129, 131, 191, 390.

Co., Timothy, 269.

Cotton, 103, 126.

Counterfeit money, 243, 271, 303.

County Court, at Salisbury, 98, 99, 160, 199, 209, 251, 272, 276, 284, 286, 301, 331, 356, 361, 376, 378, 381, 388, 390, 410, 413.

County Court, at Gideon Wright's, 454, 458, 470.

Court, Superior or General, at Salisbury, 160, 167, 192, 199, 205, 245, 250, 290, 301, 305, 332, 335, 338, 355, 358, 372, 379, 380, 388, 451, 454, 455, 471.

Cow Heaven, 172.

Creek Indians, 213, 236, 274, 284.

Creson, Abraham, 460, 462, 465, 469.

Crist, Christ, Rudolph, 344, 489, 490.

Cross Creek, 307, 334, 373, 413, 417.

Cunningham, James, 209.

Cup of Covenant, 85, 108, 191, 266, 325, 333, 370, 446.

Cup of Thanksgiving, see Cup of Covenant.

Currency exchange, 244, 263, 288.

## D

Daily Texts, see Text Book.

Danner, Dieter, 290.

Dan River, 78, 86, 97, 232, 290.

Day, Henry, 44, 46, 47, 52.

Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, 160, 172, 174, 180, 189.

Deaths, Bethabara, 178, 182, 207, 212, 213, 214, 232, 237, 242, 297, 300, 305, 360, 378.

Deaths, Bethania, 231, 236, 242, 275, 375, 399.

Deaths, Salem, 440, 442, 443.

Delaware Indians, 289, 300.

Deep Creek, 304.

Deer, 81, 83, 90, 101, 104, 113, 245, 288.

Deer skins, 284, 285, 300, 307, 337, 358, 373, 389, 411.

Denke, Robert, 358.

Dentistry, 86, 128.

Dewey, Chief Justice Stephen, 250.

Diaconie, 367, 418, 495.

Diaries, Moravian, 15, 19, 420.

Diaspora, 350, 447, 495.

Dieffield, Rev., 332.

Discipline, 202, 242, 247, 302, 303, 350, 387, 435.

Distillery, 161.

Dobbs, Gov. Arthur, 35, 65, 88, 119, 150, 170, 175, 182, 184, 205, 209, 214, 229, 241, 247, 259, 279, 283, 299, 301.

Dobbs Parish, 19, 43, 147, 150, 152, 164, 264, 270, 294, 376, 397, 412, 424, 433, 453, 454, 455, 462, 469, 473, 475, 476.

Dobbs Parish Church Wardens, 116, 153, 154, 158, 168, 180, 210, 213, 215, 389, 412, 426-9.

Dobbs Parish Graveyard, see Graveyard at the Mill.

Dobbs Parish Independent Militia Company, 183, 214.

Dobbs Parish Ministers, 172, 176, 190, 196, 336, 376, 427-9.

Dobbs Parish Vestry, 152, 154, 158, 167, 168, 172, 176, 190, 197, 198, 209, 213, 286, 389, 397, 412, 422, 426-9, 453.

Doctrine and Practice, Moravian, 192, 197, 200, 201, 202, 278, 279, 285, 320, 337, 350, 369, 389.

Donaldson, Col., 415.

Donnell, Thomas, 183.

Dop, Johann, 135.

Dorchester, Esq., 290, 337, 352.

Dorothea (Muddy Creek), 291.

Douthit, John (Sr.), 268, 270, 274, 376, 411.

Douthit, John (Jr.), 455.

Dry, Col., 247.

Duncan, Marshall, 375.

Dunn, Maj., 229, 333, 378, 381, 453, 471.

Dutch Fort, see Bethabara Stockade.

## E

Easter, 100, 164, 187, 227, 231, 236, 245, 270, 308, 421, 441.

Eclipses, 271, 285, 334, 377, 379, 472.

Edenton, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39.

Edwards, Hannibal, 127, 146.

Edwards (Secretary), 353, 472.

Election of Assemblymen, 181, 231, 236, 284, 470, 471.

Ellis, Evan, 268.

Ellroth, Christopher, 268.

Ellroth, Robert, 268, 352.

Elwin, Fountain, 341.

England, 22, 24, 88, 239, 246, 265.

English, Capt., 358.

English Ministers, 109, 117, 275, 285, 341, 353, 411.

Ens, see South Fork.

Epiphany, 161, 185, 420.

Ernst, Johann Jacob, 296, 344, 399, 400, 402, 412, 429, 435, 437, 487, 489, 491.

Etkin, see Yarkin.

Ettwein, Rev. Johann, 26, 190, 191, 193, 194, 200, 208, 213, 228, 251, 265, 270, 271, 277, 286, 288, 298, 301, 320, 323, 333, 334, 338, 343, 472, 487.

## F

Fanning, Col. Edmund, 337, 353, 380, 396, 442, 461.

Farmer, Rev. James, 285.

Farm near Salem, 368, 374, 384, 385, 389.

February Nineteenth, 325, 351.

Feiser, 391.

Feldhausen, Heinrich, 73, 90, 103, 130, 132, 148, 277, 484.

Ferry (Friis, Free), Isaac, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 123, 150, 171, 377, 378, 389.

Fiedler, Peter, 409, 410.

Fire prevention, 212.

First Sunday in Advent, 83, 149, 192, 424.

Fiscuss, Friedrich, 268.

Fish, 173, 276.

Fish, William, 227, 230.

Five Nations, 36.

Flutes, 148, 260.

Fockel, Gottlieb, 146, 180, 210, 215, 241, 245, 248, 251, 343, 388, 389, 395, 412, 426, 427, 428, 429, 453, 476, 485, 488.

Food of first settlers in Wachovia, 80, 81, 83, 90, 95, 101, 104, 110, 111, 113, 121, 123, 137, 138, 158, 173, 180, 185, 194, 195, 206.

Forestry, 123, 212, 215, 244, 293, 483.

Fort Dobbs, 119, 213, 227, 229, 230, 247, 275.

Fort Johnston, 259, 379.

Freeholders, 158, 164, 166, 181, 198, 294, 309, 389, 391, 397.

French and Indian War, 88, 119, 154, 177, 184, 205, 227, 228, 234, 236.

French Horns, 122, 300, 353.

Freshets, 90, 179, 229, 459.

Frey, Christian, 270, 276, 291, 303, 330, 333, 352, 376, 408, 461, 494.

Frey, George, 303, 352, 388, 494.

Frey, Peter (Sr.), 330.

Frey, Peter (Jr.), 330, 352, 388, 494.

Frey, Sarah, 213, 228, 494.

Frey, Valentine, 303, 352, 376, 387, 404, 411, 494.

Friedberg, 436, 449, 450.



Friedland, 398, 436, 448, 449, 450.  
 Friis, Rev. Johann Jacob, 101, 102,  
 121, 130, 141, 147, 484.  
 Frohock, Col. John, 231, 235, 236,  
 266, 272, 279, 286, 306, 353, 366,  
 416, 417.  
 Frohock, John (Under Sheriff), 308,  
 411, 451.  
 Frohock, William, 334, 353.  
 Frommelt, Rev. Johannes, 282, 291,  
 298, 498.  
 Fruit, 97, 99, 180, 185, 229, 299, 349,  
 359, 391, 392, 444.

## G

Gammern, Abraham von, 235, 241,  
 247, 248, 256, 271, 277, 296, 297,  
 298, 299, 305, 306, 309, 333, 488.  
 Gammern, Juliana von, 333, 358,  
 369, 488.  
 Garrison, Capt., 169.  
 Garrison, Nicholas (Jr.), 174, 178.  
 Geiger, 410.  
 Geiser, Peter, 390.  
 Gemein Haus, Bethabara, 138, 139,  
 149, 156, 157, 163.  
 Gemein Haus, Bethania, 329, 385, 387,  
 389, 400, 403, 430, 435, 437.  
 Gemein Haus, Salem, 392, 398, 399,  
 400, 404, 430, 434, 441, 445, 495.  
 Gemein Nachrichten, see Nachrichten.  
 Gemein Saal, Bethabara, 160, 162, 181,  
 198.  
 Gemein Saal, Salem, 430, 434, 444-6.  
 Gemein Tage, see Unity Days.  
 George II, King, 26, 35, 228.  
 George III, King, 228, 235, 442, 462.  
 Georgia, Moravian Colony in, 13, 14.  
 Germany, 22, 24, 205, 239.  
 Gilbert, 288.  
 Gnadenhütten, 119, 157, 163.  
 God's Acre, see Graveyard.  
 Good, Richard, 470.  
 Grabs, Gottfried, 160, 178, 207, 212,  
 227, 273, 298, 345, 387, 388, 429, 453,  
 476, 486.  
 Graeter, Jacob, 359, 494.  
 Graff, Rev. Johann Michael, 241, 247,  
 253, 256, 267, 271, 288, 324, 343,  
 354, 446, 488.  
 Graham (Under Sheriff), 378.  
 Grain, 80, 91, 99, 101, 102, 103, 107,  
 123, 125, 126, 132, 137, 156, 275, 292,  
 332, 358.  
 Granville, John, Earl, 14, 30, 35, 66,  
 205, 265, 272, 365, 469.  
 Granville line, 14, 32, 35.  
 Granville, Robert, Earl, 30, 303, 340,  
 348, 361, 451, 467.  
 Graveyard at the Mill, 207, 213, 214,  
 268, 395, 399.  
 Graveyard, Bethabara, 181, 182, 185,  
 186, 212, 222, 231, 250, 270, 421.  
 Graveyard, Bethania, 231, 270, 401.  
 Graveyard, Broadbay or Friedland,  
 436, 440, 448.  
 Graveyard, Salem, 326, 404, 407, 442,  
 483.  
 Graveyard, South Fork or Friedberg,  
 330, 388, 409, 435.  
 Greenland Mission History, 348, 349,  
 354.  
 Gregor, Rev. Christian, 431, 434, 444,  
 471, 472.  
 Greson, Anna, 109.  
 Grube, Rev. Bernhard Adam, 73, 77,  
 81, 85, 89, 92, 99, 102, 277, 484.  
 Grün, (Green), see Kroehn.  
 Guest, Capt., 85, 86, 102, 110, 136, 162.  
 Guest (Jr.), 92, 97, 123, 135, 136,  
 158, 166, 170, 410.  
 Guilford County, 468.

## H

Haberland, Joseph, 74, 85, 484.  
 Hahns, George, 393, 407, 494.  
 Hahns, Jacob, 308.  
 Hall, Billy, 188, 457.  
 Hall, John, 271.  
 Haltem, see Alttem.  
 Hamilton, 269, 273.  
 Hammerer, John Daniel, 304, 311-13,  
 437.  
 Hampton, 89.  
 Hampton, Anthony, 416, 469, 470.  
 Hampton James, 272, 334, 378.  
 Hampy, Capt., 110.  
 Handley (Chief Justice), 167.  
 Harris, Joseph, 451, 454.  
 Harris, Rev. Samuel, 321, 334, 413.  
 Hartmann, Adam, 461, 494.  
 Hartmann, George, 300, 301, 392, 449,  
 494.  
 Harvests, 237, 244, 247, 249, 271, 358,  
 389, 391, 397, 412, 419.  
 Hasell, Chief Justice James, 129, 189,  
 190, 192, 197, 209, 214, 299, 332,  
 335, 338, 345.  
 Hauser, Daniel, 296, 300, 329, 344, 389.

- Hauser, Georg, 214, 231, 273, 345, 466, 493, 494.  
 Hauser, Jacob, 268.  
 Hauser, Martin (Sr.), 189, 210, 231, 296, 493.  
 Hauser, Martin (Jr.), 268, 494.  
 Hauser, Michael, 188, 189, 210, 214, 290, 329, 345, 428, 461, 466, 493.  
 Hauser, Peter, 242, 248, 286, 288, 289, 299, 345, 493.  
 Hawkins, 376.  
 Heckewälder, Christian Renatus, 328, 399.  
 Hege, Balthaser, 345, 486.  
 Hehl, Bishop Matthaeus, 75, 139, 155, 160, 171, 486.  
 Heidelberg, Pa., 75, 359, 450.  
 Helfer Konferenz, 160, 185, 309, 333, 336, 338, 357, 374, 390, 392, 394, 395, 412.  
 Henderson (lawyer), 270.  
 Henrich, Christian, see Rauch.  
 Herbert (Superintendent), 307.  
 Herbst, Johann Heinrich, 241, 327, 331, 344, 429, 434, 453, 488, 491.  
 Hermann, Adam, 285, 286, 358.  
 Hermann, Daniel, 250, 286, 362.  
 Hermann, Henry (Sr.), 250, 274, 285, 289, 331.  
 Hermann, Henry (Jr.), 286, 416, 417.  
 Hermann, Peter, 273.  
 Herrnhut, 21, 68, 154, 184, 265.  
 Highwaymen, 151, 161, 164, 275, 336, 361, 377, 379, 460.  
 Hill, Isaac, 413.  
 Hillsboro, 353, 367, 379, 380, 388, 454, 455, 456, 460, 469.  
 Hinkel, Peter, 392.  
 Hinkel's Settlement, 301, 303.  
 Hoffman, Rev. Gottlob, 139, 140, 157, 187, 228, 282, 291, 485.  
 Holder, Charles, 328, 336, 414, 433, 434, 453, 462, 470, 490, 491.  
 Holder, George, 112, 131, 165, 212, 242, 281, 284, 325, 328, 332, 336, 344, 351, 373, 385, 399, 407, 416, 429, 484, 486, 490.  
 Holder, Joseph, 361.  
 Hog raising, 83, 100, 111, 129, 138, 251, 324, 431.  
 Hollow, The, 210, 231, 243, 251, 269, 272, 276, 282, 290, 301, 307, 321, 332, 337, 352, 377, 425.  
 Holston River, 133, 238, 272, 287, 290, 379, 415.  
 Hooper (King's Attorney), 307, 338.  
 Horns, 80, 227, 232.  
 Horsefield, Timothy, 28, 29, 30, 43, 46, 48.  
 Horse Pasture Creek, 95, 359.  
 Horse thieves, 243, 244, 245, 287, 377, 379.  
 Hourly Intercession, 168, 266, 268, 325, 419, 496.  
 Houser, see Hauser.  
 How, Col., 473.  
 Howard, (Sr.), 249.  
 Howard, John, 358.  
 Howard, Chief Justice Martin, 368, 379.  
 Hughes (one-handed), 457, 460.  
 Hughes (peddler), 416.  
 Hughes, Edward, 137, 158, 159, 165, 167, 168, 170, 180, 209, 210, 271, 287, 288, 428, 452, 453.  
 Hughes, Henry, 268, 269.  
 Hughes, William, 173.  
 Hunt, Col., 230.  
 Hunter, James, 284, 287, 332, 457, 458, 459.  
 Hunting Line, 337, 358, 359.  
 Husband, Herman, 367, 457, 459, 461.  
 Hus, John, 11, 12, 13, 289, 391.  
 Hutton, James, 65, 66, 67, 365, 451.  
 Huwarrie, see Uharie.  
 Hymn Books, 88, 90, 91, 92, 150, 354.
- I
- Indians in Georgia, 14, 277.  
 Indians in North Carolina, 15, 29, 33, 36, 48, 110, 119, 135, 141, 164, 169, 177, 182, 206, 214, 229, 232, 236, 272, 275, 361.  
 Indians in South Carolina, 177, 231, 234, 235, 238, 415.  
 Indians in Virginia, 133, 158, 163, 164, 169, 232, 233, 234, 273, 289.  
 Indians, Northern, 177, 265, 280, 308, 357, 358, 359.  
 Ingebretsen, Erich, 73, 75, 76, 130, 160, 163, 207, 210, 277, 426, 484.
- J
- Jersey Settlement, 173, 379.  
 Johnny Cakes, 142, 144.  
 Johns (Sheriff), 158, 160, 164, 167, 168, 172, 179, 181.  
 Johnson, William, 268.  
 Johnston, Gov. Gabriel, 26, 35, 42.

Jones, David, 426.  
 Jones, Robert, 205.  
 Jones, Sam, 463, 469.  
 Justices of the Peace, 33, 37, 183, 199,  
 366, 392.

## K

Kalberlahn, Anna Catharina, 206, 216-  
 23, 242, 477, 482.  
 Kalberlahn, Dr. Hans Martin, 73, 75,  
 85, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 102,  
 105, 108, 124, 127, 130, 133, 148, 157,  
 166, 171, 173, 179, 186, 206, 212-23,  
 277, 484.  
 Kapp, Johann Jacob, 131, 151, 343,  
 426, 454, 484, 491, 493.  
 Kasner, Johann Anton, 393, 459.  
 Kiefler, 408, 448.  
 Klann, James, 465.  
 Klann, Tiery, 462.  
 Klein, Johannes, 398, 411, 413, 417,  
 492.  
 Kole, Temple, 391, 415, 416, 417, 470.  
 Königsdorfer, Rev. Gottlob, 74, 76, 79,  
 81, 84, 85, 102, 484.  
 Kopp, Stoffel, 99.  
 Krishan a Klann, Abraham, 329, 457.  
 Kroehn (Kröhn, Krön, Kreen), Peter,  
 393, 448.  
 Kühn, Casper, 275.  
 Küntzel (Künzley), Johann Fried-  
 rich, 408, 448, 494.

## L

Lambert, Andreas, 30, 43, 44, 48.  
 Landing Place on the Yadkin, 373,  
 377, 389.  
 Lanius, Johann, 344, 387, 389, 489.  
 Lapp, Hans, 413, 414.  
 Lash, see Loesch.  
 Laurens, Henry, 234, 235, 246, 251,  
 284, 258.  
 Laws of North Carolina, 33, 84.  
 Leidig (Leidge), George, 264.  
 Leinbach, Benjamin, 359, 376, 387.  
 Leinbach, Ludwig, 422.  
 Leinbach, Johann (Sr.), 297, 303, 329,  
 363, 364, 390.  
 Leinbach, Johann (Jr.), 329.  
 Lengwill (Sheriff), 264.  
 Lewis, George, 213.  
 Lime, 288, 375.  
 Linear (Liniair, Lineer), 457, 458,  
 459, 470.

Line between Indians and Virginia,  
 415.  
 Line between North Carolina and  
 Cherokees, see Hunting Line.  
 Line between North Carolina and  
 South Carolina, 289.  
 Line between North Carolina and Vir-  
 ginia, 32.  
 Line between Pennsylvania and  
 Maryland, 305.  
 Line between Royal Province of  
 North Carolina and Granville land,  
 14, 32, 35.  
 Linsey, Maj., 416, 417.  
 Lischer, Johannes, 74, 85, 101, 108,  
 121, 132, 171, 174, 179, 180, 188, 190,  
 484.  
 Little Boys, 375, 391, 411, 439.  
 Little, Capt., 387, 416.  
 Little Carpenter, 232, 271, 289, 304.  
 Little Girls, 423.  
 Lititz, Pa., 171, 348, 481.  
 Lock, Francis, 250, 360.  
 Lock, Matthew, 412, 425, 452, 453, 472.  
 Lo sch, Adam, 281, 290, 389, 413, 451,  
 452, 462.  
 Loesch, George, 231, 247, 273, 281,  
 288, 290, 291, 451, 452, 487.  
 Loesch, Herman, 27, 28, 29, 45, 61, 74,  
 75, 102, 107, 130, 206, 277, 484, 487.  
 Loesch, Jacob, 73, 75, 78, 81, 84, 86,  
 92, 101, 104, 105, 130, 131, 136, 149,  
 150, 158, 159, 160, 164, 166, 168, 178,  
 180, 182, 183, 184, 192, 193, 208, 213,  
 214, 241, 248, 269, 271, 276, 277, 278,  
 287, 289, 305, 323, 337, 343, 353, 369,  
 377, 381, 389, 392, 426, 427, 428, 451,  
 484, 486.  
 Loesch, Johann Christian, 193.  
 Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 14,  
 32, 34, 35, 42.  
 Lord's Supper, see Communion.  
 Loretz, Rev. Johann, 431, 434, 444,  
 471, 472.  
 Lot, Use of the, 207, 292, 298, 310,  
 324, 445, 463.  
 Lovefeast, 79, 84, 90, 99, 101, 124, 127,  
 132, 140, 147, 149, 162, 178, 179,  
 182, 191, 201, 233, 251, 252, 291,  
 328, 372, 394, 419, 438, 445, 496.  
 Lung, Jacob, 74, 91, 130, 132, 139,  
 269, 277, 344, 381, 404, 426, 484.  
 Lyon & Fullerton, 173.  
 Lyon, John, 259, 260.  
 Lyon, Richard, 262, 334, 345.



## M

- MacDowell, Rev. John, 244, 266, 272, 273, 274, 275, 284.
- Mack, Rev. Martin, 174, 486.
- MacNally, Esq., 392, 416, 450, 458.
- Mail, 97, 101, 126, 127, 128, 129, 190, 192, 237, 238, 277, 285, 287.
- Map of North Carolina, 32, 33, 42, 305.
- Maps of Wachovia, 107, 190, 236.
- March Twenty-fifth, 99, 125.
- Marriage Laws, 33, 34, 37, 197, 199.
- Marriages, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249, 269, 271, 284, 286, 288, 292, 296, 301, 357, 361, 366, 385, 387, 399, 403, 448.
- Married People, 121, 138, 139, 155, 157, 163, 168, 191, 203, 238, 241, 249, 267, 275, 292, 370, 423.
- Marr, Michael, 250.
- Marshall, Rev. Frederic William, 26, 73, 235, 265, 277, 282, 291, 297, 298, 299, 309, 325, 362, 363, 365, 367, 372, 373, 404, 446, 452, 462, 469, 470, 489, 491.
- Marshall, Elizabeth, 369, 372, 491.
- Martin, 269.
- Martin, Alexander, 396, 451, 453.
- Martin, Johnson, 375.
- Martin, Gov. Josiah, 433, 454, 471, 474, 475.
- May Twelfth, 128.
- Mecklenburg County, 279, 378, 381, 470.
- Medicine, 38, 73, 75, 82, 92, 94, 98, 160, 171, 186, 218, 236, 250, 276, 280, 304, 307, 375, 379, 411.
- Meherrin Indians, 36.
- Meho (Mayo) River, 78, 93, 135, 188, 209.
- Meinung, Ludwig, 434, 483, 491, 492.
- Memoirs, 19, 212, 216, 477.
- Memorabilia, 19, 119, 447.
- Merck, Johannes, 28, 29, 45, 61.
- Merk, Jacobus (Jacob, Kobus), van der, 107, 178, 179, 232, 276, 301, 343, 392, 433, 470, 484, 488.
- Merkly, Christopher, 74, 130, 132, 188, 277, 344, 381, 426, 429, 484.
- Meyer, Jacob, 348, 349, 359, 391, 429, 450, 491.
- Mickel, Car, 303.
- Mickeljohn, Rev., 353, 354.
- Middle Fork, see Wach.
- Midwifery, 164.
- Miksch, Matthew, 296, 336, 343, 373, 388, 399, 442, 489.
- Military Service, Exemption from, 14, 23, 24, 108, 170, 182, 183, 214.
- Militia in North Carolina, 214, 215, 231, 237.
- Mill near Bethabara, 82, 83, 84, 86, 92, 107, 123, 125, 126, 132, 133, 137, 149, 150, 156, 157, 159, 161, 166, 168, 173, 179, 181, 190, 191, 281, 333, 349, 354, 432, 454.
- Mill Creek, 250, 291.
- Mill near Salem, 434, 440, 441, 442.
- Mill Stockade, Bethabara, 188, 189, 210, 211, 212, 227, 229, 231, 236, 274, 306, 335.
- Mines, 360.
- Mohawk Indians, 331.
- Moore, Chief Justice John, 251, 266, 269, 270.
- Moore, Sam, 337, 358, 410.
- Moore, Skit, 274.
- Moravian books in English, 82, 348, 354, 355, 390.
- Moravian Church, 11.
- Moravian Doctrine and Customs, see Doctrine and Practice.
- Moravian Missions, 21, 22, 87, 88, 119, 185, 235, 272, 331, 390, 420.
- Moravian Settlement in North Carolina, see Wachovia Tract.
- Mücke, Peter, 345, 489.
- Muddy Creek, 27, 59, 60, 249, 291, 352, 376, 387.
- Mulberry Fields, 58, 390, 433.
- Müller, Georg, 124, 125, 131, 148.
- Müller Friedrich, 330, 460, 461.
- Müller, Johann (tailor), 28, 345, 489.
- Müller, Johann (of Muddy Creek), 189, 338, 494.
- Müller, Joseph (of Pennsylvania), 28, 29, 30, 43, 46, 48.
- Müller, Joseph (gunsmith), 121, 137, 305, 328, 337, 344, 410, 411, 460, 461, 485.
- Muschbach, Johann, 398, 399, 411, 433, 462, 472, 492.
- Musical instruments, 80, 96, 122, 134, 148, 172, 202, 241, 369.
- Musters, 110, 398, 415, 416.



## N

- Nachrichten, 19, 106, 155, 180, 185, 192, 201, 202, 238, 239, 332, 348, 384, 418, 420, 495.  
 Nation, Christopher, 391.  
 Nazaree (Sheriff), 288.  
 Nazareth, Pa., 171, 481.  
 New Bern, 121, 136, 145, 149, 150.  
 New Garden, 173, 425, 456.  
 New River, 27, 55, 133, 234, 237, 246, 249, 269, 272, 273, 285, 288, 289, 357, 415.  
 New Year's Eve, 87, 151, 193, 253, 410, 424, 447.  
 Nilson, Jonas, 189, 343, 487.  
 Nissen, Toego (Tycho), 398, 414, 490, 492.  
 Nitschmann, Anna, 228.  
 Nitschmann, Bishop David, 127, 131, 320, 485.  
 Nitschmann, "Father" David, 140.  
 Noonham, Dr., 305, 306, 332.  
 Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement, 65-9, 293, 294, 297, 303, 362-4, 368.  
 North Carolina, Province of, 35, 38, 40, 41, 42.  
 November Thirteenth, 148, 155, 173, 192, 306, 423.  
 November Seventeenth, 78, 79, 108, 155, 277, 292, 336, 381, 411.  
 Nursing service, 73, 133, 159, 171, 180.

## O

- Oeconomie, Bethabara, 241, 246, 267, 293, 298, 339, 384, 443, 496.  
 Older Boys, 203, 207, 282, 291, 292, 299, 300, 328, 335, 382, 386, 394, 420, 440, 444.  
 Older Girls, 203, 207, 304, 336, 354, 371, 421, 434, 437.  
 Old Town (Bethabara), 260, 453.  
 Oley, Pa., 50, 141.  
 Opiz, Anna Maria, 182, 187.  
 Organ, Bethabara, 241, 247, 354, 411.  
 Out-lots, 249, 250, 274, 281, 287, 290, 291.  
 Owen (Sr.), 58, 97, 133, 173.  
 Owen, William, 135, 151, 161.

## P

- Panther, 81, 236.  
 Parish Laws, 37, 113.  
 Parker (County Clerk), 212, 233.

- Passion Week, 125, 421.  
 Pedalavium, 108, 187, 370, 421, 441.  
 Pennsylvania, Early Moravian Settlement in, 14, 22, 26.  
 Perkin, John, 44, 46, 47, 52.  
 Perrot, Jonathan, 50.  
 Perry, Archibald, 308.  
 Petersen, Hans, 74, 90, 91, 107, 130, 171, 188, 209, 241, 242, 277, 426, 484, 488.  
 Petersen, Nils, 325, 344, 394, 489.  
 Petitions of Moravians to Assembly of North Carolina, 412, 433, 475.  
 Pfaff, Peter, 436, 450, 468, 494.  
 Pfeiffer, Martin, 251, 412.  
 Pfeil, Friedrich Jacob, 73, 86, 103, 107, 130, 133, 277, 344, 381, 484.  
 Phelps, Joseph, 352, 410.  
 Pigeons, wild, 228, 233, 235.  
 Pilot Mountain, 78, 83, 271, 272, 411.  
 Pinetree Store, 270, 277, 285, 299, 301, 307, 329, 332, 373, 411, 461.  
 Pius, Billy, 189.  
 Political relations of Moravians, 214, 342, 355, 432, 460, 461, 464, 469, 470, 474, 475.  
 Post, Friedrich, 277, 488.  
 Pottery, Bethabara, 148, 149, 156, 157, 159, 161, 172, 180, 237, 251, 269, 275, 288, 412.  
 Pottery, Salem, 374, 435, 443.  
 Praezel, Gottfried, 325, 328, 344, 429, 489, 490.  
 Presbyterians, 109, 251, 332, 357, 366, 469.  
 Price, Aaron, 232, 233.  
 Priest, William, 232, 233.  
 Price of commodities, 139, 168, 237, 244, 246, 264, 288, 276, 335, 356, 373.  
 Price of land, 290, 362, 363, 439.  
 Proclamation money, 246, 387.  
 Prussia, 23, 154, 205, 239, 265.

## Q

- Quakers, 127, 173, 245, 252, 269, 270.  
 Quest, Anna Maria, 371, 440, 442, 491.  
 Quit Rent, 15, 37, 53, 63, 65, 66, 67, 192, 249, 272, 289, 293, 304, 340, 361, 363, 451.

## R

- Ranck, Johannes, 121, 131, 246, 286, 344, 434, 441, 484, 487, 491.  
 Ranck, Michael, 132, 133, 178, 180, 206, 227, 285, 298, 345, 390, 485.

- Rasp, Melchoir, 149, 325, 327, 344, 392, 403, 485.
- Rauch, Rev. Christian Henrich, 121, 139, 150, 162, 166, 171, 427, 485.
- Reception of members, 231, 242, 283, 296, 350, 399.
- Reed, Jacob, 408, 437, 440, 448, 494.
- Regulators, 367, 368, 377, 378, 379, 380, 390, 391, 396, 416, 417, 432, 442, 450, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 465, 466, 468, 469, 470.
- Reitz, Matthew, 344.
- Religious services, Bethabara, 105, 108, 120, 122, 127, 128, 155, 178, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 198, 201, 212, 240, 287, 292, 296, 304, 305, 328, 347, 382, 418.
- Religious services, Salem, 323, 327, 328, 351, 375, 404, 441, 443, 444, 447.
- Reuter, Anna Catharina, 242, 251, 308, 477, 487.
- Reuter, Christian Gottlieb, 190, 211, 212, 222, 236, 242, 248, 251, 282, 296, 314, 343, 352, 374, 377, 404, 441, 470, 477-83, 487.
- Revolutionary War, Causes of, 66, 381.
- Rhode, John, 44, 46, 47, 52.
- Rice, Gov. Nathaniel, 26, 35.
- Richards, Ulrich, 250, 284.
- Road, Bethabara to Bethania, 211, 236, 425.
- Road, Bethabara to Deep River, 112, 247.
- Road, Bethabara to Salem, 299, 325.
- Road, Bethabara to Salisbury, 271, 281, 283, 285, 352.
- Road, Bethabara to Cape Fear, 132, 156.
- Road, Bethabara to the Yadkin, 95, 300, 387.
- Road, Bethania to the Hollow, 243, 425.
- Road, Lower, to Pennsylvania, 27, 143, 219.
- Road-Master, 281, 284.
- Road repairs, 384.
- Road, Salem to Abbotts Creek, 361, 362, 373.
- Road, Salem to Belews Creek, 361, 373.
- Road, Salem to Cross Creek, 400, 411.
- Road, Salem to Salisbury, 400, 404.
- Road, Salem to Shallowford, 404, 411, 425.
- Road, Salem to Town Fork, 361, 373, 425.
- Road, Salem to the Trading Path, 352, 362.
- Road, the King's, to Virginia, 98, 156, 160.
- Road to Pennsylvania, 112.
- Road, Upper, to Pennsylvania, 78, 219.
- Rogers, Rev Jacob, 172, 176, 184, 190, 192, 193, 196, 197, 198, 208, 209, 213, 215, 427, 428, 487.
- Rogers, Johanna Salome, 286, 477, 482.
- Rominger, David, 392, 407, 448.
- Rosette, de (Counselor), 463, 465, 467.
- Rothe, Gotthelf, 299, 327, 381.
- Rothrock, Peter, 436.
- Rowan County, 26, 152, 199, 214, 215, 230, 284, 335, 378, 412, 425, 433, 451, 476, 483.
- Rowan, Gov. Matthew, 88.
- Rutherford, Col. Griffith, 289, 307, 391, 412, 425, 443, 452, 453, 467, 468, 469.

## S

- Saal in Two-story house, Salem, 373, 374, 496.
- Sabbath, 79, 84, 108.
- Salem, 215, 265, 278, 292, 293, 297, 298, 299, 310, 313-15, 320, 322, 323-8, 347, 350-2, 368, 373-5, 384, 387, 393, 394, 399, 400, 403-7, 433, 434, 440-7, 482.
- Salem Archives, 15, 75.
- Salem Diaconie, 395, 404, 431, 443.
- Salem houses, 1st cabin, 323; 2nd cabin, 326, 327; 1st house, 326, 327, 328, 445; 2nd house, see Two-story house; 3rd house, 350; 4th house, 351; 5th house, 351, 373; 6th house, 351. See apart for Brothers House, Pottery, etc.
- Salem Square, 298, 315, 325, 326, 351, 373, 374, 388.
- Salem Tavern, 374, 407, 434, 443.
- Salem water supply, 326, 374.
- Sallis, John, 29, 37, 38, 43.
- Salt, 44, 54, 86, 124, 138, 168, 229, 276, 307.
- Sam (Johann Samuel), 385, 430, 442, 446.
- Sauer's Calendar, 377.

- Sauter, Johann Michael, 140, 163, 215, 248, 485.
- Sawyer, Capt., 302.
- Saxony, 12, 13, 22, 88, 154, 265.
- Schauss, Philip, 212, 276, 428, 436, 493.
- Schille, Bernhard, 337, 344, 358, 392, 403, 410, 490.
- Schmid, George, 120, 121, 123, 124, 131, 133, 140, 159, 172, 300, 343, 374, 378, 381, 387, 440, 484, 486.
- Schmid, Heinrich, 392.
- Schmid, Jens, 325, 490.
- Schmidt, Col., 110.
- Schneider, Martin, 448, 491, 492.
- Schnepf, Daniel, 394, 399, 489.
- Schober, Gottlieb, 411, 491.
- School, Bethabara, 173, 181, 203, 241, 331, 377.
- School, Bethania, 203, 204, 241, 267, 285, 301, 400, 435.
- School, South Fork, 408, 409.
- Schor, Hans, 271, 400.
- Schor, Heinrich, 212, 231, 276, 284, 375, 387, 429, 493.
- Schropp, Matthes, 330, 333, 334, 349, 351, 352, 360, 361, 490.
- Schubert, Dr. August, 228, 232, 253, 268, 269, 286, 488.
- Schumaker, Adam, 393, 407.
- Schweinitz, Rev. Hans Christian von, 431, 434, 444, 469, 472, 492.
- Seal (Justice), 413, 414.
- Seidel, Rev. Christian, 75, 102, 155, 171, 172, 184, 185, 186, 188, 206, 212, 218, 221, 291, 427, 478, 486, 487.
- Seidel, Rev. Nathaniel, 74, 79, 81, 84, 85, 102, 235, 239, 372, 484.
- Seiz, Michael, 392, 407, 436.
- Sells, Adam, 268, 493.
- Seneca Indians, 48.
- Sennett, Capt., 29, 30, 43, 145.
- Seven Years' War, 154, 177, 184, 228, 235, 237, 239, 265.
- Shallow Ford (preaching place), 352, 387.
- Shawnee Indians, 188, 245, 298, 300, 304, 331.
- Sheep, 289.
- Shephard, Capt., 126, 171, 173.
- Sickness in Wachovia, 81, 127, 157, 207, 221, 222, 232, 237, 238, 241, 250, 276, 280, 336, 397.
- Silesia, 22, 23, 235, 239.
- Single Brethren, 73, 112, 121, 140, 148, 158, 187, 203, 238, 292, 328, 351, 370, 374, 394, 404, 420, 422, 444.
- Single Sisters, 203, 302, 336, 351, 369, 371, 400, 422, 441, 442.
- Singstunde, 75, 82, 202, 496.
- Six Nations, 36.
- Skin House (warehouse), Salem, 434, 441.
- Slaves, 274, 385, 446.
- Sleeping-hall, Bethabara, 180, 296.
- Sleeping-room, Bethabara, 94, 98, 99, 125, 132, 302.
- Smith's River, 86, 95, 99.
- Snakes, 296, 322, 399, 432, 482.
- Society, Bethania, 206, 208, 214, 215, 496.
- Soelle, Rev. George, 141, 383, 400, 407, 433, 436, 440, 441, 448, 449, 492.
- South Carolina, Province of, 35, 36.
- South Fork Schoolhouse and Society, 213, 214, 266, 300, 330, 349, 352, 376, 385, 387, 388, 398, 401, 404, 408-10, 429, 436, 461, 462.
- Spach, Adam (Sr.), 109, 113, 126, 131, 136, 149, 301, 330, 352, 409, 494.
- Spach, Adam (Jr.), 441.
- Spangenberg, Bishop August Gottlieb, 14, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 65, 67, 129, 131, 139, 140, 185, 206, 211, 216, 217, 220, 223, 227, 231, 239, 277, 362, 487.
- Spangenberg papers, 26.
- Spiders, 276, 304.
- Spoenhauer, Heinrich, 340, 345, 356, 387, 412, 429, 493.
- Spoenhauer, Werner, 333.
- Sporgen (Justice), 352, 471.
- Springhill, 59, 105, 212, 213, 214, 229, 247, 260, 262, 287, 302, 345.
- Stahlnecker, 133, 287.
- Stamp Act, 305, 306, 319, 322, 332, 333.
- Statistics, 156, 179, 208, 242, 253, 254, 255, 267, 268, 283, 327, 328, 350, 386, 399, 434, 435, 436.
- Stauber, 361, 415.
- Steiner, Jacob, 121, 132, 138, 231, 246, 325, 335, 344, 411, 414, 429, 434, 441, 443, 453, 485, 490.
- Steward, Joseph, 360.
- Steward's Branch, 250, 451, 452.
- St. Luke's Parish, 164, 172, 455.
- Stockburger, John George, 344, 489.
- Stöhr, Heinrich, 443, 490, 492.



Store, Bethabara, 233, 238, 246, 287, 296, 335, 373, 388, 389, 399, 472.  
 Store, Salem, 407, 434, 472.  
 Stuart, David, 92.  
 Stundenbeter, see Hourly Intercession.  
 Sunrise Service, 164, 187, 245, 308, 441.  
 Surgery, 91, 101, 123, 124, 131, 230, 268, 274.  
 Surry County, 433, 451, 452, 453, 454, 458, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 476, 483.  
 Surry County Court House, 451, 453, 455, 471, 472.  
 Sweeten, 83, 97, 101, 132, 330.

## T

Tannery, Bethabara, 102, 103, 127, 138, 160, 179, 180, 210, 241, 413.  
 Tannery, Salem, 384, 387.  
 Tate (Justice), 171.  
 Tavern, Bethabara, 160, 180, 181, 237, 246, 249, 251, 264, 271, 290, 337, 359.  
 Tavern, Salem, 374, 407, 434, 443.  
 Taxes, 34, 37, 108, 124, 137, 163, 180, 181, 192, 236, 249, 251, 272, 334, 360, 367, 378.  
 Tesch, Heinrich, 436, 494.  
 Text Book, 88, 102, 126, 202, 234, 238, 263, 277, 350, 369.  
 Thieves, 97, 135, 247, 249, 252, 287, 299, 329, 360.  
 Thomas, John, 230.  
 Thomson, Capt., 357, 358.  
 Tiersch, Rev. Paul, 434, 437, 446, 447, 469, 492.  
 Tobacco, 38, 106, 132.  
 Town Fork, 78, 133, 137, 158, 180, 227, 230, 232, 250, 266, 272, 303, 352, 376, 378, 410, 412.  
 Trades in Bethabara, 73, 74, 91, 106, 107, 123, 133, 148, 157, 160, 173, 188, 204, 240.  
 Trading Path, 30, 352.  
 Transou, Philip, 241, 248, 256, 345, 387, 488.  
 Travel Diaries, 75, 108, 140, 256, 338, 345, 346.  
 Triebel, Christian, 324, 327, 344, 392, 485.  
 Trombones, 369, 378, 447, 463.  
 Trumpets, 96, 134, 142, 146, 190, 211, 212, 249, 253, 263, 289, 291, 353.

Tryon, Gov. William, 279, 283, 293, 299, 301, 322, 337, 338, 343, 348, 353-6, 358, 373, 377, 380, 389, 390, 432, 442, 449, 454, 457, 462-7, 469.  
 Tuscarora Indians, 29, 36, 41, 53, 233, 234.  
 Two-story house, Salem, 404, 407, 434, 442, 447.

## U

Uharie River, 98, 101, 345, 433.  
 Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium, 348, 363, 367.  
 Unitas Fratrum, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 23, 26, 66, 75, 365, 420.  
 Unity Days, 108, 128, 240, 266, 369, 419, 496.  
 Unity Diaconie, 293.  
 Unity of Brethren, 12, 23, 87, 119, 205, 240, 279, 293, 340, 395, 405, 420.  
 Unity's Elders Conference, 411, 413, 430, 431, 434.  
 Unter der Ens, see South Fork Society.  
 Utley, Rev. Richard, 321, 330, 336, 338, 349, 352, 376, 377, 388, 398, 399, 403, 408, 429, 433, 446, 448, 462, 472, 490.

## V

Vegetables raised in Wachovia, 100, 104, 106, 111, 112, 126, 137, 379.  
 Vestries, 114, 192.  
 Vinegar, 90, 103, 106, 151.  
 Violins, 172, 463.  
 Virginia, Province of, 36, 37.  
 Vogler, Philip, 407, 436, 448, 494.  
 Volk, Andreas, 375, 376.  
 Volz, Andreas, 361.  
 Volz, Peter, 359, 449, 494.  
 Vorseight, 378.

## W

Wach (Middle Fork of Muddy Creek), 292, 432, 435, 441, 442.  
 Wachau, see Wachovia Tract.  
 Wachovia Diaconie, 367, 397, 431.  
 Wachovia Tract, 15, 27, 59, 60, 62, 65, 73, 107, 147, 152, 183, 214, 222, 281, 290, 293, 294, 348, 365, 381, 383, 395, 433, 445, 451, 477, 482.  
 Waddell, Col. Hugh, 119, 167, 181, 214, 229, 231, 259, 260, 319, 442, 449, 455, 456, 459, 460, 461, 462, 469.  
 Wages, 260, 264.



Wagner, Hans, 96, 136.  
 Wagner hut, Bethabara, 78, 79, 80,  
 90, 132, 135, 136, 139, 147, 148,  
 149, 381, 411, 445.  
 Wagner, Sam, 454, 460.  
 Walch, Mattheus, 171, 174.  
 Waldon, John, 299, 300, 333.  
 Walk, Martin, 361, 388, 409, 450, 494.  
 Walker, Capt., 467.  
 Walzer, Thomas, 244.  
 Ward, Capt., 332.  
 Watteville, Bishop John von, 119,  
 205, 232, 277, 413.  
 Widows, 275, 300, 369, 371, 421.  
 Widows Society, 433.  
 Wild-cats, 139, 301.  
 Wilkesboro, 27.  
 Wilkes County land, 58, 66.  
 Williams, John, 91, 94.  
 Williamson (lawyer), 270.  
 Williard, Peter, 448.  
 Willson, Thomas, 366.  
 Wilmington, 105, 259, 260, 335, 339.  
 Wilson, Abraham, 131, 133.  
 Wilson, James Abraham, 268.  
 Washington, George, 88, 119.  
 Weather, 104, 111, 113, 123, 124, 125,  
 127, 138, 150, 161, 164, 174, 191,  
 229, 234, 235, 250, 265, 269, 276,  
 277, 280, 292, 293, 302, 308, 332,  
 349, 375, 376, 380, 381, 388, 389,  
 390, 401, 468.  
 Weber, Jacob, 238.  
 Weesner, Matthes, 436, 494.  
 Weights and measures, 34.  
 Weiss, Jonathan, 49.  
 Weiss, Jonas Paulas, 66, 67, 362.  
 Wells, 274, 276, 299, 327.

Weybrand, Turk, 286, 287, 378.  
 Whitemeal, Thomas, 29, 41, 53.  
 Whitehurst, Lieut., 307.  
 Wochen, 19, 369, 384.  
 Wohlfahrt (Welfare), Jacob, 393.  
 Wolf, Wilhelm Adam, 392.  
 Wolves, 51, 60, 79, 81, 90, 123, 124,  
 139, 145, 148, 180, 233, 236, 289,  
 300, 427, 452.  
 Wright, Gideon, 278, 391, 451, 454,  
 455, 456, 457, 458, 460, 469, 470,  
 471.  
 Wright, Giery, 457, 460.

## Y

Yadkin, 27, 30, 55, 57, 79, 85, 94, 135,  
 209, 227, 229, 232, 249, 251, 266,  
 270, 276, 338, 377, 398, 433, 455.  
 Young, Benjamin, 171, 410.  
 Young Warrior, 413.

## Z

Zeisberger, David, 106, 158, 208, 213,  
 486.  
 Ziegler, Michael, 325, 337, 344, 392,  
 489.  
 Zinzendorf, Christian Renatus, 73,  
 83, 93, 177, 481.  
 Zinzendorf, Erdmuth Dorothea, Count-  
 ess, 21, 228.  
 Zinzendorf, Nicholas Lewis, Count,  
 12, 13, 21, 22, 48, 67, 86, 87, 150,  
 154, 203, 228, 232, 234, 239, 348.  
 Zynnes, Gerhard, 248, 272, 300, 358,  
 493.  
 Zynns, Margarethe, 248, 308, 493.











# DATE DUE

FEB. -8.1973			
NOV. 15.1973			
DEC. -6.1973			
FEB. -7.1974			
DEC. 11.1975			
Sto			
1-1-96			
GAYLORD			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

ELON COLLEGE LIBRARY  
284.6 F915, v. 1-  
Fries, Adelaide L. (Adela  
Records of the Moravians in No



0 2927 0111458 2

284.6  
F915  
v.1

606



